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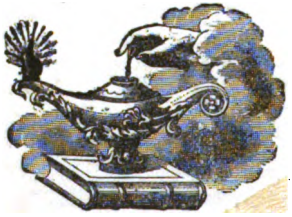

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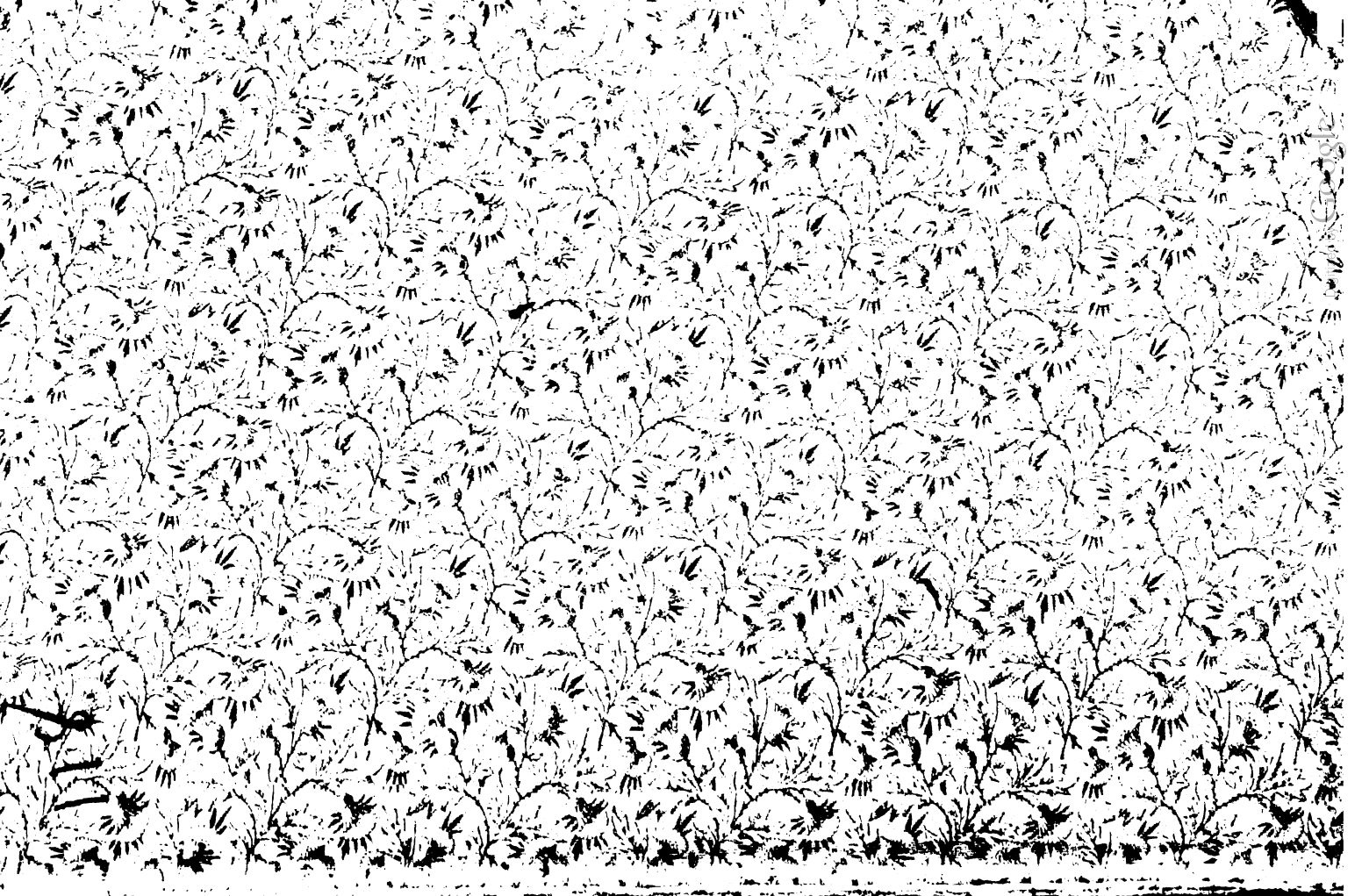

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THE

WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

JULY AND OCTOBER,

1886.

"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep."
SHAKSPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.
GÖRRE.

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THE

WESTMINSTER

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FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1886.

ART. I.—THE ENDOWMENTS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

1. *Disestablishment and Disendowment: What are they?* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Reprinted, with additions, from the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Third Edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1885.
2. *Disestablishment and Disendowment.* By the DEAN OF WELLS. The *Contemporary Review*, December 1885.

FROM the ancient cathedral city of Wells two voices have recently spoken to us upon the subject of Church Endowments—the voice of a Professor, and the voice of a Dean. Both speak with the object of guiding us to a right opinion upon those preliminary matters which we must consider before approaching the practical details of any scheme of disestablishment. Professor Freeman has published in pamphlet form a third edition of his well-known papers upon this burning question. Dean Plumptre has written a very temperate and a very excellent article in the *Contemporary Review*.

Mr. Freeman's object, as he tells us in his preface, "is simply to clear away confusions on both sides, and to enable both sides to discuss more easily the really simple ground of controversy between them." Captious critics might, perhaps, cavil at the idea of *discussing a ground*, but it is with Mr. Freeman's arguments only that we are concerned. Mr. Freeman lays down

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his pen with the air of a man whose thought may be thus imagined: "There, I have cleared away the brambles and nettles at the root. The ground is clear. Now decide, upon full view, whether the tree shall stand or fall." And yet, with the most unfeigned respect for so high an authority, and with sincere appreciation of the spirit in which he deals with his subject, we venture to think that some little confusion will still remain upon the mind of the reader of this pamphlet, unless he takes the trouble to examine the statements and propositions therein contained with more than ordinary care.

Mr. Freeman's purpose is to clear the question from the fallacies which beset the arguments of loose thinkers on both sides:—

> One side [he writes, p. 12] says that the State may meddle with Church property, because it is "national property;" the other side says that the State may not meddle with Church property, because it is something too sacred to be meddled with. Yet it is perfectly certain, on the one hand, that Church property is not national property in the sense which the disputants mean; and it is equally certain, on the other hand, that no power can so tie up or dedicate anything as to bar the *right* of the supreme power to deal with it. Both these misconceptions on opposite sides must be got rid of before the question can be fairly argued.

Mr. Freeman therefore proceeds to lay down a principle, and it is this: "The one true principle is, that the State—meaning by the State, King, Lords, and Commons—has the same *right* to deal with the Church which it has to deal with anything else."

We have italicized the word *right* in both these quotations. It is a word freely used by Mr. Freeman. For example (p. 13):

> Whenever the State deems the *rights* either of individuals or of corporations ought to give way to the general interest of the whole community, it has a *right* to decree that they shall give way to it.

Or again (p. 24):

> The supreme power has freely exercised a *right* which is inherent in it as the supreme power, the *right* to deal with ecclesiastical property as it may deal with anything else.

And (p. 23):

> This *right* of disendowment—as of doing anything—is inherent in the supreme power.

And (p. 46):

> The supreme power, on good cause being shown, may legislate about [the Church establishment] in any way, as it has often legislated already. But the supreme power has the *right* so to do, not because of any particular bargain or agreement or special act of any kind, but simply because, being the supreme power, it has, within the limits which we spoke of before, the *right* to do anything.

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Now with the exception of the word *nature*, there is, we suppose, no word which has been such a fertile source of confusion and misconception as this word *right*. Mr. Freeman does not define what he means by it, but it is clear that he has in view a *legal* as distinct from a *moral* right, for he speaks at the outset (p. 10) of

the simple principle that, in every political community the supreme power of the State, wherever that supreme power may be placed, may do whatever it thinks good. We say this [he continues] of course, with the necessary limitations, both physical and moral. A law may be, as we hold, unjust; this means that, if we were members of the assembly in which that law was passed, we should vote against it. Or, at the outside, it means that we should deem it our duty to resist the law in obedience to some supposed higher law. . . . . Disestablishment and disendowment are therefore acts which may be either just or unjust. If they cannot be shown to be for the common good of the nation, they are unjust acts; but they are acts which, if done by the supreme power, are perfectly lawful. They are acts which it is open to King, Lords, and Commons to do whenever they think good.

Little exception can be taken to this, so far as it goes; but will it do much towards clearing away the cobwebs? To say that the supreme power has a legal right to disestablish and disendow the Church is no more than saying that the legislative body may lawfully make laws. When we say that a man has a legal right to do anything, we simply mean that the State, with all the powers at its command, will support him in doing the act in question, and will secure to him a remedy against anybody who interferes with him in so doing; and when we say that the supreme power has a right to do whatever it thinks good, we mean no more than that the supreme power, being the supreme power, is able to make what laws it pleases, and to enforce them. A legal right is found to rest ultimately upon force. But that is not the kind of right which is intended by those who affirm or deny that the State has a right to disestablish and disendow the Church. It is the *moral* right to which they appeal. If we are asked what we mean by a moral right, it is quite sufficient to answer that, in our view, the State acts in accordance with moral right so long as it acts for the welfare of the community at large. Laws which tend to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number are made in accordance with moral as well as with legal right. Mr. Freeman, in reply to the question, "Has not the State a right to deal with corporate property which it has not to deal with private property?" (p. 15) answers:

In strictness there is no difference as to the right itself, but there is a difference of great importance as to the exercise of that right. That

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is to say, the cases in which it is just and expedient to meddle with corporate property come much oftener than the cases in which it is just and expedient to meddle with private property. . . . . But the *inherent right* is the same in both cases.

Now, this last assertion as to the "inherent right" is undoubtedly true, if by right we are to understand simply the power of the Legislature to do what it pleases, which Mr. Freeman has spoken of as "the right of doing anything, inherent in the supreme power;" but so stated, the proposition is a colourless truism which it surely was hardly worth while to take such pains to demonstrate. If, however, the supposed questioner alludes to *moral* right, as it is natural to assume that he does, his question, though rather loosely expressed (for moral right is always the same in *kind*), may be construed to mean, "Has not the State much larger rights with regard to corporate property than it has with regard to private property?" And this we should undoubtedly answer in the affirmative, because not only, as Mr. Freeman points out, do the cases in which it is just and expedient (*i.e.*, in which it is for the interest of the community at large) to meddle with corporate property come much oftener than the cases in which it is just and expedient to meddle with private property, but also, as we hold, the State is justified in dealing with corporate property in a *manner* very different from that which expediency or the interest of society would sanction with regard to private property. In other words, the principles which ought to guide the legislator in dealing with corporate property are materially different from those which ought to guide him when private property is under consideration.

We cannot help thinking that Mr. Freeman has not altogether made clear this distinction between these two different kinds of "right"; indeed it seems to us that he has somewhat confused them, as where he says (p. 59), speaking of an endowment that, "however old or however new it is, the supreme power may touch it, *if there be good reason for so doing.*" Why the qualification? since the State, as he tells us, has a "*right*" to touch it whether there be good reason for so doing or not. The presence or absence of the "good reason" does not, according to Mr. Freeman's argument, affect "the inherent right" of the supreme power to do what it pleases. Similar remarks apply to his proposition, which we have quoted above, that "the supreme power, *on good cause being shown*, may legislate about [the Establishment] in any way." In reality the "good reason" and "the good cause" point to the *moral* right; and this is, in truth, the only kind of right which the disputants, whose eyes Mr. Freeman is so anxious to clear from cobwebs,

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have in view when they assert that the State either has or has not a *right* to disendow the Church. "The question," says Mr. Freeman (p. 25), "must not be confused by talk about 'national property' on the one hand, or about 'sacrilege' on the other. It is simply a question whether a great and violent change, but a change which the supreme power has a *perfect right* to make, is or is not called for in the general interest of the country." "*Perfect right*" here means nothing more than "*perfect power*," and the fact that the State has such a "right" certainly does not help us much towards "discussing the simple ground" between the parties to this controversy. If anything more than this is meant, the statement is not true; for if the change is not called for in the general interest of the country, then we say that the Legislature has *no right* (i.e., *no moral right*) to make it; and *vice versâ*.

The question then is, has the State a *moral* right to disestablish and disendow the Church? or, in other words, is such a change required by the general interest of the community? Is it just and expedient? And in considering this question, why are we not to consider the arguments, on the one hand of those who say that such a proceeding would be "sacrilegious," and, on the other hand, of those who assert that the property of the Church is "national property?" Surely, if we are brought to believe that sacrilege is involved in disendowment it will very materially influence our conclusion as to the justice and expediency of the change; whereas if it can be shown that Church property is in any sense national property, we shall be more likely to think that the State may deal with it as modern reformers propose, without violating any of those principles by which, in the interest of society, we think that the Legislature ought to be guided in such matters.

We propose, therefore, to ask (*pace* Mr. Freeman), Is the property of the Church in any sense "national property?" Now, here we are confronted not only by Mr. Freeman, but also by the Dean of Wells, who has written on the whole in such a temperate manner and in such an admirable spirit upon this subject. But what says the Dean of Wells? He speaks more strongly upon this point than even the Professor himself, for he writes: "That the endowments of the Church are 'national' in any other sense than that in which all real property is national, cannot, I conceive, be seriously maintained by any one who does not look at the question from the standpoint of an invincible ignorance." Strong words these; but let us examine a little further.

Who are the *owners* of Church property? "The Church is

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the owner," will probably be the reply of the orthodox disputant. Very well, we answer; then, tell us what you mean by "the Church." Now, upon carefully considering Mr. Freeman's pamphlet, it will be found that the distinguished author uses the term "the Church" in three distinct senses—viz., (1) a number of ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate; (2) the nation ecclesiastically organized; (3) one religious body among many. Thus, to give an example of No. (2) and No. (3), Mr. Freeman writes (p. 39):

"*The Church*, then, was established—or, more truly, *the Church* grew up—because it was *the nation in one of its aspects*. The ministers of *the Church* were national officers for one set of purposes, enjoying the rights and privileges, and subject to the responsibilities, of national officers. *The Church was strictly the nation.*"

And again (at p. 48):

By disestablishment must be understood the repeal of all laws which, whether for purposes of privilege or for purposes of control, make any difference between the Established Church—that is, the religious body which once was co-extensive with the nation—and those other religious bodies whose growth has caused it to be no longer co-extensive with the nation. The argument in favour of such a course would seem to be this:—*As long as the Church was co-extensive with the nation*, it was no more than reasonable that the State should legislate about ecclesiastical matters in the same way that it legislates about *any other national institution*. It was not more than reasonable that the members and ministers of *the Church*—that is, *the nation*, and its office-bearers in its religious aspect—should enjoy such privileges and be subject to such control as the wisdom of the Legislature might from time to time think fit. But now that *the Church* is no longer co-extensive with the nation, now that it has ceased to be the nation in its religious aspect, *now that it is only one religious body among many*, there is, it may be argued, no longer any reason why it should enjoy any privileges which are not enjoyed by other religious bodies, or why it should be subject to any control to which other religious bodies are not subject.

But it is not in sense (2) or in sense (3) that, as we are told by Mr. Freeman and the Dean of Wells, "the Church" is the owner of the ecclesiastical endowments. These, says Dean Plumptre, "were not, with the actual exception of the fractional portion that came directly by gift from the Crown or by grant from Parliament, and the possible exception of tithes, given *in any sense* by the nation, or to the nation, or to the Church as a society, then conterminous with the nation." And after referring Liberationist advocates to Mr. Freeman's pamphlet, he proceeds: "In regard to all land endowments the facts are so plain that he who runs may read them. They were

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given or bequeathed by the Crown, or individual proprietors, not to the Church at large, for the Church at large has never been a corporate society capable of holding property, but to abbeys or cathedrals, which were corporate bodies with that capacity, or to the rectors and vicars of parishes as corporations sole."

Similarly Mr. Freeman (p. 16):

> Church property is not "national property," except in the same sense in which all property is national property. . . . . People talk as if "Church property" was the property of one vast corporation called "the Church." In truth, it is simply the property of the several local churches, the ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate, bishops, chapters, rectors, and vicars, or any other. The Church of England, as a single body, has no property; the property *belongs* to the church of Canterbury, the church of Westminster, the church of little Peddlington, or any other. . . . . We must fully take in the fact that Church property is not the property of one vast body, but of various local bodies scattered up and down the country. These local bodies, forming corporations sole or aggregate, hold estates which have been acquired at sundry times and in divers manners from the first preaching of Christianity to the English till now.

Here, then, is the answer to our question. The *owners* of Church property are the ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate. This is, of course, perfectly accurate up to a certain point. But let us examine still further. In what sense are these corporations *owners*, and in what manner and for what purpose do they *hold estates?*

Take the case of a corporation sole—the rector of a parish. Are the parish church and churchyard, the glebe and the tithes, *his* property? No doubt the freehold of these things is legally in him, but does he *own* them in the same sense as John Doe, who has recently purchased the freehold of Blackacre, owns his property? Are the parish church and the parish churchyard no more "national property" than Blackacre?

Let us put another question. Did the "pious founders" of these parochial endowments intend them for the benefit of a series of parsons?* As well might it be said that the founder of a college at one of the universities intended it for the benefit of the Fellows. But let us put aside the "pious founder" (for we confess we care but little what were the intentions of the τετράπαλαι σποδιή), and let us look at things as they now exist. It is certain that the parochial endowments do not exist

* We use the term with all due reverence, for "the appellation of parson, however it may be depreciated by the familiar, clownish, and indiscriminate use, is the most legal, most beneficial, and most honourable title that a parish priest can enjoy." (Blackstone's Commentaries.)

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for the personal benefit of the parson. For whose benefit, then, do they exist? For the benefit of all persons in the parish who choose to avail themselves of these things, and as anybody may come into the parish, it follows that they exist for the benefit of the community. In other words, we conceive it to be indisputable that all the parochial endowments, and, we may add, the ecclesiastical endowments generally, exist for the benefit of the nation.

Here, then, is the distinction between the ownership of John Doe, tenant in fee simple of Blackacre, and the ownership of the rector of "Little Peddlington." John Doe holds his estate as private property, for his own private uses; whereas, the rector, as corporation sole, holds the parochial endowments for public uses. Similarly, all Church property is held by corporations for public uses. It is held for the benefit of the entire community. It is virtually held *in trust*. The very fact of its being held by corporations is sufficient to show this, for, as it is put in Wharton's "Law Lexicon," "the duty of a corporation is to answer the end of its institution; to enforce which it may be visited, if spiritual, by the ordinary, if lay, by the founder or his representatives." * A rather remarkable instance (we may note in passing) of the manner in which the State endeavours to enforce these duties in the case of spiritual corporations sole may be seen in the recent Pluralities Acts Amendment Act, 1885 (48 & 49 Vict., c. 54). By this statute, "Ecclesiastical duties" are made to include "not only the regular and due performance of divine service on Sundays and holidays, but also all such duties as any clergyman holding a benefice is bound by law to perform, or the performance of which is solemnly promised by every clergyman of the Church of England at the time of his ordination, and the performance of which shall have been required of him in writing by the bishop;" and under this and former Acts a commission may be issued by the bishops to inquire into any alleged inadequate performance of the ecclesiastical duties of any benefice.

Now, the Dean of Wells himself adopts "the trust theory of church property," which he says "is obviously the only tenable one." "All corporations," he writes, "virtually hold their property in trust," and he states his opinion that "the people of each parish, and especially its poor, are the *cestui que trust* in the case of every endowment—those whose interests, rather than the interests of the trustee, have to be considered." In the

* We are, of course, aware that in early days it was held that a corporation could not be made a trustee for others, since that "which had not a soul" could not be capable of confidence;" but this exploded doctrine of law does not, it need hardly be said, affect the proposition that the members of a corporation are virtually trustees of the corporation property.

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aggregate, therefore, the *cestui que trust* of all these ecclesiastical corporations is, according to Dean Plumptre's view, the nation; * and it does seem extraordinary that one holding these views should write in the strong terms which we have quoted concerning those who express the opinion that the endowments of the Church are "national property." The Dean of Wells himself admits that the beneficial owner is to be considered rather than the trustee. And if the beneficial owner is the community at large, then the community for whose benefit these corporations exist (and not the corporations themselves) is to be considered the owner of the property. In other words, the property of the "National Church" is "national property," which strikes one as being not a very unnatural conclusion.

Professor Freeman, however, is found to be in disagreement with the Dean of Wells with regard to the "trust theory," which he dismisses with the following brief and contemptuous notice: "Nor, as we have before now seen it put, is the Church 'trustee for the nation,' surely the oddest notion of *cestui que trust* to be found anywhere." It is, we think, to be regretted that the professor did not condescend to examine the arguments of those who differ from him in this matter, or to state his own; for assuredly a theory which was adopted and upheld by, amongst others, John Stuart Mill, is not to be demolished by the mere *ipse dixit* of any authority, however eminent. It is not, of course, concerning the technical accuracy of the legal terms *trustee* and *cestui que trust*, as applied to the ecclesiastical corporations and the nation, that we are contending. We merely assert that the endowments of the Church are *national* endowments; that they exist, under parliamentary sanction and parliamentary control, for the benefit of the nation, and not for the benefit of the members of certain corporations, sole or aggregate, in whom, as corporations, the freehold of all this property is vested by law. But, further, it seems to us that this "notion of *cestui que trust*" is by no means so "odd" as Mr. Freeman appears to think. The professor has doubtless heard of the division of trusts into *public* and *private*. What are *public* trusts? They are

such as are constituted for the benefit either of the *public at large* or of some considerable portion of it, answering a particular description.

* In the eye of the law it is as true now as it was in the days of Hooker, that "there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth, nor any member of the commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England;" or, as Lord Eldon put it, there is "no difference, as to the persons of whom they are composed, between the Church and the State—the Church is the State, and the State is the Church."

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To this class belong all trusts for charitable purposes; and indeed *public* trusts and charitable trusts may be considered in general as synonymous expressions. In *private* trusts, the beneficial interest is vested absolutely in one or more individuals, who are, or within a certain time may be, definitely ascertained. . . . . A *public* or charitable trust, on the other hand, has for its objects the members of an uncertain and fluctuating body, and the trust itself is of a permanent and indefinite character, and is not confined within the limits prescribed to a settlement upon a private trust. (Lewin on "Trusts," ed. 1885, p. 20.)

Now, we must remember that the word "charity" is, at law, a very comprehensive term, and includes (under 43 Elizabeth, c. 4)

relief of aged, impotent, and poor people; maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners; schools of learning, free schools, and scholars in universities; repair of bridges, ports, havens, causeways, churches, sea-banks, and highways; education and preferment of orphans; relief, stock, or maintenance for houses of correction; marriages of poor maids; supportation, aid, and help of young tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and persons decayed; relief or redemption of prisoners or captives; aid or ease of any poor inhabitants concerning payment of fifteens, setting out of soldiers, and other taxes.

Thus, gifts for the advancement of religion or connected with religious services or places, as bequests for the good, or reparation, or furniture, or ornaments of a parish church; or to a minister for preaching; for a pension for a perpetual curate; bequests to Queen Anne's Bounty; for the advancement of Christianity among infidels, &c., have always been held to be "charitable": nay, it is said that a gift towards payment of the National Debt would be considered a charitable gift.

Who, according to Mr. Freeman, are the *cestuis que trust* in these cases of public trusts? Let us take the case of such a bequest as the following:—"Residue to the Queen's Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being, and to be by him appropriated to the benefit and advantage of my beloved country, Great Britain." That has been held to be a good charitable bequest. (*Nightingale* v. *Goulbourn*, 2 Phillips, Chancery Reps. 594.) Now, who is the *cestui que trust* here? If that term is to be applied at all in such a case, it must surely be applied to the nation; but the fact is, that we confine its use to private trusts, and in cases of public trusts we speak of *beneficiaries*, or classes to be benefited, and, in the words of Mr. Lewin, "the public at large" may stand in this position. Take another example. A bequest to trustees "for such charities and other public purposes as lawfully might be in the parish of Tadmarton." This is a

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good charitable gift (*Dolan* v. *Macdermot*, L.R. 3 Ch. App. 676), and the beneficiaries are those of the nation who are or become parishioners at Tadmarton, and if such an endowment were given to every parish in the kingdom the beneficiaries would in the aggregate compose the nation. Such gifts are in fact gifts to "the public at large"; they are national endowments; and nobody would think of calling the trustees *owners* of such property, although they might be a corporate body, and although they might be paid for their services.*

Similarly, it is our contention that the nation is to be considered as the "beneficiary" in the case of the endowments of the Established Church, and that if the State deems it expedient to deal with such endowments it should in so doing be guided by those principles and considerations which are applicable in all cases of State interference with *public trusts*.

The truth of this proposition has already received parliamentary sanction, as has been frequently pointed out, by the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commission. Thereby, according to the pathetic lament of Sir John Inglis, "for the first time in respect to England, by an Act of the Legislature, unsanctioned by the Church, it (Parliament) recognized the principle that Church property is public property;" and it does seem to us absurd to maintain that the property dealt with by this State Commission is no more national property than the five-and-twenty acres in which Brown has recently invested his savings. Therefore in discussing the question, Is it right—*i.e.*, is it expedient—with a view to the welfare of the community, that the Church should be disestablished and disendowed, we shall give due weight to the consideration that the property of the Church *is* "national property," in the sense which we have indicated above. At the same time we must remember that to describe the parsons as trustees does not, without addition, accurately represent their position. They are also stipendiaries. As Mill wrote in the *Jurist*, "The same person who is a trustee is also a labourer. He is to be paid for his services. What he is entitled to is his wages while those services are required, and such retiring allowance as is stipulated in his engagement. It is, however, the fact that in the majority of cases, and particularly in the case of the Church and the Universities, the incumbents hold their emoluments upon an implied contract, which entitles them to retain the whole amount during the term of their lives." Therefore, as stipendiaries, they would, of course, have to be

* The British Museum is a public trust, and in the eye of the law a "charity." Who is the *cestui que trust*, if not "the nation"?

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compensated in any scheme of disendowment which should deprive them of their life interest, whatever might be the uses prescribed by the State for the future regulation of the property whereof they are now trustees.

One word as to tithes. The Dean of Wells refers to Bishop Stubbs's assertion that "the famous donation of Ethelwulf has nothing to do with tithe;" but he quotes Stubbs only through the medium of Dorington's "Endowments of the Church," and does not tell us what the learned Bishop of Chester *does* say upon the subject. We are quite content to abide by this high authority, who writes as follows:—

> The recognition of the legal obligation of tithe dates from the eighth century, both on the Continent and in England. In A.D. 779, Charles the Great ordained that every one should pay tithe, and that the proceeds should be disposed of by the bishop; and in A.D. 787 it was made imperative by the Legatine Councils held in England, which, being attended and confirmed by the kings and earldormen, had the authority of witenagemots. From that time it was enforced by not unfrequent legislation. ("Constitutional History," vol. i. ch. viii. p. 228.)

And again, as to these Legatine Councils, the Bishop writes:

> The Legatine Councils of A.D. 787, which in their very nature were entirely ecclesiastical, were attended by kings and earldormen, as well as by bishops and abbots, and must therefore be numbered amongst true witenagemots. Amongst the ecclesiastical articles which come most naturally within the scope of secular confirmation are the enforcement of Sunday and festival holidays, the payment of tithe, &c. &c. (*Ibid.* ch. vi. p. 128.)

As might have been expected, therefore, Bishop Stubbs lends no countenance to the theory (surely a most futile and impossible one) that tithes must be looked upon as voluntary gifts granted by "devout landowners," who charged their estates in perpetuity with the payment thereof. No; these payments, commuted into rent-charges by 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 71, are simply a species of tax imposed by the State for the maintenance of the Church establishment. We may note, too, that we have Bishop Stubbs's authority for the original threefold (if not fourfold) division of tithes in England, as on the Continent; since he tells us that in early days the tenth part, which was contributed for the use of the Church, was usually divided by the bishop "between the Church, the clergy, and the poor." Indeed it is, we believe, unquestionable that tithes originally, in this country, represented "church rates, poor rates, and parson rates;" but in course of time the clergy contrived that the third use should, like Aaron's rod, swallow up the others. (See, amongst other authorities,

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Phillimore's "Ecclesiastical Law," vol. i. p. 266; Blackstone's "Commentaries," vol. i. book i. ch. ii. § 385.) These matters may have, as the Dean of Wells says, little more than an archæological interest, but it is well to remember them in days when a large number of the clergy have been preaching the "pious founder" argument from the pulpit—that coign of vantage whence they speak, as a living legal luminary has expressed it, "six feet above the possibility of a reply." As to the "pious founder," if his intentions are to be considered at all, they will be found, in the case of our ancient parochial endowments, to be of no assistance to those who are so fond of appealing to them; for persistent denial cannot alter the historical fact, that the Church in England, previously to the Reformation, was but a branch of the great Church of Christendom, and, as such, subject to the Roman hegemony. Even if the Reformation did no more than purge away the errors of a pre-existing Church, yet it is pretty certain that the old pious donors would not have given endowments for the use of a religious organization whose Articles declared that doctrines which they had been taught to revere as divine truths were no better than "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." But the truth is much stronger than this. The truth is, that the Church in England, which the labours of Aidan and the victories of Oswald and Oswi seemed to have annexed to the Irish Church, was won for the Pope and lost to Ireland at the Synod of Whitby in 664, after which victorious Rome sent over the monk Theodore of Tarsus, as Archbishop of Canterbury, to consolidate her success by organizing the Church which she had secured to her sway. In the picturesque words of Mr. Green, "Strangers who knew not Iona and Columba entered into the heritage of Aidan and Cuthbert. As the Roman communion folded England again* beneath her wing, men forgot that a Church which passed utterly away had battled with Rome for the spiritual headship of Western Christendom." Thenceforward the Church in England was, as we have already described it, but a branch of the great Church of Rome, which in all spiritual matters made laws for Christendom. The clergy recognized the King as supreme in matters temporal, but the Pope as supreme in matters spiritual; and the only questions which arose were as to the exact limits between the spiritual and the temporal, and

* But "when Theodore came to organize the Church of England, the very memory of the older Christian Church which existed in Roman Britain had passed away." (See Green's "Short History of the English People," pp. 28–34.)

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as to the precise relations which ought to subsist between the Crown and the Papacy.* The Popes, too, through their legates, exercised a visitatorial jurisdiction over the Church in England, and when the Archbishop of Canterbury secured for himself a commission as legate, with authority over the whole island of Britain, the kings were unable to dispute the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope, vested as it was in one of their own counsellors; and even the ordinary metropolitan authority came to be regarded as a delegated authority from Rome. At the same time the country was at intervals visited by special legates —legates *a latere*—who represented the Pope himself, and superseded the authority of the resident legates. It was this system which was overthrown at the Reformation.

It was the legislative commission of Wolsey, unexampled in its fulness and importance, which under the disingenuous dealing of Henry VIII., who had applied for the commission and granted licence to accept it, was made the pretext of his downfall, and which, after involving the whole Church in the penalties of præmunire, resulted in the great act of submission which made the king, "so far as allowed by the law of Christ," supreme head of the Church of England. The combination of the ordinary metropolitan authority with the extraordinary authority having thus for ages answered its purpose of giving supreme power to the Pope, and substituting an adventitious source of strength for the spontaneous action of the national Church, brought about a crisis which overthrew the papal power in England, and altered for all time to come the relations of Church and State.

From this period must be dated the birth of our Established Church as it now exists.†

We assert, therefore, without pursuing the historical argument further, that if our ancient endowments are to be kept

* See Stubbs's "Constitutional History," vol. iii. chap. xix. p. 291.

† Stubbs's "Constitutional History," vol. iii. p. 301. See also the recent Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts. It is of course true, as Mr. Freeman says, that at the Reformation "there was no taking from one religious body and giving to another," simply because the Church was the nation. There was, however, an entire and fundamental change in the religious government of the nation—*i.e.*, in the constitution of the "Church" in sense (2). "The nation ecclesiastically organized" no longer looked to Rome for spiritual legislation, but was in all things to be subservient to King and Parliament. Those who doubt this should consult the statutes of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. It is an old saying that a man does not become a different man because he has washed his face. Neither does he become a different man because he has dirtied it again. If, therefore, it should please our sovereign Parliament to enact that from henceforth none but those who will subscribe to Popish doctrines shall be ministers of the Church, and that the services shall be conducted according to the Roman Catholic Ritual, &c., the Church would still remain the same Church! Those who find comfort in this argument may be made a present thereof.

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for the uses which the pious founders contemplated, they should be handed over to that Church with which the Church in England was originally incorporated. But, further, we maintain that the intentions of the founder, pious or not, have little or nothing to do with the matter. The State considers that, in the interest of the community, a man should be allowed to give property for public purposes, and to some extent to dictate from his tomb the manner in which that property shall be administered; but it seems to us that the State has the right—the *moral* right, as we have explained it above, and not merely the power—to disregard that dictation when it deems it expedient to do so. It is on this condition only that the State allows the gift to be made. The power to make such gifts is a privilege granted to the individual for the public advantage, not a natural, inherent right, as some people appear to imagine. Nay, so far from thinking that any right ought to be recognized for the individual to prescribe uses in accordance with which his property is to be administered for all time, we hold, on the contrary, that in the case of all such gifts, the presumption is, that after the lapse of years—say, of half a century from the donor's death—these uses will require very considerable modification in order to adapt them to the changed circumstances of the times. In other words, the *onus*, in our judgment, lies upon those who wish to adhere to the conditions laid down by the dead hand. This of course applies *à fortiori* to gifts made hundreds of years ago. And if the uses are to be altered, it is for the community, through its representatives, to determine the public purposes to which the property in question shall for the future be applied. So much, then, for the "pious founder"; but these observations, of course, affect such only of the ancient endowments of the Church as can be said to owe their origin to private sources.

Such seem to us some of the most important principles and considerations which ought to be borne in mind by those who approach the question, Is it expedient to disestablish and disendow the Church of England? We have endeavoured to show that to regard the ecclesiastical endowments as "national property" is not by any means such a proof of invincible ignorance as Professor Freeman and Dean Plumptre suppose, inasmuch as those endowments must be regarded as being in the nature of public trusts, whereof the beneficiaries are, in the aggregate, the people of England and of Wales. As to the question of expediency, it must be decided by that people upon arguments which it is not within the scope of this article to consider.

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Art. II.—The Genius and Character of Charles Lamb.

1. *The Works of Charles Lamb, with a Sketch of his Life.* By Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd, D.C.L. London: George Bell & Sons. 1876.
2. *Mary Lamb.* By Mrs. Gilchrist. W. H. Allen & Co. 1883.
3. *Charles Lamb.* By Alfred Ainger. Macmillan & Co. 1882.

THE opposite extremes of opinion which it is possible to hold about the author of the "Essays of Elia" may be represented by a short sentence of Carlyle's and a recent utterance of Mr. Swinburne's—"There was a most slender fibre of actual worth in that poor Charles:" and "The most beloved of English writers may be Goldsmith or may be Scott; the best beloved will always be Charles Lamb."

It is interesting to consider which of these opposite opinions comes nearer to the truth, that of the poet or the moralist. Conduct was Carlyle's great standard of worth, as beauty seems to be that of Mr. Swinburne. The one preached eloquently the religion of work, of actual doing, as against mere speech; while the other has sounded the praise of all things lovely, and demanded that they should acknowledge as the only law of their life the right to be free.

Was Charles Lamb, then, a man who atoned by his personal charm for a careless and pleasure-seeking life, and thus won the love of the poet? Was he a man who was lax in his fulfilment of duty, and selfish in his dealings with his fellow-men, that he should so miss the approbation of the sage? Let us look in his life and works, and see.

To begin with, we perceive, on turning over the pages of his essays or his letters, that he was not a man to invite, by any harshness of speech concerning others, severe criticisms on himself. He did not know how to say a really ill-natured thing. He was always laughing at the world—a world which included himself—but it was with a genial, kindly laughter. He abounded in sympathy, and the more so because he had a keen consciousness of humour. A smile was ever on his lips at the droll inconsistencies of human nature, but the smile was often akin to the tear of compassion, and the ready hand of fellowship was never far away. While he laughed he was willing to help; he

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offered to others the assistance which he never asked for himself; he was ever ready to lend for the service of others—for the fulfilment of their pleasures, or the solace of their weakness—from the limited stores which his own strong self-denial and privation had secured.

Charles Lamb had no weapon with which to meet a man who struck him severely. He was never angry, never indignant, never truly argumentative. His harshest sayings were full of a friendly mirth, and he never did more than smile at a man who was unjust to him. His severest retort was a jest, his most vigorous onslaught an outburst of wit that was as stingless as brilliant. His very breadth of perception and depth of sympathy disarmed him, because he always perceived the points in himself which must displease an opponent, as clearly as he perceived the points in an opponent distasteful to himself. He could not feel indignant at criticisms levelled against him, because his instinctive perception compelled him to say, "Sir, I clearly see how odious I must appear to you; from your point of view you do well to dislike me."

He had the misfortune always to see two sides to a question, his adversary's as well as his own; if adversary is not too strong a word to use regarding a man who never engaged in any serious contest. He was aware of his own limits, and sympathized with an opponent's objections to him. He might have had an intuitive prescience that the harshest word to be uttered of him must come from the mouth of a Scotchman, because in an essay (which he calls, with the delicious moderation and kindliness characteristic of him, "Imperfect Sympathies," when another man might have called it "Instinctive Aversions"), he tells us, "I have been trying all my life to like Scotchmen, and am obliged to desist from the experiment in despair. They cannot like me; and, in truth, I never knew one of the nation who attempted to do it."

This is not true to-day. North as well as South Britain contains its admirers of the gentle Elia, and acknowledges the charm of his style and the vigour of his wit. Why it was slower so to do—if, indeed, it was—may be explained by his own remarks on the "imperfect sympathy" existing between the sturdy, vigorous Northern nature and his own:

> There is an order of imperfect intellects (under which mine must be content to rank) which in its constitution is essentially anti-Caledonian. The owners of the sort of faculties I allude to have minds rather suggestive than comprehensive. They have no pretences to much clearness or precision in their ideas, or in their manner of expressing them. Their intellectual wardrobe, to confess fairly, has few whole pieces in it. They are content with fragments and scattered

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pieces of truth. She presents no full front to them—a feature, or side-face at the most. Hints and glimpses, germs and crude essays at a system, is the utmost they pretend to. They beat up a little game, peradventure, and leave it to knottier heads, more robust constitutions, to run it down. The light that lights them is not steady and polar, but mutable and shifting; waxing, and again waning. Their conversation is accordingly. They will throw out a random word in or out of season, and be content to let it pass for what it is worth. They cannot speak always as if they were upon their oath, but must be understood, speaking or writing, with some abatement. They seldom wait to mature a proposition, but e'en bring it to market in the green ear.

This is ~~an admirable description of~~ his own literary characteristics, of the way he went through life, making sketches of odds and ends of truth that caught his fancy, leaving others to work them up into finished pictures. In this manner he provided for the more ambitious artists many a scrap of truth which would otherwise have escaped observation; he brought to the front many an obscure fact which was lying on one side unnoticed. And the manner of his sketches was so excellent that they are cherished by connoisseurs to-day with a love and admiration which few pictures, however carefully wrought, can hope to awaken.

After being severe on himself, he proceeds, in all fairness and friendliness of spirit, to be severe on his typical Scotchman too:

The brain of a true Caledonian, if I am not mistaken, is constituted upon quite a different plan. His Minerva is born in panoply. You are never admitted to see his ideas in their growth—if, indeed, they do grow, and are not rather put together upon principles of clockwork. You never catch his mind in an undress. He never hints or suggests anything, but unlades his stock of ideas in perfect order and completeness. He brings his total wealth into company, and gravely unpacks it. His riches are always about him. He never stoops to catch a glittering something in your presence, to share it with you, before he quite knows whether it be true touch or not. You cannot cry *halves* to anything that he finds. He does not find, but bring. You never witness his first apprehension of a thing. His understanding is always at its meridian; you never see the first dawn, the early streaks. He has no faltering of self-suspicion. Surmises, guesses, misgivings, half-intuitions, semi-consciousness, partial illuminations, dim instincts, embryo conceptions, have no place in his brain or vocabulary. The twilight of dubiety never falls upon him. Is he orthodox—he has no doubts. Is he an infidel—he has none either. Between the affirmative and the negative there is no border-land with him. You cannot hover with him upon the confines of truth, or wander in the maze of a probable argument. He always keeps the path. You cannot make excursions with him, for he sets you right. His tastes never fluctuate.

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His morality never abates. He cannot compromise or understand middle actions. There can be but a right and a wrong. His conversation is as a book. His affirmations have the sanctity of an oath. You must speak upon the square with him.

No man of such a temperament could be an appreciative companion to Charles Lamb, who did not follow Truth as a scientist, but rather loved her as an artist. He never marched straight on in his pursuit of her, in order to study her seriously, or to make a commonplace photograph of her; he was always stopping, like a lover, to look at her in some new or unexpected attitude, or running round a corner to make a sketch of a side view. While the practical man was classifying her or relating her history, Charles Lamb would burst into the argument with apparent flippancy to remark: "Do look at that dimple in her chin!" or, "Have you ever before observed the turn of her elbow?"

It was not only, however, with over-practical and too-literal Scotchmen that Lamb confessed "imperfect" sympathies. So fine a mind as his must, in spite of liberal kindliness, possess its own form of fastidiousness. He liked the Quakers, but not, he says, "to live with them." He remarks, with one of those happy touches which give life to old tradition, and link the living present as by a swift electric current with the dead and half-forgotten past, "Some admire the Jewish female physiognomy. I admire it; but with trembling. Jael had those full, dark, inscrutable eyes."

He acknowledges that he would not like to share his meals with negroes, for no better reason than that they are black; yet he says: "In the negro countenance you will often meet with strong traits of benignity. I have felt yearnings of tenderness towards some of these faces—or rather masks—that have looked out kindly upon me in casual encounters in the streets and highways."

This is characteristic of the gentle Elia. Other men deny their prejudices, or justify them. He does neither. He cannot shake himself free of them; they cling to him like old habits; but his sympathies overleap them. "My friend," he seems to say, "I cannot help disliking you and shrinking from you, but when I look over the stupid wall of my instincts, I perceive on the other side all the admirable and lovable qualities which are yours."

No other man ever had the same sincerity and frankness, the same sympathy and fairness, combined with such a distinct and consciously persistent personality. He was humble, yet not unreasonably so; the love of fair play, which compelled him to

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do justice to an opponent's good qualities, forbade him to deny his own. He never put himself forward as a claimant for your regard, being convinced that, if your perception did not discover his merits, his assurance would not help you in the matter. There was to his delicate and critical mind something droll in the pretensions of self-important people; as if they should put up glass windows of conceit to keep out the sun of criticism.

Was he then a mere trifler, a jester? one who helps in the laughter of life as he goes through it, and when the smile is gone and the noise of mirth passed away, dies from the memory of men and is forgotten?

If indeed it were so, and only so, there would be something heroic in the gentle laughter which forbade society to be saddened by his afflictions; in the genius which turned the wild vagaries of fancy (trembling in the balance between lunacy and wit) into beautiful and genial humour; in the unpretending strength and patience which transformed his own pain into sympathy, and thus made of it an instrument for the use and gladness rather than the hindrance and sorrow of the world.

But it was not only so. The fool who followed Lear through the storm was none the less faithful because he met his master's enemies with a laugh rather than a curse; and virtue—a difficult virtue of self-denial and patience—was the Lear whose footsteps Lamb followed through the tempests which early troubled, and the clouds which ever darkened, his painful life. Strength masquerades sometimes before us in strange disguises; and wisdom laughs triumphant in the mouth of a jester, while sages and anchorites are afflicting themselves vainly in the search for it.

Charles Lamb never preached, never gave forth doctrines, and hardly ever denounced wrong-doing; but he loved virtue and made her lovable; he had lived with her until she was familiar to him; the words he uttered were her words; and the influence he used was her influence.

Never throughout his writings—in spite of extravagance of fancy, vagaries of the imagination, where he plays at wrong-doing and pretends to take the side of the wicked—do we find a sentiment that does not help us to love virtue more and vice less, that does not make it easier to be good and less tempting to do evil.

His delicate perceptions often enabled him to perceive points of morality as well as of taste on which the public judgment had gone astray; and the agile weapon of his wit sometimes struck untruth and prejudice in places difficult to be reached by the heavier hand of the moralist. His strokes of criticism often, by their very lightness, awake serious thoughts on the tritest cus-

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toms, and give new life to those which have become meaningless to us from much familiarity.

I own [he writes] that I am disposed to say grace upon twenty other occasions in the course of the day besides my dinner. I want a form for setting out upon a pleasant walk, for a moonlight ramble, for a friendly meeting, or a solved problem. Why have we none for books, those spiritual repasts: a grace before Milton—a grace before Shakespeare—a devotional exercise proper to be said before reading the "Fairy Queen"?

On the treatment of women in society his opinion was considerably before his time. Of "modern gallantry" he says:

I shall believe it to be something more than a name when a well-dressed gentleman in a well-dressed company can advert to the topic of *female old age* without exciting, and intending to excite, a sneer; when the phrases 'antiquated virginity,' and such a one has 'overstood her market,' pronounced in good company, shall raise immediate offence in man or woman that shall hear them spoken.

On this subject he says further: "What a woman should demand of a man in courtship, or after it, is, first, respect for her, as she is a woman; and next to that, to be respected by him above all other women."

This was no mere theory on paper; it was the rule of his own life. He treated the woman who stood nearest to him, his sister Mary, with all the delicate consideration which he believed a man owed to his wife, a lover to his mistress, or any man to the woman who held the chief place in his life. He had little sympathy with that prejudice of his day which regarded an unmarried woman as a social failure. Speaking of his sister under the disguise of Cousin Bridget, and of the manner of her education, he remarks: "Had I twenty girls, they should be brought up exactly in this fashion. I know not whether their chance in wedlock might not be diminished by it; but I can answer for it, that it makes (if the worst come to the worst) most incomparable old maids."

It was part of his self-denial that, with the taint of madness in his brain, he never permitted himself to marry, and was content to be regarded as an odd and eccentric bachelor by preference. Yet no one who reads his essay of "Dream Children" can doubt that he was capable of love and fatherly affection. In this as in other acts of abnegation he abstained from lamentation or self-praise; he was content to be laughed at for the very circumstances which other men would have regarded as giving them a claim to admiration or pity.

Although he always kept his temper in argument, and was

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never led into the expression of serious anger, yet he was one of the few who protested against the popular fallacy, that "of two disputants the warmest is generally in the wrong:

> Our experience would lead us to quite an opposite conclusion. Temper, indeed, is no test of truth; but warmth and earnestness are a proof at least of a man's own conviction of the rectitude of that which he maintains. Coolness is as often the result of an unprincipled indifference to truth or falsehood, as of a sober confidence in a man's own side in a dispute. Nothing is more insulting sometimes than the appearance of this philosophic temper.

Another "popular fallacy" to which he objects is the one which gives a false motive for rectitude in the belief that "ill-gotten gain never prospers."

This species of encouragement to virtue is sure to produce disappointment, and to be unsatisfactory in its results. If we are to face the troubles of life on the side of righteousness, it is best to know exactly what our position is, and what efforts will be expected from us. It is poor preparation for a battle, and a poor way of putting courage into the hearts of the soldiers, to offer the false assurance that the arms of the opponents will be turned against themselves. "The weakest part of mankind have this saying commonest in their mouth. It is the trite consolation administered to the easy dupe, when he has been tricked out of his money or estate, that the acquisition of it will do the owner *no good.* But the rogues of this world—the prudenter part of them at least—know better."

It is evident that he loves truth for its own sake, and not only when it fits in with convenient theories. He takes it wherever he finds it, and leaves us to make it tally with our own preconceptions if we can—that is not his affair.

He has little tender touches of feeling and pangs of conscience unknown to other men; as when he repents the ingratitude which beguiled him—under the guise of charity—into giving away the cake made with love and care, for his own enjoyment, by a good old aunt. Abnegation was so much a part of his daily life that he had no need to practise it as a separate virtue. He even found it advisable to check his instincts of self-sacrifice, and came at last to perceive a certain selfishness in the refusal of a good thing offered by a friendly hand. He was kind and considerate even in his self-denial. It was as if he said to himself: "I have twenty opportunities a day of denying myself without distressing any one who loves me; why, then, should I greedily and ostentatiously seize this one?"

He loved indeed to point out small shades of justice or

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kindness which escaped the general observation: he often represented things a little crooked, a little awry, a little out of focus, as it were, to get the advantage of a new light on them, and to trick us into looking at them in a new spirit of observation. But his perversity is never misleading; it is indeed the only quality in which he was obviously and purposely *insincere*. We do not for a moment imagine, when reading his letter to Bernard Barton, that he wants to hang the bankrupts, any more than we believe, while studying his essay on the subject, that he thinks it nobler to borrow than to lend. His was a nature to which forgiveness came as necessarily as the air he breathed; and at the same time one which denied itself and exerted itself to the utmost rather than add the weight of a grain to the burdens of others.

His literary excellences are so mixed up with the charm of his character that it is difficult to separate them. His quaint and old-world fancies made him an admirable critic of the older poets and of many out-of-the-way subjects and things. He is often poetical on his own account—even when writing prose—in a tender, fugitive, touch-and-go fashion, as in "The Defeat of Time," in which he has offered one of the most charming of the many tributes to the genius of Shakespeare.

The perusal of his works can only make us delight in him and all his wayward fancies. We may turn over his pages in the hope of finding something at which to scoff or to sneer, and either they remain to us an uninteresting and harmless blank, as the best writing seems to do to some excellent people, or they charm us more and more deeply by the attraction of their style and the subtlety of their wisdom.

If we turn, however, from the author to the man, if we seek to find in his life all the rectitude which we meet so quaintly disguised in his writings, all the sympathy so delicately touched with humour which there abounds, shall we turn away disappointed? compelled to confess that with him, as with so many others, to see the truth was not to follow it? to love virtue was not to be faithful to her? His style might be exquisite, his perceptions might be delicate, and the flavour of his originality absolutely unique; yet the man himself might not be what we could approve or like: a "very slender fibre of worth" might be left to pervade the actions of this "poor Charles."

When we look beyond the veil of kindly humour behind which he hid the secrets of his life we perceive at the first glance that his experiences were not those of a jester, and that his laughter concealed sufferings of a tragic intensity. Pitiful indeed he would have been if perpetual anxiety, hopeless affliction, continual need of self-denial, gave him claims upon our compassion

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only; if the manner in which he bore his trials did not oblige us to put aside pity in favour of admiration, and compel compassion to give place to reverence. He was known as a jester—a man who made puns and loved laughter; but his cheerfulness was the supreme courage of one who bore a terrible burden so that the world should be no sadder for it.

His life was one of abnegation; he lived in the shadow of perpetual sorrow. Terrible memories haunted him from the past; melancholy ever tracked his footsteps in the present; and dread shapes of the future sat with him on his hearthstone as familiar friends. So tragic was the story of his early days that it closed to him the houses of some cheerful people, who objected to the harbouring of incipient tragedy, and hunted him from lodging to lodging at a time when he needed rest and quiet. Nevertheless, he never asked for help from outside; he bore his own burden and the burden of his family without appealing to the world for assistance; and he did not pose as a hero—rather did he, as we know, pass with the undiscerning for little better than a laughter-loving clown.

One of the darkest of curses rested upon his family, the curse of madness—that curse which, while demanding abnegation and self-control from those who dwell in its shadow, unfits them, or at least weakens them, for the exercise of the very qualities it calls for. There is no nobler picture in social history than that of Charles and Mary Lamb bravely facing their fate and helping each other so to live that their own misfortune should not injure their fellow-men. Mary, as the elder, sooner began the bitter struggle of existence. The faculties of the father of the Lambs and the health of the mother failed early. The elder brother, John, was of a disposition which loved ease, and sought it before other things. In his own day of difficulty he remembered family ties, and made his claim for help; at other times he remained aloof, and left the weight of the household trouble to rest on any one who might be willing to take it. There was also an infirm aunt—the one who made the cake—who became a care and burden to the family. Poor Mary early ruined her health in labour for the general good; she contributed by her needle to the scanty funds of the establishment, and had also to nurse her mother night and day.

When Charles Lamb was twenty years old this gloomy struggle with poverty was intensified by tragic circumstances. His father had already sunk into premature dotage, and his mother was a helpless invalid: then the family malady of madness seized Charles himself, and he was for six weeks of this miserable year in a lunatic asylum. Mary was eleven years older than he, and she had been for some time the

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chief strength and support of the afflicted family. But the strain on her strength was too great and lasted too long: later on in the same year, when Charles was again at home, an outbreak of madness seized her also—an outbreak worse than his own, sudden and terrible in its actual attack, though premonitory symptoms had not been wanting, if they could have been attended to; and the devoted daughter, who had tended her parents so long, stabbed her mother to death.

The horrors of that terrible time were enough to drive a sane man mad. What must they have been, then, to one who had recently suffered himself from an attack of insanity, and who must have dwelt in the fear of a possible recurrence, who must have known that the awful deed just perpetrated by his sister's hand might some day be repeated in another form by his own?

The absence of anxiety, the cheerful influence, the tender care, all the extraneous circumstances adapted to aid in the recovery of mental health were wanting here. The mother of Charles Lamb lay dead, murdered by his beloved sister; his sister was in a madhouse; his father, with his forehead plastered from a wound given by Mary in her frenzy, sat in the unconsciousness of dotage, playing at cards while the inquest was being held on his wife's body; his aged aunt lay insensible, to all appearance dying; Charles, the delicate young man of twenty, the recent inmate of an asylum, was the only one in the unhappy household who remained conscious and responsible; on him rested all the care of these helpless invalids and the burden of supplying their needs: he was left alone, to control himself, to face the world, to guard, to help, to provide for these afflicted ones: "I had the whole weight of the family thrown on me; for my brother, little disposed (I speak not without tenderness for him) at any time to take care of old age and infirmities, had now, with his bad leg, an exemption from such duties, and I was now left alone."

His courage and kindness were equal to all the demands made upon them. He abandoned, without complaint, and as a simple social duty, all thought of love and marriage for himself. He prepared to devote himself to his stricken family, and, by hard work and personal self-denial, to provide for them every necessary care.

When we think of this son and brother, who had hardly reached manhood and was still an "infant" in the eyes of the law, whose own recent illness would have excused some weakness and self-indulgence, so bravely and simply putting aside his sorrows to help those around him, we cannot pity, we must reverence—and love. The more we know of Charles Lamb, the

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more admirable does he appear; the more we compare him with others, the brighter do his virtues shine. When we read of Anthony Trollope—who had seen his mother's bitter struggles to work for the family support while nursing her husband and son—marvelling that his friends should have expected him to live on a clerk's salary without running into debt; when we remember Carlyle's insistence that—at the cost of his wife's ease and although a poor man—he should be protected from the personal discomforts of poverty, we perceive in all its fulness the beauty of the conduct of Charles Lamb. Hardly, in literary history, do we meet with the record of any life in which the sacrifice of self was so complete and so protracted as his. Other men were generous and other men were frugal; but no one else, so weighted in the struggle, bore himself as bravely from beginning to end, asking nothing from the world, acting always with resolute self-denial, and enduring without complaint.

His self-suppression and self-control had their reward in the fact that he himself was never visited by a return of his malady. Mary's relapses were frequent, and a cause of ceaseless trouble and anxiety to herself and her brother; but she faced her fate with courage worthy of them both, scorning to consider herself in her healthy moments a subject for compassion or indulgence. She was, when sane, full of strong sense and clear views of life; and her literary talent was of no mean order. There was nothing morbid or unhealthy in her way of looking at any subject. Her advice to her friend Sarah Stoddart, as to the treatment of an insane person (her friend's mother), is admirable from any point of view, and surely unique as spoken from a lunatic's own experience:

> Do not, I conjure you, let her unhappy malady afflict you too deeply. I speak *from experience* and from the opportunity I have had of much observation in such cases, that insane people in the fancies they take into their heads do not feel as one in a sane state of mind does under the real evil of poverty, the perception of having done wrong, or of any such thing that runs in their heads.
>
> Think as little as you can, and let your whole care be to be certain that she is treated with *tenderness*. I lay a stress upon this because it is a thing of which people in her state are uncommonly susceptible, and which hardly any one is at all aware of; a hired nurse *never*, even though in all other respects they are good kind of people. I do not think your own presence necessary, unless she *takes to you very much*, except for the purpose of seeing with your own eyes that she is very kindly treated.

Nevertheless, the shadow of these periods of insanity, which recurred continually and at lessening intervals, could not fail to darken the lives of herself and her brother. They kept this

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trouble as much as possible from the eyes of their friends, but little postscripts or brief sentences in the correspondence of Charles touch us by their simple significance. When he says, "Mary sends her love *from home*," we know to what melancholy place she has been away.

It was inevitable, from the nature of her malady, that she should become helpless and irresponsible at the most trying and difficult moments of their lives, and that she should then, after a period of added anxiety to them both, be compelled to leave him alone. Charles writes to Coleridge in 1800: "Mary, in consequence of fatigue and anxiety, is fallen ill again, and I was obliged to remove her yesterday. I am left alone with nothing but Hetty's dead body to keep me company. To-morrow I bury her, and then I shall be alone, with nothing but a cat to remind me that the house has been full of living beings like myself."

This was the sort of experience to which he was especially liable, because he was a man to whom it never occurred to get rid of servants or companions when they fell into sickness or old age. Rather did he cling more closely to them at such a time, considering them more certainly part of his family and household insomuch as they were no longer of any service there.

He was more than kind to his afflicted sister; he was devotedly fond of her. "My poor dear, dearest sister," he wrote of her again and again. In a letter to Coleridge, written during one of her absences, he speaks of the best sort of person for her to live with, and refers to himself as "a young man of this description, who has suited her these twenty years, and may live to do so still, if we are one day restored to each other."

When he spoke of "quietness and a patient bearing of the yoke," he used no empty words; his patient endurance had no limit, and lasted as long as his life.

Besides being a devoted son and brother, he was also a faithful friend and a conscientious fulfiller of all social duties. Generous to others, he was frugal himself, and careful always, by means of personal self-denial, to incur no liabilities which he could not meet. He never made ill-health, poverty, and the pressure of many burdens upon him, the excuse for running into debt. He indulged in no leisure which he could not rightly afford, he permitted himself no pleasure which he could not pay for without interfering with his self-imposed duties to others. When Mary was first taken to an asylum, and there was a question of her going to an inferior place, for economical reasons, and at the desire of the older brother (who was afraid of being called upon for funds), Charles wrote to Coleridge: "If my father, an old servant-maid, and I, can't live, and live comfortably, on £130 or

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£120 a year, we ought to burn by slow fires, and I almost would that Mary might not go into an hospital."

Charles had at this time been relieved (by a wealthier relative, who was aroused to help by the tragic condition of his family) from the care of his infirm aunt; but she was very soon returned upon his hands, as too troublesome and unattractive a burden for any one else to put up with. The old servant was, as he himself explains, necessary to look after his doting father in his absence, otherwise he might have done without her. But then Charles Lamb did not, like some authors of lesser mental calibre and larger self-conceit, see the necessity of living "like a gentleman." His ambitions were nobler than this, and his fine simplicity saved him from that modern vulgarism which contributes to so much social dishonesty, and adds an unnecessary burden to so many lives.

For this indifference to appearance as for all his other self-denials, he took to himself no credit, and he asked for no compassion. He practised, while others preached, the religion of silence. He never wailed to the world nor tormented his friends with the knowledge that he had a grievous burden to bear. His mental attitude was that of a man who has put his own trouble out of sight, and has room, in his large heart, for the trouble of others.

The silence with which he bore his great and peculiar trials may well be permitted to rest on the one weakness of his unselfish life. It was but a consequence of—and the effort to find a remedy for—that constitutional irritation or nerve suffering which was in his case part of the family curse. Its indulgence was never allowed to interfere with any duty to others, or followed to the degradation of his own character. Neither the righteous Southey nor the austere Wordsworth had ever a word of severity to utter on this particular habit. It was only those men who knew little of his character and less of his life, who, mistaking its origin and ignorant of its limits, could magnify this one pardonable weakness into a serious fault.

Pitiable Charles Lamb might seem to an observer whose truth of vision had been marred by his own narrowing sympathies and absorbed self-consciousness; to all of us who know and love him —and who ever did the first thoroughly without doing the second completely?—he must ever stand as one of the most admirable and heroic figures in literary history.

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Art. III.—The Colonial and Indian Exhibition.

1. *Official Catalogue.* William Clowes & Sons. 1886.
2. *Her Majesty's Colonies.* A Series of Original Papers issued under the Authority of the Royal Commission. William Clowes & Sons. 1886.

THE opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition at South Kensington by the Queen in person, cannot fail to recall to memory that great and never-to-be-forgotten ceremonial in 1851, when, in the heyday of her popularity, with her husband by her side, and her young children around her, she inaugurated the first Universal Exhibition, conceived and perfected by the lamented Prince Consort.

Thirty-five years have passed since then; the prime mover and originator has long since vanished from the scene of his labours and his triumphs, and the great monument erected by the Queen and her people, stands to commemorate his success in calling together from the four corners of the world, all that was beautiful in art, and of use and value in commerce, to adorn the palace of his creation, causing the nations to vie with each other in a peaceful rivalry, which it was fondly hoped was to usher in the millennium. How far that hope was from being realized is testified by the many wars of the past thirty-five years; but the series of Exhibitions then inaugurated, have been pregnant of great results commercially, and this, the latest of the series, teaches a deeper lesson than any of its predecessors, if we can but read it aright.

As we saw the Queen, escorted by her eldest and youngest surviving sons, and followed by her daughters and grandchildren, passing through the long line of thousands upon thousands of her subjects, gathered together from every clime, and including natives of every shade of colour, and of every grade of civilization, we could not help being struck by the fitness and significance of the spectacle, and how well it represented the changes of the past thirty-five years.

Here was the monarch of a vast empire, presiding over the first gathering together of her colonial subjects, come, by invitation of her son, the heir of that vast empire, to show to each other and to those *at home*, what they had done, and could do, to add to the wealth and power of that Empire to which they all owe allegiance. And the colonists thus brought together from

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the ends of the world, some of them representing communities which had no existence when the first Exhibition was opened, but which have already attained to the full prime of lusty manhood; others full of that pride which comes of a civilization dating far back in the "night of ages," yet all alike testifying by their eagerness to obtain places, and by their patient waiting of many hours for a momentary glimpse of their Sovereign, their readiness to regard her as the natural symbol of that union which is strength—the visible head uniting these heterogeneous elements into one harmonious whole—testifying, too, their willingness to join in the sentiment of "Home, sweet home," and their determination to uphold the unity of the Empire of which they form a part. *Cor unum via una.*

One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne.

It was a noble sight and full of suggestiveness; we must not, however, linger over ceremonial, but hasten to glance through the various courts of this grand Imperial display, and point out, as far as we may, the abundant signs of life and progress displayed by our brethren from over the seas.

It must be confessed that the Exhibition buildings at South Kensington are sadly wanting, both in grandeur and architectural beauty; there is none of that fairy-like lightness which distinguished Paxton's palace of 1851. The buildings are mere sheds, put up for convenience only, and separated from each other in places by ugly nooks and untidy corners; but all that art can do to remedy these radical defects has been done, and in most cases the effect is pleasing, whilst the wealth and variety of the exhibits prevent the eye from examining the surroundings too critically.

The place of honour is of course given to India; that vast conglomeration of States, forming together a priceless possession which has accumulated since 1600, the date of the formation of the first East India Company—started with 125 shareholders and a capital of £70,000, to trade direct with India—the first territory acquired, consisting of a strip of land six miles long, and one mile inland, on the Madras coast, purchased from one of the Rajahs in 1639. Who could then have dared to prophesy the outcome of this small acquisition? The story of the growth of this, our stupendous Indian Empire, is well and succinctly told in the "Historical Retrospect" of the Official Catalogue, the concluding paragraph of which may be quoted, as showing the rapidity of that growth.

In 1786, when Lord Cornwallis landed at Calcutta, as Governor-General, the British Empire in India comprised only Bengal and Behar, in Eastern Hindustan, a very little area round Bombay, in the

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Western Dekkan; and a somewhat larger area round Madras, in the Eastern Peninsula. In 1886 the British power is paramount over an area of more than a million and a half of square miles, containing upwards of two hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants.

This enormous population consists of numerous races and tribes, including every imaginable shade of colour—from the purest white to more than negro blackness—and every type of countenance, a fact which is hardly realized by the majority of Englishmen, but which is most clearly placed before us in this Exhibition, by a series of life-sized models in native costume, commencing with the diminutive unclad Andamanese, negroid in colour, and the Nicobarese, taller and lighter, but almost equally savage, and passing on through tribes decidedly Mongoloid in type, from the North-west Provinces, to the tribes of the Punjab, among whom we find a pale yellow type, and also the very tall, dark Sikh, with naked legs, and hat adorned with a perfect armoury of weapons of all kinds, commencing with those metal rings or quoits which Siva the destroyer is always represented as twirling upon one of his fingers. Then there are the Nagas from the hills, tattooed, and wearing large shell and cornelian bead necklaces of native manufacture, and other hill tribes. Some of these types we see again in the vestibule, arrayed as soldiers of native regiments, and fine fellows they are too, although here also we are struck with the great diversity in size and colour, and if we go a few steps farther, we find a glass case containing a collection of heads from Jeypore, seeming to represent every imaginable type; and everywhere we are confronted by the same diversity of race, and that which of necessity follows, radical differences of character, custom, and religion. It is this which makes the government of India a herculean task, requiring the greatest firmness and most consummate skill and discretion, lest perpetual strife should reign among these jarring elements. With an empire so vast and so varied in natural productions, as well as in race and in climate, it is easy to imagine that the exhibits would also be rich and varied, but we may fairly say that they exceed all our preconceived ideas.

Every one associates with India, rich shawls, jewellery, carpets, and carvings in wood and ivory, and these have from time immemorial, been so perfect, that it would be hard to expect *progress* in these arts, and indeed one great idea of the present Exhibition was, that these wonderful works of native art should become better known in this country, so as to help to educate our artificers, rather than to receive education from them, hence the vestibule has been draped with chintzes from Kashmir, and a series of art courts has been formed, each adorned with a carved

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screen of native work, and containing the different works of art of the several provinces. These screens are perfect marvels of carving of different kinds, some of which have been manufactured on the spot, and erected by Indians sent over for the purpose, a special grant having been made by the Commissioners for carrying out this design. The entrance gateway to these art courts was contributed by the Maharajah of Jeypore, and is a magnificent work of art, surmounted by that which is called a drum-house, in which, in palaces and temples, musicians in India are accustomed to play, in honour of the sovereign or the god. On this gateway is carved the motto of Jeypore, in Sanscrit, Latin, and English, "Yato dharm stato jaya;" "Ubi virtus ibi victoria." "Where virtue is, is victory," and at the back "Ex Oriente lux," a motto exemplified by the Shamsa, or picture of the sun, on one side, from which the Rajahs of Jeypore trace their descent, and on the other side the moon, claimed as an ancestor by others of the Rajput race, and overlooking the court is a curious object difficult to distinguish, but which is the *Mahi maratib*, or golden head of a fish, and two gilt balls, being the symbol of the highest nobility given by the Moghal emperors.

Glancing up and down these art courts, the eye is dazzled and bewildered by the variety and beauty of the wares displayed. The richest and most delicate jewellery in silver and gold, tea and coffee services in the same precious metals elaborately chased, pottery painted and gilt, lacquer work, damascened arms, enamels, and that curious green glass or enamel inlaid with gold so peculiarly Indian, as also that well-known inlaid work in ivory and metal, with innumerable other works of art of every description, all set off by a background of the richest textile fabrics, carpets, curtains, silks, shawls, muslins, chintzes, and cotton goods of all descriptions, in the greatest profusion, the gold and silver laces of Lucknow deserving especial notice. The variety and beauty of the various screens which serve as a framework for the display of the exhibits of the several provinces, baffle description, and each province has its especial art, some being in sandal wood, some in red stone, some in marble; some painted and gilt, some of delicate trellis work, and in the centre of the south gallery rises a magnificent pigeon-house from Baroda, of carved woodwork, far too beautiful for use. The Kashmir screen is especially noteworthy, as having been copied from the verandah of an old ruined mosque; it was made in four months by eight carpenters, working at a wage of 5½*d.* to 8*d.* a day, their only tools being the small native chisel and a heavy adze. In some of these screens Saracenic influence is plainly visible, but others are strictly Hindu. The British occupation does not seem to have seriously affected the art work of the

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natives, although in two or three manufactures, deterioration due to European influence, is noticed; as, for instance, in the carpets, which in some cases are more gaudy in colour and less beautiful in design than formerly; this is attributed to European designs and aniline dyes having been introduced, chiefly through work done in the gaols, but Government is now endeavouring to restore the native art to its pristine beauty. The celebrated Dacca muslins, known as "woven air," seem also to have suffered; the piece of fifteen yards, which formerly only weighed 900 grains, now weighing 1600 grains, consequent upon the use of English twist, the value being only £10 as against £40 for the older fabric; but, as a rule, the art work of India maintains its ancient reputation, and the native artificers, who, in the court of the Indian palace, pursue their various callings in native fashion, are eagerly watched by crowds daily; but they can never be rivalled by English workers, for their work requires not only delicacy of manipulation, but patient labour, only possible in a land where workers are numerous and wages extremely low. The Indian palace, constructed opposite the entrance to Old London, is remarkable for the great stone gateway presented to the South Kensington Museum by the late Maharaja Sindhia, which, in its rich decoration, contrasts well with the sombre gateway opposite; to this has been added a courtyard such as is common in India, with the various workshops of the native artificers. The edifice is in the Hindu-Persian style, and consists of a vestibule with a fountain in the centre and a mosaic floor, the walls draped with a variety of beautiful cotton prints, and from this a staircase leads to the Durbar Hall overlooking the court-yard; this hall is a marvel of wood carving, and was made in the Exhibition by two natives of Bhera in the Punjab, brought over for the purpose.

It is, however, to the Imperial or Economic Court that we must turn, if we wish to see the progress made in India under British rule. Here are displayed the chief articles of commerce, the vast extent of which will certainly surprise those who have not heretofore studied the subject, and here we may be allowed to quote the official catalogue:—

> The magnitude of the foreign trade of India enables it to rank as the fifth great commercial Power in the world. The total value of the external sea-borne trade of India may be said roughly to be 155 millions of pounds sterling, of which seventy millions represent exports, and eighty-five millions imports. Of this, the commerce between India and the United Kingdom claims eighty-six millions sterling, of which thirty-six millions represent exports and fifty millions imports. To form a complete estimate of the foreign commerce of India, we may

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add to this the land trade across the frontiers, which amounts to about twelve millions sterling.

These exports consist of various grains, such as rice, wheat, barley, oats, maize, and millet, the produce of 119,400,000 acres of cultivated land, of which 60,000,000 are devoted to rice and 20,306,464 acres to wheat. The development of the export trade in the latter during the last fifteen years is, says the catalogue, "one of the most remarkable facts recorded in the Reports of the material progress of India." Sugar, both from the sugar-cane and the date-palm, is largely manufactured and exported; vegetables also are grown and exported to the amount of £21,963, the potato and egg-apple having been introduced from America. Of drugs and medicines more than a hundred indigenous plants are shown as valuable, but the natives place 1300 in their herbals; the best known in this country is the cinchona, but this is not an indigenous plant, although it has become acclimatized, having been introduced from Peru in 1860. It is largely cultivated at Darjeeling by the Government, and its value as an export in 1884–5 was estimated at £100,000. Of vegetable fibres, cotton, jute, rhea, coir, and other plants, are represented in a great trophy in this court, but they form only a small part of the fibre-bearing plants of India, which are reckoned at 300. The export trade in cotton, raw and manufactured, was estimated last year at over £41,000,000 sterling, chiefly from the Bombay Presidency; whilst in jute, the trade has risen from £62 in 1828, to £6,241,568 last year, chiefly from Bengal. Rhea is looked upon as likely to do great things in the future, but it is at present difficult and expensive to prepare. Paper is now manufactured in considerable quantities from the bark of two sorts of daphne; there are paper mills in Calcutta and Lucknow, and it is also made in the gaols. The paper manufactory of Nepal is, however, considered to have been derived from China at a very remote period. Oil seeds and prepared oils form a very large item in the Indian exports, linseed yielding over £4,000,000; rapeseed, £2,000,000; castor, £2,000,000; sesame, £1,928,112; poppy, £409,159; and earth nuts, £361,400. There are also many dyes, of which indigo is the principal, a very interesting model of an indigo factory (of which there are thousands chiefly under European management) being exhibited; and a great number of gums and saps, including camphor, catechu, caoutchouc, gutta percha, assafœtida, and, lastly, *lac*, the product of an insect.

In narcotics, opium holds the first place, Government deriving from it a revenue of £9,000,000; the cultivation and mode of preparation of this is well illustrated. Bhang, or Indian hemp,

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is also exhibited; and tobacco is exported to the value of £150,000, but this is exhibited in another court, with that which has risen to great importance of late, and seems destined to become one of the chief exports of the empire—namely, tea. The first samples of this much-esteemed product, consisting of twelve chests, were shipped from Assam in 1838, and now it is estimated that 266,286 acres are under cultivation as tea plantations, 188,000 in Assam and Cachar, 60,000 in Bengal, 8000 each in the North-west Provinces and the Punjab, and 5551 in Madras, the yield having risen from 25,500,000 lbs. in 1876, to 60,000,000 lbs. in 1884, representing over £4,000,000 sterling. Coffee has decreased in value, consequent upon the leaf disease, but it still represents £1,250,000; and cocoa has been introduced from South America and is thriving; whilst that which seems a new industry will be found in the exhibits of beer from Madras and the Punjab, and wines and spirits from Kashmir, exhibited by the Maharaja, one of which was awarded a gold medal at the Calcutta Exhibition.

The geological survey of India exhibits maps illustrative of the mineral wealth of the empire, and by them we are surprised to find, in addition to gold, silver, and other metals, very extensive coal fields, and we are told that eighty coal mines are worked in India, seventy-eight of which are in Bengal, one in Central India, and one in Assam, yielding together 1,315,776 tons in 1883, and employing 23,172 labourers.

The timbers and woods from the Indian forests form a very important branch of commerce, and are represented in the Exhibition by a trophy containing 3000 specimens, whilst the bamboo trophy illustrates the uses of this most useful *grass*, of which thirty species are represented.

By this long but far from exhaustive list of the products of India, it will be seen that the British Government, whilst fostering and encouraging the arts handed down from a remote civilization, has not failed to develop the resources of the empire in accordance with modern social requirements. This is not the display of an effete nation sunk in Oriental lethargy, with no thought save of luxury and repose, neither is it the tribute of a conquered nation laying its best gifts at the feet of the conqueror, but it is the work of a Power acting the part of a regenerator, guiding the myriad hands in paths of reproductive industry, making the most of natural gifts, and supplementing them by all the appliances of modern science, developing the resources ungrudgingly yielded by a tropical climate, and adding to them, those dependent upon human labour and skill; constructing iron roads and water-ways, whereby all these products may be brought together, and finding for

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them, by means of its many ocean transports, markets in far distant lands, for ever unattainable by native effort. These are some of the benefits which India has derived from British rule; but the Exhibition tells us more than this, it shows that the dominant Power is not unmindful of the educational, moral, and social needs of its subjects, and we are shown in the Administrative Court the governmental machinery, by which the State is kept in working order; there are exhibited the coinage and the stamps, the railways and irrigation works, the military, naval, and police organization, the mode of distributing the 184 millions of letters delivered yearly, in a country still insufficiently traversed by public roads, and teeming with snakes and beasts of prey. The educational work of the Empire is illustrated by the model of a Bombay school, and by the various means and appliances adopted for the education of the 2,790,061 children inspected in 1883 in the 111,237 Government schools. As we study these things, and endeavour to take in the statistics brought before us, we see more plainly than ever, not only the vast importance of the numerous States and dependencies which go to make the great Indian Empire, but also the enormous responsibility resting upon its rulers. Even the seasons must be watched and anticipated, or famine following upon drought will claim its million victims, ere the relief ungrudgingly sent can be distributed to the sufferers. That our rule hitherto, if not faultless, has yet been fairly successful, we believe this Exhibition will testify; but there is no room for *experimental* government. Tried and approved methods must be continued with a firm hand, till the discordant elements are fairly amalgamated, and the prejudices of religious differences and social caste yield to the enlightenment of education; and the length of time requisite for this may be estimated by what we have pointed out regarding the multitudinous races which go to make up this mighty empire.

The exhibits from that which was formerly British Burmah, but which is now a portion of the Burmese Empire lately added to the British possessions in the East, are displayed amongst those of India, and include very elaborate carvings, jewellery, lacquered ware, and cloths of native manufacture; and doubtless the commercial activity of India will soon extend itself over the newly acquired territory.

The great Island of Ceylon, which, with its dependencies, the Maldive Islands, form a Crown Colony, exhibits its wares in a court divided from India by a porch, or gateway, copied from the Buddhist temple of the Sacred Tooth in Kandy, and carved in Ceylon by native workmen, and facing this, at the end of the court, is a large figure of Buddha, thus demonstrating to all, the

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religion professed by the Sinhalese. Ceylon has long been noted for its pearl fishery, which is still an important industry, and pearls, with other gems, form a portion of the exhibits, which include gold and silver wares, carvings in ebony, satin-wood, and other native woods; but agriculture is the chief industry, and Government not only encourages the production of rice and cocoa-nut, which form the chief food of the natives, but has also introduced the cultivation of tea and coffee, the former of which is increasing so rapidly that 100,000 acres are now under cultivation as tea gardens, and the exports have reached 3,700,000 lbs., and are confidently expected to rise to 26,000,000 within six years. Coffee has been cultivated for centuries, although not to any great extent until 1874–5, when the export reached nearly 1,000,000 cwt., valued at nearly £5,000,000; but since that time disease has so injured the coffee plantations that many of them have been turned into tea gardens. Cinnamon and other spices form also a large portion of the exports of the island; and plumbago is one of the chief mineral products, having been exported to the amount of 240,000 cwt. in 1882.

It is gratifying to find that the great tanks, erected centuries before the Christian era, are being repaired and maintained by large Government grants annually, for these cannot fail to add to the prosperity of this most interesting island, by securing to the rural population a constant supply of that prime necessary—water.

It is impossible here to dwell upon those exhibits which, both in the Indian and Ceylon sections, will most interest the general public, such as the great Indian jungle, illustrative of the fauna and flora of the country, the models of natives in every variety of costume, the shops, with their Indian buyers and sellers, the photographs of native princes and of the splendid ruins and temples of India and Ceylon, the paintings of scenery, and the utensils, weapons, ornaments, and religious emblems of the wild tribes in the interior. The complex Hindoo mythology is illustrated by images of the various gods of the Pantheon, and the gods of the Nicobarese, and the masks of the devil dancers of Ceylon, form conspicuous objects; but these do not illustrate *progress*, we therefore leave them to be studied by the anthropologist and archæologist, and pass on to the great colonies which are so well represented, and which, from their comparative youth, show more clearly the effects of modern enterprise.

The Dominion of Canada, stretching right across the American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and embracing an area of 3,500,000 square miles, with a population of about 5,000,000, was ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763; but it was only in 1867 that the several provinces—Ontario, Quebec,

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Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick—were united into one Dominion. In 1870 Manitoba and the North-west, which had until then been held by the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1871 British Columbia, were added to the Dominion. This then may be looked upon as a new colony, and as such its progress will appear marvellous. In 1884 the revenue amounted to upwards of £6,000,000, whilst the imports were valued at £24,000,000, and the exports at nearly £19,000,000. These exports consist largely of timber, which in 1884 produced nearly £6,000,000; of cereals and dairy produce, the latter now well known everywhere; and of furs, which were at one time regarded as the chief or only product of the North-west; but the land of that wide region is now found to be excellent for agriculture, and every year sees the settler pushing his way farther and farther to the North-west, opening up fresh tracts, and carrying with him the plough and the railway almost simultaneously; for Canada, almost more than any of the colonies, has devoted herself to the construction of railroads, and the great line recently completed, which runs right through the Dominion, uniting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, is not only a magnificent example of colonial energy, but is also a work of Imperial importance, since it provides an alternative route to our Eastern Empire, besides opening up great tracts of agricultural land still awaiting cultivation, and fields of coal, gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron of great importance, but hitherto only partially developed. The fisheries of Canada are of immense value, but Newfoundland, so long famed for its cod fisheries, has not yet joined the Dominion, and forms a separate colony.

The show made by Canada, in the present Exhibition, is very extensive, but not so varied in character as that of some of the other colonies; it consists chiefly, as may be supposed, of agricultural products and machinery, and is too *shoppy* in appearance to be attractive, but as the outcome of nineteen years of commercial progress it is magnificent. The agricultural implements strike us as far superior to our own, the cereals appear to be of splendid quality, and the vegetables and fruits are such as would certainly take prizes in the old country; they also exhibit honey and fish, dried and tinned, particularly lobsters, in profusion. Timber, and furniture manufactured from the principal woods, also make a grand show, but these are not the only things demanding notice, there are exhibits from the various schools, universities and scientific institutes of the colony, maps and drawings, displays of minerals, ethnological collections (very meagre), and a grand trophy of furs and the wild animals from which the hunters and trappers of the North-west have so long supplied the European markets, and which

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still form the largest item in the exports of the Dominion, amounting to upwards of £5,000,000; the forests ranking next at about £4,000,000, and agricultural products about £3,000,000. Full statistics would here be impossible, but sufficient has been said to show that the Canadian Dominion is one rapidly increasing in prosperity, developing her boundless resources, agricultural and mineral, the latter including gold, coal, copper, iron, antimony, lead, silver and other minerals of less value; and with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its extensions, it is confidently expected that new openings for commerce will be found, and a traffic commenced with India, China and the Pacific coasts of South America.

The population of Canada has increased rapidly. In 1871 the total was 3,687,024; in 1881 it had risen to 4,324,810; of these the larger number are of British blood, but there are 1,298,927 of French origin, many Germans, and about 100,000 Indians, the feeble remnant of the aborigines; of these the portion settled in the older provinces have become civilized and contented, and the present Exhibition contains many specimens of their handicraft, but in Manitoba, the North-west, and British Columbia, many tribes still remain in a state of savagery; they are, however, gathered into reserves, and their property is protected by the Government. On the whole, they are loyal and contented, but the half-breeds are sometimes turbulent and rebellious, as was shown last year in the outbreak under Riel, which was so promptly and easily quelled.

We must here say a few words on Newfoundland, the first of our possessions in this part of the world, although long since outrivalled by newer and more fertile lands. Newfoundland was discovered by Cabot on Midsummer Day, 1497, and it soon became known to the world as a great fishing station, and was taken formal possession of by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the name of Queen Elizabeth. The cod fishery is still the chief industry, but it also exports cod-liver oil, seal skins and oil, and copper ore, the whole amounting to nearly £2,000,000, but varying according to the season. Of late years the copper mines have been worked very successfully, and bid fair to add largely to the exports of the colony. The population is estimated at 180,000, but the aborigines, the Beothucs, have died out, the last seen alive was in 1829.

The colony of Newfoundland includes Labrador, very valuable as a fishing station for seal, cod and salmon, and the island of Anticoste, at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence; this island has only a few inhabitants, but the fisheries in the surrounding seas are very extensive. Newfoundland, although not so progressive as Canada, is yet very valuable on account of its

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command of the fisheries, and it is a pity that it is not represented in the present Exhibition.

Geographically, thousands of miles separate Canada from the great group of colonies in Australasia, but in the Exhibition they are near neighbours, and although unlike in natural features, there is a strong family likeness, distinguishing all as the children of one mother, alike in energy, though differing in age, size and strength. The Australasian colonies include New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, to which may be added Fiji and New Guinea, a wonderful group occupying the whole of the great sub-continent of Australia, with the adjoining islands of Tasmania on the south, Melville and other small islands on the north, New Guinea, Fiji and New Zealand in the adjoining seas. Here then we possess an empire of no mean size, containing within itself all the necessary elements of wealth, power and stability, but united to the mother country even more than any of the other colonies of Great Britain by the ties of blood; for whereas in India the foreign element far outweighs the European, and in Canada the French, Germans, and Indians almost balance the British in numbers, in the Australasian colonies, except in New Guinea and Fiji, the population is almost wholly of British descent, and the rapid progress made by these Antipodean lands speaks volumes in praise of the energetic character of the Anglo-Saxon race, and its power of seizing every coign of vantage, and developing it into something great and profitable, spite of difficulties and dangers.

The first of our colonies in these distant southern seas was New South Wales. To the Dutch or Portuguese belongs the honour of the discovery of Australia, in the seventeenth century, but it was the famous navigator, Captain Cook, who took possession of Botany Bay in 1770, a name which for many years became a by-word, owing to the use of that region as a penal settlement; that reproach has, however, been long removed, and for the last thirty-five years the progress of the colony has been marked, although not unvarying. A constitution was granted to New South Wales in 1843, Port Philip was separated from it in 1851, and formed into a distinct colony under the name of Victoria, and in 1859 another portion separated itself and is now known as Queensland. These secessions, as they may be termed, have not, however, weakened the parent colony, but have rather added to her power, by enabling her to concentrate her strength in developing her own vast resources; in this she has been greatly assisted by the foresight of some of her governors, and foremost among the benefactors of the colony must be named Captain John MacArthur, who introduced the merino sheep and

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the vine, two of the principal sources of her present wealth; the export of wool in 1884 being 319,477 bales, valued at nine and a half millions sterling, whilst Australian wine is fast growing in public favour, the area of land occupied by vines in 1883 being 4374 acres, producing 589,604 gallons of wine and 4162 gallons of brandy. Sugar is also cultivated extensively, and fruits are grown with great success, many of them, especially apples, pears, and grapes, having found their way to South Kensington in good condition, and, as we can testify, of excellent flavour, although at present not sufficiently low in price to compete with nearer markets. The fauna and flora of the colony are also well represented in the Exhibition, the various beautiful native woods being exhibited both in the natural and manufactured form, whilst the fine arts are represented by splendid photographs, by paintings and engravings, some on shell; by one very fine group of statuary in marble—Jephthah and his daughter—by pottery, and by art needlework done by pupils of the several schools.

But, after all, the mineral wealth of Australia is the main source of its prosperity; this perhaps is less apparent in the New South Wales court than in that of Victoria, although the yield of gold from 1851, the date of its first discovery, to 1883 is estimated at over £35,000,000; and there are also large exhibits of silver, copper, zinc, and tin, besides a large quantity of coal.

The pastoral and agricultural products of the colony are represented by wool and different kinds of grain, and there are also exhibits of preserved fish and oysters. There are besides exhibited in the New South Wales court many curiosities from New Guinea, and photographs of the country taken during the expedition of General Scratchley last year, when a protectorate was proclaimed over a large portion of that very interesting, but little known, island.

Perhaps, of all the Australian colonies, Victoria is the one of which the remarkable progress is the most distinctly seen in the present Exhibition. The growth of this colony since 1851, during the thirty-five years of its separate existence, is simply marvellous. At one end of the court is displayed a group of natives in the condition in which they were when first discovered, with their bark huts, or rather shelters, their boomerangs, spears and shields, surrounded by the fauna and flora of the country, and we are told that this represents the spot, forty years ago, upon which Melbourne with its 325,000 inhabitants now stands. If we look at the great town as represented on one of the panels in the entrance hall, and compare it with this wild scene, it seems like the transformation scene in a pantomime rather than a fact of the world's history, and if we examine the products of this wonderful colony, we are more and more

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astonished at the development displayed in every branch of industry. This enormous and unprecedented progress is doubtless due mainly to the extensive gold fields of Victoria. "In 1850," says the Official Catalogue, "only fifteen years after its settlement, Port Philip had a revenue of £230,000, its exports amounted to nearly £1,000,000 sterling, and its population had increased by rapid strides to 76,000." This was a year before the discovery of gold, which "uplifted the colony in a night to the position of a nation and a power in the world, and advanced her destinies hundreds of years at one bound." As may be supposed, gold holds a prominent place in the exhibits of the colony. A huge gateway of gilded blocks represents the yield of gold, estimated at £216,000,000 sterling, and near to this is exhibited models of the most remarkable nuggets discovered; also maps of the gold fields, geological specimens of the various minerals found in the colony, and a beautiful model of a quartz-crushing machine.* The wealth extracted from the soil does not, however, end with gold and other minerals; its forests of timber yield abundantly, and its soil produces an unlimited supply of grain; wine also is made of excellent quality, and sheep and cattle yield meat (tinned for export), as well as wool and leather. The exports are now valued at upwards of £16,000,000, and its imports at £20,000,000; exports of pastoral produce yielding £10,000,000, those of agriculture £6,000,000, whilst the yearly value of manufactured goods is estimated at £13,500,000. The wealth thus accumulated, aided by loans from the mother country, has been largely expended in public works, and the country is traversed by 1700 miles of railway, whilst schools and universities have been established and subsidized by Government. Victorians may well be proud of their colony, which is nearly as large as Great Britain and Ireland combined, nor do they devote all their energies to the useful labour of developing their fields of gold and of corn, for in art their progress is as marked as in agriculture, and some of the paintings, both landscapes and flowers, in this court, are extremely beautiful, whilst there is a piece of tapestry done by the pupils of a ladies' school, which could not be equalled in our modern art needlework exhibits; and the pottery is making rapid strides towards our best works.

South Australia is a much older and more extensive colony than Victoria, comprising not only the southern part of the great island, but all the central portion, right through to the Indian Ocean. It was first observed and partially explored by Captain Sturt in 1831, and was formed into a colony by Act of Parlia-

* A full sized machine is at work in the grounds crushing quartz and producing gold from tons of ore sent for exhibition.

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ment in 1834, the Act providing that no criminals should ever be transported to any part of the colony.

The mineral wealth of South Australia consists rather of copper than of gold, although the latter has been found within its limits. In the Exhibition a great gateway of copper ingots has been raised, not particularly elegant, but a substantial proof of the amount of metal smelted by the company which erects it; there are also exhibits of gold, silver, copper, and iron ores, and in agricultural products, cereals, fruits, jams, pickles, and a very large display of wines of different kinds, also vinegar, cordials, and aërated waters. There is also a curious exhibit of stuffed sheep, to show the breed (which is merino), and a great number of fleeces, one of the exhibitors announcing that he sheared last season 75,000, whilst other flocks are noted, consisting of 65,000, 31,000, and other large numbers. Ostriches and ostrich feathers are also exhibited, whilst in the fine arts, there are paintings, sculptures, photographs, and some beautiful ornaments of emu eggs mounted in silver. All this is very creditable to a colony which, notwithstanding its vast territorial extent, is very sparsely populated, the inhabitants at the last census numbering only 279,865, exclusive of aborigines, who are estimated at 6346. An Australian Gully, illustrating the fauna and flora, and the mode of life of the aborigines, is a very attractive feature in the South Australian court. The exports of South Australia in 1875 amounted to £4,805,050, and in 1884 to £6,623,704, and the imports at the latter date were £5,749,353, the United Kingdom supplying £2,983,296. The wheat crop in 1884 was upwards of 14,000,000 bushels, the wool was valued at nearly £3,000,000 sterling, and the wine produced was 473,535 gallons; there were 1035 miles of railway open for traffic, 227 public schools, 287 private schools, and 112 country institutes with libraries attached. Such is progress in Australia, and the same tale is repeated in Queensland, which has only been in existence as a colony since 1859. With a tropical climate and a population of only 325,000, she has yet succeeded in distancing some of the older colonies; her wool amounts to 50,000,000 lbs. annually, her cattle number 4,250,000, and her sheep 9,300,000, whilst her imports and exports, which in 1860 was £1,267,500, in 1884 reached a total of £11,055,840. There are 1407 miles of railway, and 11,636 miles of telegraph wires in the colony, and there are 425 State schools. Maize, rice, wheat, sugar, arrowroot, tobacco, coffee, cotton, and various fruits are among the products, and many of these are exhibited, as also a trophy denoting that gold, to the amount of £17,623,284, has been found; beautiful pearls, including one black, and enormous shells to show the product of mother-of-pearl; there are also some

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beautiful specimens of opal, splendid cedar woods, marbles, and tin; whilst in manufactures, leather, ropes, vegetable oils, chiefly prepared from the various eucalypti, dyes, sugar, wine, and a great many others are exhibited; but as yet the exports consist largely of raw material, and the sugar industry has been checked by want of labour, the importation of Polynesians and of Indian coolies having been forbidden, whilst European labour is too dear and too scarce to be employed with profit; but immigration is encouraged, and in time doubtless this difficulty will be overcome. Western Australia, formerly known as the Swan River Settlement, occupies the whole of the west of Australia from north to south, an immense territory 1,000,000 square miles in extent, but very thinly peopled, the whole white population numbering only 32,000. Yet this handful of Europeans has contrived to increase its revenue from £157,775 in 1875 to £291,317 in 1885, its exports having risen during the same period from £391,217 to £405,693, the chief items being lead ore, pearls, and mother-of-pearl, horses, sandal-wood, guano, wool, and timber; of the latter some magnificent specimens of the *Jarrah* (Eucalyptus marginata) are exhibited, as also of the *Karri* (Eucalyptus diversicolor), almost equally beautiful; there is also a display of furniture made from native woods of various kinds, the timber of this colony appearing of extraordinary size and value. There are exhibits of wool, a great trophy of mother-of-pearl shells, and the very remarkable pearl called the Southern Cross, valued at £10,000; cereals (wheat, barley, oats), preserved and tinned fish and fish oils, raisins and other dried fruits, preserves, wine and beer, and in art-work some very creditable paintings and photographs; there are also some flags made in the colony of native silk, and honey from bees which were first imported, but have become wild and very abundant. The mineral wealth of the colony has not been thoroughly explored, but specimens of gold, copper, lead, and iron are sent, and even as we write the rumour comes of the discovery of rich gold fields, which, if authenticated, will cause this young colony to forge ahead like the other Australian colonies, and perhaps even more rapidly, since railways are in course of construction, which will facilitate migration.

Tasmania—one of the oldest of the Australian colonies, and not a whit less prosperous than its neighbours, with great mineral and agricultural wealth, and a peculiarly favourable climate—from some unexplained cause is not represented in the present Exhibition. We will therefore pass on to the very important colony of New Zealand.

New Zealand consists of two large islands and a smaller one, called Stewart's Island. It is almost the antipodes of Great Britain, which it more nearly resembles in size and in climate than any of the other colonies; but it is far more

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mountainous and picturesque than the mother country, and contains within it greater mineral wealth, gold to the extent of £1,730,992 having been exported in 1872, and although since then the output of the precious metal has decreased, it is probable that it will improve when machinery is brought to bear upon the gold-bearing quartz; and at all events the export of gold since 1857 has amounted to £41,000,000. It has, besides, very extensive coal fields, and also copper, iron, and petroleum; but farm products form the chief source of wealth of the colony, the export of wool in 1884 having reached £3,267,327; the frozen meat trade, only recently developed, produced in 1884, £345,129; and Kauri gum, a specialty of New Zealand, is quoted at £342,151; whilst wheat produced £436,729; oats, £267,286; and timber, £152,932.

New Zealand has been a British colony since 1840, in which year Auckland and Wellington, now large and flourishing towns on the North Island, were founded. The population is estimated at 576,234 whites, and about 40,000 Maories; there are also about 5,000 Chinese. Woollen manufactories have been established, as also dairy factories and boot factories; agricultural implements, carriages, and machinery of various kinds are made, and eighty-three steamers have been built and their machinery supplied by New Zealand workmen. Tobacco, beer, paper, and a variety of other useful articles, are also made in the colony.

Specimens of all these things, and many more, appear among the exhibits, but that which especially calls for notice is the great advance made in art. The pictures exhibited in the Albert Hall, and those of Maories in the New Zealand Court, are not only delineations of scenery and apparently faithful portraits, but they are something more—they are works of art of no mean order. The same may be said of the photographs, which in all the courts—perhaps because of the warmer and brighter sun—show to great advantage beside those of our own leaden skies. The furniture made of the beautiful colonial woods is also tasteful and apparently durable.

The comparatively small Crown colony of Fiji is included in the Australasian group, but is as yet too young to call for much comment, having only come under British rule in 1874; nevertheless the trade of the islands has increased considerably since that date. Sugar, cocoa-nuts, and copra form the chief exports. The population is much mixed, owing to the introduction of Polynesian and coolie labourers. The natives number 114,891, and Europeans 3513; other races bringing the total up to 127,444. Fiji has a small space allotted to it in the Exhibition, and makes a fair display, chiefly of native curiosities, mats, tappa cloth, pottery, kava bowls, &c. &c.; but there are also

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various products of cultivation, such as coffee, tea, arrowroot, rice, preserved fruit, &c.

Turning to the African colonies, which next present themselves to our notice, we find in South Africa a group of States which have gradually been formed into two great colonies—the Cape of Good Hope and Natal. The former has been under British rule since 1806, but has grown gradually by the annexation of native States, consequent upon wars, or the necessity of protecting the natives from various enemies, until it has come to include British Kaffraria, Transkei, Walvisch Bay, Griqualand West, St. John's River Territory, Tembuland, Gcalekaland, and other small States, most of which were long under British protection before it became necessary to incorporate them with the Cape Colony. Here, as in India, natives of various races form by far the largest portion of the population, and, as in Canada, there are two European peoples which have from time to time striven for mastery, and are even now in a state of ferment, greatly aggravated by Mr. Gladstone's policy of yielding to armed rebellion. The numbers of each at present occupying Cape Colony are given as whites, chiefly British and Dutch, 340,000; coloured, including Kaffirs, Hottentots, Bushmen, and Malays 900,000. Its revenue for 1883–4 was £2,949,950; its exports in 1884 amounted to £6,945,674, imports £5,249,000. At the beginning of the century the exports only amounted to £15,000, consisting chiefly of grain, cattle, and wine, but the imports have doubled, and the exports trebled, since 1860, and the latter now include wine, brandy, coffee, aloes, argol, bones, buchu leaves, copper ore, ostrich feathers, dried fruits, guano, angora hair, hides, horns, skins, wool, tobacco, and, last but not least, diamonds. It was the discovery of the latter in Griqualand West that gave the great impetus to trade which is shown in the large increase of imports and exports. Diamond mining was commenced in 1868, and the various mines have yielded since then no less than £31,772,476 declared value, and this immense sum does not represent the entire yield, as there is a great deal of illicit diamond dealing. From these figures it will be readily understood that the diamond industry forms one of the chief features in the Cape section of the Exhibition. There is a beautiful model of the Bultfontein mine, with all the machinery in working order, sections and maps of other mines, a large diamond washing machine, in which the real *blue ground* from various mines is washed and sorted daily, and in which several good sized diamonds have already been found, *à propos* of which, a curious fact may be mentioned, which is, that the diamonds are so distributed in the matrix as to average so many carats to the load of blue ground with almost mathematical certainty. There is also an enor-

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mous number of diamonds in the rough exhibited, some specimens being very curious in shape and colour, two or three sometimes appearing as if welded together, and remarkable to relate, the two halves of one diamond were found several feet apart. The whole process of cutting and polishing the gem is also illustrated by Messrs. Ford & Wright, who have established diamond cutting works in rivalry of the celebrated Amsterdam works. Another new mineral production from the Cape, likely to come greatly into fashion for ornamental purposes, is *crocidolite*, a form of asbestos somewhat resembling the gem called cat's-eye. Another article of luxury forming a great feature in the South African exhibits is ostrich feathers. Ostrich farming, which a few years ago was the most productive industry in South Africa, has fallen very low, owing probably to over-production, but it is still profitable, and may revive when the present depression has passed away, and when luxury may again be indulged; for of all ornaments the ostrich feather is the most elegant. Cape wines are now beginning to find favour in the English market, and, with brandy, are exhibited, the produce of the 70,000,000 of vines planted in 1875, being 4,500,000 gallons of wine, and 1,000,000 gallons of brandy, and among the progressive industries of the Cape may be mentioned gold and copper mining, tobacco planting, and the cultivation of maize, wheat, and other cereals. Wool and mohair are also increasing in export value. It may fairly be assumed that notwithstanding the great wave of depression which is now passing over the whole of South Africa, there are still many signs of progress, chief among which may be mentioned the development of the railway and telegraph systems, and the construction of harbours and other public works. Of railways there are now 1603 miles in the colony, and 4219 miles of telegraph. South Africa is still *par excellence* the hunter's paradise, and there is at the Exhibition a trophy of heads and horns quite bewildering in number, size, and variety. One portion of the exhibits in the Cape section must not be overlooked, which is the various handicrafts of the natives educated at the Lovedale Institute, the object of which is to raise and elevate the native by means of industrial work. The great success of the plan adopted may be seen in the furniture, blacksmith's work, waggon-making, printing, bookbinding, and needlework exhibited. Nor must we omit to mention the beautiful oil paintings of scenery, photographs and drawings of flowers, and a fine collection of paintings by the late Thomas Baines, illustrative of historical scenes, native habits, &c. &c.

Natal became a British colony in 1843, having previously undergone many vicissitudes. It was at first united to Cape

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Colony, but in 1856 was formed into a separate colony. There have been many wars with Zulus and Dutch, but the country appears now tolerably settled, although the Zulus in Zululand, and the Dutch in the Transvaal, are still unquiet neighbours, especially as the population consists of such a large proportion of Zulus and other natives, the Europeans numbering only 35,453, to 361,766 African natives, and 27,276 Hindoo and Chinese coolies. The latter are employed in the cultivation of tea, sugar, coffee, cotton, and tropical fruits, also maize and indigo, all of which form profitable articles of commerce. Sheep and ostrich farming are also carried on successfully, as well as the breeding of cattle, in which latter occupation the Kaffirs are largely interested. The exports in 1884 amounted to £957,918, whilst the imports were estimated at £1,675,850. Among the exhibits in the Natal section, the maize (locally mealies), owing to its splendid size, is especially striking, whilst the tea, sugar, coffee, and tobacco, appear of excellent quality. In minerals, coal seems the most prominent, specimens from several mines being exhibited; there are also specimens of gold and copper ores, plumbago and asbestos, and the woods, both of Natal and the Cape, are very varied and beautiful. We are glad to see that Natal has sent to the Exhibition not only jams, dried and preserved fruits, chutneys and cayenne pepper, but also fresh ripe fruits. As Natal has a fine climate, an abundance of sun, and constant steam communication with England, its colonists might, we think, do more than they do in supplying English markets with the natural produce of the soil, and that an attempt might also be made to send over oysters, with which the seas abound, and perhaps to supplement the diamond and gold industries by a pearl fishery.

The other group of African colonies is to be found on the West Coast, and includes four small colonies, with a stretch of country on the Niger recently added to the empire. These colonies, named severally the Gold Coast Colony, Lagos, Sierra Leone and Gambia, are little known, and as their climate is very unhealthy, the inhabitants are almost entirely natives, but judging by the exhibits from these countries, they have made a considerable advance in civilization under European guidance. Native cloths and embroideries in silk and cotton, baskets, mats, and pottery, gold, silver, and brass ornaments, coloured and embroidered leather work—these are the chief manufactures, and all of a barbaric type, although the various cloths are very beautiful. Formerly this portion of the African coast was the great mart for slaves from the interior, but now the inland trade consists chiefly of ivory and monkey skins, whilst the products of the colonies themselves include gold, palm kernels and oil,

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cotton, india rubber, beeswax, and various grains and seeds. The gold shown at the Exhibition consists largely of the indemnity paid by King Koffee after the Ashantee war, and is extremely interesting, being mostly of ancient manufacture, strongly resembling that in our museums from Ireland and ancient Etruria, as also that discovered by Dr. Schliemann in Mycenæ. The gold ore exhibited is very rich, but the mines have to depend upon native labour, and consequently their development is slow, nevertheless a great deal of gold has found its way to Europe from this coast ever since the fifteenth century, and it is estimated that altogether as much as forty or fifty millions has been thus obtained. But the principal revenue from exports is derived from palm oil and rubber, the latter having increased from 64 cwt. in 1882 to 1552 cwt. in 1884. Some of the most interesting of the exhibits are illustrative of the Fetish worship of the natives, consisting of masks and figures of men and animals, with charms of various kinds, also a great variety of uncouth musical instruments and implements of agriculture. Mahometan influence is plainly seen in many of the ornamental designs, but the whole display is that of a savage people struggling into civilization. The Gambia was taken over by Queen Elizabeth, but the advance of the colony has been slow. Sierra Leone was ceded by a native chief in 1787, and served as a depôt for freed negroes, and Lagos was also ceded by a native chief in 1861, whilst the Gold Coast was ceded by the Dutch in 1871.

St. Helena, Ascension, and Tristan da Cunha may properly be included among the African colonies. They are chiefly important as points of call for British vessels, but can hardly be cited as progressive colonies, although they each contribute something to the Exhibition. Ascension is, however, important from its turtles, which supply our aldermanic feasts.

Once more crossing the Atlantic, we find a group of colonies of considerable importance, consisting of Jamaica, the Bahamas, the Bermudas, the Virgin Islands, the Leeward and the Windward Islands, Barbados, and Trinidad, with British Guiana on the South American continent, and British Honduras in North America. Taking these West Indian colonies as cited above, we first turn our attention to Jamaica. Discovered by Columbus, it was conquered from the Spanish in the time of Cromwell, who encouraged emigration to it with success, and it long deserved the name of the "brightest gem in the British diadem." But it has fallen upon evil days, the sugar industry has declined greatly since the manumission of the slaves, and is still further injured by the unjust foreign bounty system; nevertheless, the colony has been striving to regain some of her former prosperity by developing

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her great natural resources, and the present Exhibition shows not only sugar, rum, and coffee, but also woods, spices, cocoa, arrowroot, cinchona, oils, and preserved fruits as products of Jamaica. The population of the island is estimated at 580,000, of which the whites number only 14,432, and the exports in 1884 were valued at £1,614,583.

The Bahamas consist of twenty-nine small islands in the Atlantic, off the coast of Florida, the largest, New Providence, being about twenty-one miles long by seven in breadth; the population in 1881 was 44,000, of whom 14,000 were whites, and the remainder the descendants of emancipated slaves. The Bahamas have been nominally under British rule since the days of Queen Elizabeth, but have only had a settled government since the American War of Independence. The chief exports are sponge, shells, pearls, corals, tortoiseshell, ambergris, trepang and turtle, of which the latter is valued at £600 per annum, whilst shells realized £1200 per annum, pearls £3000, and sponge in 1885 £58,000. In 1874 the value of this export was only £16,000, but in 1883 it rose to £60,000. In the present Exhibition the products exhibited, in addition to those named, consist of native woods, ropes made of fibres of various plants, turbot skins, preserved fruits, perfumery, and some cameos and carved ornaments, made at the Nassau Art School.

The Bermudas were taken possession of by Sir George Somers in 1609, whence they are sometimes called "Somers' Islands." The trade of these islands is chiefly with America, the imports in 1884 amounting to £284,440, and the exports to £88,622, having declined from £109,155 in 1882; whilst the population increased from 12,121 in 1871 to 14,888 in 1884, of whom 8931 are coloured. They are not represented in the Exhibition.

The Leeward Islands, with which the Virgin Islands may be included, form the northern portion of the lesser Antilles. The chief of these islands are Antigua, St. Christopher, St. Kitts and Nevis, Dominica, and Montserrat. The latter has lately become well known from its various preparations of lime-juice, which form a conspicuous portion of its exhibits. The Virgin Islands send corals, minerals and preserves, with some interesting native coins. Dominica supplies a large number of ancient and modern Carib implements and curiosities, also cocoa, coffee, lime-juice, quassia cups, cinnamon and other spices, and cassava meal and cakes, which might, we think, be more extensively exported, as also cassareep, which is an excellent sauce, and forms the basis of most of those in use; whilst from Antigua we find rum, sugar, pickles and preserves, ginger, arrowroot, honey, limes, and a variety of other useful products.

The Windward Islands include Grenada, St. Lucia, St.

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Vincent, and Tobago. Grenada, after having been ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, was retaken by the French in 1779, but again yielded to Great Britain in 1783, and in 1877, with Barbados, St. Vincent, Tobago, and St. Lucia, became a Crown colony. The estimated population of Grenada is 46,425; the chief article of produce is cocoa, which last year yielded 5,500,000 pounds, and also excellent fruits of all kinds. St. Lucia produces sugar, cocoa, and spices; St. Vincent is famed for its arrowroot; and the chief exhibits of all these islands consist of these products, with fruits, cassava and sugar, which, notwithstanding the great depression, remains the staple manufacture of the West Indies. It is worthy of remark that Tobago, which is the least prosperous of these islands, is yet the most fully represented in the Exhibition, and sends, besides sugar, rum and molasses, a large collection of food products, oils, gums, dyes, medicines, and vegetable fibres, and also woods and minerals. Barbados was taken possession of in 1605, and the first Governor was appointed in 1625, since which time it has always formed a portion of the British Empire, and is therefore one of the oldest of our colonies. It is very thickly populated, the whites numbering 16,000, and the coloured 155,806; the latter appear more industrious and content than elsewhere, and sugar is still the chief product; the fisheries are also a great source of wealth. Among the exhibits may be noticed cocoa, coffee, spices, and tobacco.

Trinidad was captured from the Spaniards in 1797, and ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Amiens. Although Trinidad, like all the West Indies, has suffered from the abolition of slavery, it may be looked upon as a prosperous colony, the revenue having risen steadily till last year, and the exports and imports having increased also; coolie immigration has been of great benefit; and although sugar continues to be the chief product, it is supplemented by many others, especially coffee, cocoa, and chocolate, fruits, seeds, oils, and vegetables, which all find a place in the Exhibition.

British Guiana has belonged to Great Britain since 1803, and is almost wholly dependent upon the sugar industry. In 1885 the quantity produced was 106,532 hogsheads; the population numbers 264,000, and consists of Europeans, aborigines, West Indians, Portuguese, Africans, Chinese, and East Indians, reckoned at 92,000 in 1885. Besides sugar, British Guiana exhibits various fine woods, more than one hundred in number; also a number of vegetable fibres, gums, oils, and barks, fruits, cassava bread, cassareep, and a variety of fruits.

British Honduras, on the North American continent, although settled at least 200 years ago, only became a colony in 1862; its

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chief wealth lies in its beautiful mahogany and logwood, but fruit is grown for the American markets, and also sugar; many valuable fibre plants are indigenous, as also the cocoa-tree and the vanilla bean. The labour question is the chief difficulty here as in all the West Indies, but coolie labour has been introduced, and is found to be satisfactory.

Crossing the American Isthmus, and voyaging over the North Pacific, we come to a group of Asiatic colonies, and to several islands scattered through the Indian Ocean, which must by no means be omitted in treating of the British Colonial Empire; and first the island of Hong Kong, ceded to Great Britain in 1841. It is essentially Chinese in the character of its manufactures, its inhabitants consisting mainly of natives of the Flowery Land. Hong Kong is of great importance as a shipping port, being the fourth largest in the world.

British North Borneo is also highly important from its numerous fine harbours; it has only been a British colony since 1877, but may be looked upon as prosperous and progressive. It exhibits timber, jungle and sea produce, and native manufactures, arms, and curios, all highly interesting.

The Straits Settlements consist of the islands of Singapore, Penang, a strip of territory on the mainland, Malacca, and the native States of Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong, under British protection. The population is mixed, consisting of Europeans, Malays, Chinese, and natives of India, numbering together 420,384. The chief products are tin, sugar, spices, rice, tapioca, sago, hides, horns, gum, coffee and tobacco, and the united exports and imports have risen from £14,821,300 in 1859 to £39,077,809 in 1884, whilst the revenue is £629,921. The exhibits are numerous and very interesting, but cannot here be enumerated; amongst them are numerous ethnological collections. The importance of these colonies may be judged from the shipping, the number of vessels entering the various ports in 1884, exclusive of native craft, being 5848, with a burthen of 3,634,174 tons.

Mauritius, including the Seychelles Islands, and about seventy other small islands, scattered over the Indian Ocean, is a Crown colony, and produces sugar, rum, vanilla, and aloe fibre. Mauritius was captured from the French by the East India Company in 1810, and England was confirmed in its possession by the Treaty of Paris, in 1814; it is of great use as a shipping port. It sends to the Exhibition a great variety of native woods, as also sugar, drugs and medicines, whilst the Seychelles contribute woods, tobacco, soaps, arrowroot, vanilla, &c.

Taking the Red Sea route homewards, we come to Aden, Perim, and Socotra, the former on the Arabian coast, the two latter being

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islands lying at the entrance to the Red Sea, and therefore of great importance as safe-guarding the passage of the Straits of Babel-Mandeb. Aden is also a coaling station, and exports coffee, dyes, feathers, gums, spices, &c., to the annual value of £1,448,890. Entering the Mediterranean by the Suez Canal, we come to our last group of colonies—Cyprus, Malta and Gibraltar. Cyprus, ceded to England in 1877, has risen rapidly in prosperity under British rule, as may be seen by the exports and imports, which together, in 1878, were valued at £334,979, whilst in 1884–5 they amounted to £591,896. The island sends to the present Exhibition a variety of cereals, cotton, wool, silk, very fine embroideries, tobacco and wine, also minerals and woods, implements of agriculture of an Old World type, but extremely interesting, and that which is of the greatest importance to the island, the invention for destroying locusts, whereby this pest has been almost exterminated in Cyprus. Malta, a small but very important colony, from its use as a military and naval station, sends to the Exhibition samples of its well-known and very beautiful lace and jewellery, but, in addition, exhibits some exquisite lace-like carvings in stone; there are also some beautiful musical instruments and models of ships and boats, as well as life-sized models of the old knights of Malta, in their antique armour, gold and silk embroideries and tapestry, with the method of restoring ancient Gobelin work. In economical and agricultural products, we find potatoes, jams and preserves, cigars and cigarettes, cotton stuffs, mule cloths and hosiery, candles, soaps and leather works; and also baskets, brooms and mats made by the prisoners and lunatics.

In this hasty sketch we have omitted Gibraltar, the key to the Mediterranean, the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic, valuable as a coaling and fishery station, and which export to England wool, hides, tussac grass, horns, bones and tallow, valued at £98,468; Heligoland, in the North Sea, with its fisheries of haddock and lobsters; and Port Hamilton, occupied only since 1884, commanding the entrance between the Yellow Sea and Sea of Japan, and which, when the route to India across the Pacific is established, may become extremely valuable.

We have in the foregoing pages presented a very imperfect sketch of the various British colonies with their chief products, their progress under British rule, and their vast capabilities as shown in this remarkable Exhibition, and have in so doing journeyed on paper twice round the world, taking the two principal routes, *viâ* the Cape and the Suez Canal, to find on each route colonies of vast importance, most of them growing with the force and rapidity of youthful giants, bidding fair at no distant date to be ready to go forth "conquering and to conquer," yet all at present

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willing to yield allegiance to the small, yet vigorous, fatherland, which they still fondly regard as *home*. Varying in size, in climate, in natural resources, in mode of government, they all have this bond in common, for in each, the dominant class, though sometimes small in number as compared with the natives, is composed of sons of Britannia, and a rising against British authority in any one of these dependencies, would be of the nature of civil war. That our rule has on the whole been beneficent, and productive of peace and prosperity, the figures we have given sufficiently demonstrate; the exceptions to the rule of progress are few and far between, and the varied systems of government, from the strict imperial and military rule of India, and the severe type of Crown colony resembling an autocracy, to the almost perfect freedom of Canada and the Australias, seem fairly suited to the exigencies of the governed; for whenever a colony has been found ripe for self-government, the boon has been ungrudgingly bestowed, and never again, we may be sure, will the faults be repeated, which deprived us of the United States, our most vigorous offspring. At the present time, politicians of all shades seem desirous of strengthening the bonds of amity which exist between the mother country and her colonies. Few, if any, would now dare to say, "Perish India;" and if any one should still doubt the value and importance of our colonial possessions, let him follow us from court to court of the Exhibition, and see how in every instance trade follows the flag; and, in confirmation of this, let him examine the statistics of Captain Colomb, and the very instructive diagrams of Sir Rawson W. Rawson, appended to "Her Majesty's Colonies," from which we extract a few of the most astounding figures. We find, then, first, that the area of the British colonies in 1884 was 7,938,422 square miles, containing a population of 213,918,000, whilst the Portuguese colonies, next in area, only extend over 705,778 square miles, with a population of 3,723,967, and the Dutch colonies, which have a population of 26,841,597, only extend to 682,792 square miles. The general trade of the United Kingdom, including imports and exports, amounted to £715,371,000, of which £186,358,000 was with its colonies. The trade of France at the same period was £425,460,000, and the trade with its colonies was £21,056,000. The value of British and Irish produce exported to foreign countries in 1884 was £150,000,000, and to our colonies £80,000,000. Of the latter sum India took more than £30,000,000, Australia nearly £20,000,000, Canada £9,000,000, and the other colonies £22,500,000. In the case of India, this shows a rise of £6,000,000 since 1874, and nearly the same may be said of Australia; but in the other colonies there is a decrease

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of from £1,000,000 to £3,000,000. The imports from India and the colonies to Great Britain during the same year (1884) were estimated at—India, £34,000,000; Australia, £22,000,000; Canada, £10,000,000; New Zealand, £6,000,000; Cape of Good Hope, £5,000,000; and so on down to Newfoundland and Natal, the imports from which were only a little over £500,000 sterling each. In most cases there was a very considerable rise from the year 1874, amounting in Australia to upwards of £7,000,000, in India to £4,000,000, in New Zealand to £2,500,000, in the Straits Settlements and the Cape of Good Hope to £2,000,000; but in a few, as in Ceylon and the West Indies, there was a decline of nearly £2,000,000 in the same period. Probably, the statistics for last year would show a decline almost all round, but it may be safely prophesied that any decline will be only temporary, consequent upon the universal depression, and it is, at all events, abundantly evident that the Colonies, India, and the United Kingdom are mutually dependent upon each other for the larger portion of their commercial prosperity, and, it may be added, that there is not an article, either of utility or luxury, which cannot be supplied to our markets by India or our Colonies, and in almost every instance the supply would or could be increased to meet the demand, so that, in any emergency, as in the case of war, we might be wholly independent of foreign trade, if only we could secure the safe convoy of stores from our colonies; but in order to this it is necessary to provide not only a strong convoy, but also for the defence of the colonies themselves, which in many cases lie open to attack from an enemy. For this and for other reasons a federation of the whole Empire has been proposed, and is earnestly desired by the more thoughtful politicians both in the mother country and the colonies, where the idea of foreign domination would be regarded with horror and aversion, not only on account of the loss and ruin it would occasion by the sudden stoppage of trade, but also because of the severance of home ties and associations it would necessitate. They therefore are willing and even anxious for such a bond of union as would include mutual aid in time of war, and a system of defence for their ports against the attacks of an enemy's cruisers.

But the federation and defence of a vast empire, of which the component parts are so widely scattered, and which differ so greatly in size and in power, are not easily accomplished; they require statesmanship of no mean order, and unless some sudden emergency should arise to dispel the doubts and quicken the fears of the waverers, it may not be carried out for generations to come. The Royal Colonial Institute, of which the Prince of Wales is president, has worked long and earnestly in this great

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cause, and has taken advantage of the present Exhibition, in which all parts of the empire are represented, to hold frequent conferences on this and similar subjects of Imperial importance, and especially emigration. At one of these Mr. Labilliere ably expounded the principles of a scheme of federation which he said "should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights." This is the language of the Imperial Federation League, formed for the express purpose of promoting federal union between Great Britain and her colonies, which Mr. Labilliere went on to say must include "equitable representation in an efficient Imperial Parliament, equitable system of taxation to raise Imperial revenue, equitable guarantee of all existing rights of provincial self-government, including control of fiscal policies." But it is just here that difficulties apparently insuperable show themselves, and although the speakers who followed Mr. Labilliere were all in favour of the *principle* of Imperial federation, yet they brought out clearly the differences of opinion existing on the subject in the various colonies. Sir Alexander Stuart (since deceased), speaking for New South Wales, a colony naturally proud of having sent a contingent to the help of the mother country in the Soudan campaign, said, "Many of us have an extreme desire that the British navy should be strengthened in our respective seas, and some of us have offered to pay the additional expense involved in doing so. We do not wish to see England bear the expense of that which is for our good and not theirs specially, and we are, therefore, quite prepared to pay the additional expense; but we would never dream of parting with the right to tax ourselves, in order that the British Admiralty might strengthen its resources by putting its hands into our pockets. We say we will find the money. It is no matter to you how we find it." Then other speakers made it plain that some of the colonies, in agreeing to a scheme of federation, would expect some sort of protective tariff to enable them to compete successfully with foreigners, and this would certainly be the case with the West Indies, which have suffered so severely from the bounty system; but the majority of Englishmen would never consent to a return to protection in any form, and thus it will be seen that the fiscal difficulties would be great. As to the Parliamentary Council, there would not seem to be much objection to be urged against the representation of the colonies in a separate chamber, but it would hardly be possible to incorporate colonial representatives in the present House of Commons, since it is obvious that they could not vote in anything relating to the internal affairs of the United Kingdom. It is, however, of good augury that there is

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an almost unanimous desire on the part of the colonies for some firmer bond of union with the mother country, and it is well to take advantage of the present gathering to foster and encourage a desire which is so evidently for the good of all parties. That it is no longer considered beyond the bounds of possibility may be seen, by its having been brought before the House as a question; and we give the answer of the Prime Minister, which was to the effect that, "The examination of such a question, instituted or promoted by voluntary effort, might probably be very useful; but the same thing promoted by the Government is a serious affair." Mr. Gladstone then went on to say that, "Important proposals are at present under the consideration of the Australian Colonial Governments, in conjunction with the admiral of the station, for the establishment of united Imperial and Colonial action for defensive purposes. But no general scheme with the object mentioned in the question has met with the acceptance of the colonies down to the present time." Nevertheless, we cannot fail to see in these negotiations an approach to the desired federation in some of the most important of the colonies, and once commenced, doubtless the scheme will grow and widen, till it eventually embraces the whole empire.

The occasion for the question of Mr. H. Vincent in the House was the lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution on May 31 by Captain Colomb upon "Imperial Federation, Naval and Military;" and some of his remarks as well as his figures* are so pertinent to our subject that we must quote a few words: "What Imperial Federation really means," says Captain Colomb, "is not 'spread-eagleism,' not a declaration of 'defiance' to the world, but business-like arrangements between the colonies and the mother country for the discharge of the responsibilities and the duties of 'defence.'" It is, in truth, *defence not defiance* that is desired; but to be prepared for defence is, in fact, to defy our enemies, and the knowledge of our preparedness for all emergencies would go far to prevent all attacks. If, therefore, the present Exhibition should be the means of advancing Imperial Federation for defensive purposes, it would go far towards bringing about that millennium so fondly hoped for, from the first great Exhibition. Then it was expected that

* Captain Colomb, who, like ourselves, has taken 1851 as his starting-point, shows that the aggregate trade of the Empire exceeds by 100 millions sterling that of thirty-five years ago; and, to prove the progress of the colonies, he says that, whilst in 1851 the annual revenue of the United Kingdom was nearly double that of the empire beyond the sea, now, that of the colonies and India exceeds that of the mother country by £22,000,000; and the tonnage of shipping to our ports abroad is greater by 13,000,000 tons than to our home ports.

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"swords would at once be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks;" but now it is rather proposed to use the sword and the spear to protect the plough, to call forth all the arts of war, in order to ensure peace and security for the husbandman, the merchant, and the many myriads who depend upon them for all the necessaries of life.

It is a significant fact, that in all the magnificent display of arts and manufactures from our colonies, engines of war have no place, although in the Canadian exhibits there is to be found under the head of *firearms* (having a class all to itself) *a Kentucky rifle!* The defence of these vast possessions appear to be left entirely to the mother country; their manufactures are not those of great guns and weapons of offence, but those of peace only. There are plenty of agricultural implements, railway plant, quartz-crushing machinery, and other proofs of engineering skill; but weapons of war, excepting those of savages, exhibited as curiosities, are conspicuous by their absence.

It is generally supposed that *colonial* federation must precede Imperial federation, and it is indeed to be desired that the various groups of colonies should combine not only for defence, but also for commercial purposes, and that one set of customs dues, &c., should prevail over each group, but hitherto it has not been found possible to make the colonist see this. It is well-known that the late Sir Bartle Frere, earnestly desirous as he was of promoting federation in South Africa, was unsuccessful in that which may be called his mission, and the cause has been still further retarded by the unwise and, as far as British interests are concerned, disastrous retrocession of the Transvaal. The members of the Australian Heptarchy also remain apart, although united by many ties. Canada alone has joined in a close federal union, which has largely increased her prosperity and national importance. We do not, however, think that it will be found necessary to await the federation of all these coterminous States before commencing the greater and far more important work of Imperial federation, for delay in that may mean peril and disaster, and the greater union may, and probably would, precipitate the less, by emphasizing the truth that *Union is Strength.* The minds of men are now fixed upon this vital question; the threatened disruption of the empire has made union appear more than ever desirable; the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in showing the extent, the wealth and the abundant resources of the Empire, and the desirability of a common bond of union for defensive and commercial purposes, has done much to knit the colonies more closely to each other and to the mother country, as well as to show to Englishmen the use and value of the Colonies and India, especially as a field for the

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employment of our congested population, and the time appears favourable for the growth of that public feeling, which cannot fail to result in uniting in an indissoluble bond the greatest Empire the world has ever seen. Victoria, the most prosperous and progressive of the colonies, the age of which corresponds with the age of Exhibitions, as inaugurated in 1851, has also been the first to agitate for federal union, and the words of Mr. Thomson, the secretary to the Royal Commission for Victoria on this subject, deserve to be recorded. Athough he says—

"they claim Victoria to be the most prosperous, and the most energetic of all the Australian colonies, yet Victorians were the first to raise their voices for the federation of the colonies, the political unity of Australia. Then the peoples of all the provinces, at present divided by local prejudices and jealousies, will be joined together; and some day in the future, following out the manifest destiny of the British race, with the dear old mother-country, and her eldest born, the United States of America, will be linked together in a strong bond, ruling lands and seas, and giving laws to all the world." *

It appears to us that the fruit is well-nigh ripe. Where is the great statesman who will dare to pluck it ere it fall, and present it to the world as the true antidote to that pestilent apple of discord, fostered and cultivated by those who would fain see Great Britain and her colonies scattered and divided into a number of petty States, ready to fall a prey to the first invader? Surely accursed to all time in the pages of history shall be that statesman who, pandering to sedition, shall begin to dismember this great Empire; for in a far higher sense, and to an extent undreamt of by Napoleon, *L'Empire c'est la Paix.*

Art. IV.—Ernest, King of Hanover.

Reminiscences of the Court and Times of King Ernest of Hanover. By the Rev. C. Allix Wilkinson, M.A., his Majesty's Resident Domestic Chaplain. In two volumes. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1886.

THIS is a book written to whitewash the memory of a man who, in his day and generation, was, above all his fellows, odious to the people of this country. It would have been wiser if Mr. Wilkinson had allowed the memory of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland and King of Hanover, to remain in the

* "Official Handbook," pp. 177.

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oblivion into which it had fallen. It was said of an earlier Duke of Cumberland, the brother of George III., that he was a man "of depraved character, a vicious and ill-conditioned prince;" and his nephew, Ernest Augustus, not only bore his title, but his character also. He himself told Mr. Wilkinson that he had been accused of every crime in the Decalogue.* The well-known midnight onslaught on him by his valet, Sellis, was always associated by the public with some mystery never revealed.† The Duke of Wellington once asked George IV. why his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, was so unpopular; and the King said: "Because there never was a father well with his son, or husband with his wife, or lover with his mistress, that he did not try to make mischief between them."

George IV. seems to have hated and feared his brother Ernest, and yet endeavoured to cajole him. Lord Ellenborough records in his "Diary": "The King, our master, is the weakest man in England. He hates the Duke of Cumberland. He wishes his death. He is relieved when he is away; but he is afraid of him and crouches to him." ‡

When George IV. was dying he absolutely refused to see his brother of Cumberland.§ William IV. took a milder view of his brother: "Ernest is not a bad fellow; but if any one has a corn he is sure to tread on it" ‖—a truth of which Mr. Wilkinson's "Reminiscences" afford copious illustrations. But William IV., on his accession to the throne, deprived his brother of the command of the Household Cavalry, which he had held under George IV. Lord Ellenborough's own opinion of the Duke was: "He is a Mephistopheles, and sure, wherever he can, to do any mischief." In another entry he says: "The suicide of —— on account of his wife's seduction, will drive the Duke of Cumberland out of the field." ¶

Sir Robert Peel in 1829 wrote to the Duke of Wellington this unflattering opinion of the Duke of Cumberland: "He has no sort of influence over public opinion in this country, or over any party that is worth consideration. I do not believe that the most violent Brunswickers ** have the slightest respect for him or slightest confidence in him." The Duke of Cumberland's own opinion of Peel was not more flattering. "When," he writes to

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* Vol. i. pp. 6, 8, 9.

† As to the Sellis case, see "Reminiscences" pp. 8, 9, 10. The whole literature about this case forms one of the volumes of the papers of the late Francis Place, now in the British Museum.

‡ "Diary," vol. ii. p. 41.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 229, 253.

‖ "Reminiscences," vol. i. p. 18.

¶ "Diary," vol. i. p. 174.

** In reference to the Duke's leading the Brunswick Club's opposition to the Roman Catholic Relief Bill.

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his friend, Lord Strangford, "you have not been born or bred a gentleman, you cannot expect noble ideas or feelings; and great as Peel's talents are—and no one is readier to admit them than myself—you will always see the jenny; the manufacturer's blood will show."

The Duke married a German Princess who had been divorced from a former husband, and Queen Charlotte absolutely refused to receive her.*

The dislike of the country to him was shown in a very marked way on the marriage of his three brothers after the death of the Princess Charlotte, when allowances were made to them by Parliament. It was proposed to increase the Duke of Cumberland's allowance to £6,000 a year. The House of Commons negatived the proposal. Another proof of his unpopularity is shown by the advice given him with cynical if not brutal frankness by the Duke of Wellington. When it was clear that William IV. was dying, and that the Duke would succeed to the Crown of Hanover, the Duke of Cumberland consulted the Duke of Wellington as to his setting out at once to Hanover. "I told him," said Wellington, "the best thing he could do was to go away as fast as he could. 'Go instantly,' I said, 'and *take care that you don't get pelted.*'" †

He was quite aware of his own unpopularity. Charles Greville tells this story of him:—"One day, at Buckingham Palace, he proposed to Prince Albert to go out and walk with him. The Prince excused himself, saying he could not walk in the streets, as they should be exposed to inconvenience from the crowds of people. The King replied: 'Oh, never mind that; I was still more unpopular than you are now, and used to walk about with perfect impunity.'" ‡

As a young man, it was said of the Duke of Cumberland that his behaviour and conversation "was of a nature as to coarseness that would have disgraced one of his own grooms;" and such continued to be his habit throughout his life.§ When the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill was before the House of Lords it was opposed by Archbishop Howley with becoming dignity and even eloquence. "The Duke of Cumberland," we are told, "was so delighted with the Archbishop's performance that, when entertaining a small party at his own table, he emphasised his sentences by the interlarding of such expressions as at length to elicit from the Duchess the observation: 'Why,

* See Fitzgerald's "Royal Dukes and Princesses of the Family of George III.," vol. ii. p. 256.
† Greville's "Journals," part ii. vol. i. p. 42.
‡ "Memoirs," part ii. vol. ii. p. 192.
§ Fitzgerald's "Life of George IV." vol. ii. p. 15.

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my dear, the Archbishop did not swear.' When he replied, evidently unwilling to concede his position: 'Well, if he did not say that, he said something very much like it.'" * He thus described himself to his friend, Lord Strangford: "You know me too long and too well not to be fully persuaded that I am neither a Methodist, saint, or psalm-singer; but I trust I have a sound foundation of true religion, which my father possessed in the highest degree, and which I inherited from him." †

The Duke's creed may be thus summed up: A firm belief that bishops should be aristocrats, and wear wigs and cocked hats. Referring to the appointment of a living member of the Episcopate, he writes to his confidant, Lord Strangford: "His father was a Taylor (*sic*), and measured Wilkinson here (the reminiscent), and made his breeches; consequently you will agree with me he is neither born nor bred a gentleman, and cannot know what thereunto belongs. . . . . Westmorland confirms this information, and also employed him as a breeches-maker! Now, I ask you, is that a man fit to sit upon the bench." ‡ On another occasion he wrote: "I maintain that the first change and shock in the ecclesiastical habits was the bishops being allowed to lay aside their wigs, their purple coats, short cassocks, and stockings, and cocked hats, when appearing in public;" and after telling that his father refused to receive a bishop's homage because the new prelate came without his wig, "Times are changed," he continues. "I have seen a bishop attend the committee-room in the House of Lords in a black Wellington coat, with top-boots, and coming in with a hat like a butcher or coachmaster. Would to God," he piously concludes, "all the old forms had been studiously and sacredly kept up." § "In church, his Majesty," Mr. Williamson tells us, "was most attentive and devout, from the beginning of the service to the end, making every response in a loud voice, and so by this good example carrying the little congregation with him." ‖ This reminds us of the "Spectator's" advice to the members of a country congregation: "Remember, he who bawls the loudest may be the wickedest fellow in the parish."

The Duke regarded with particular aversion the present Queen, whom he looked on as an interloper who had kept him from the throne of England—a fact for which the people of this country cannot be too thankful. With still greater aversion he regarded the late Prince Consort, whom he describes to Lord

* Lord Teignmouth's "Reminiscences of Many Years," vol. ii. p. 207.
† Fitzgerald's "Royal Dukes and Princesses," vol. ii. p. 286.
‡ Fitzgerald's "Princesses and Dukes," vol. ii. p. 297.
§ *Ibid.* p. 293. ‖ "Reminiscences," vol. i. p. 89.

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Strangford as "a handsome, comely youth, but from all those who know him he is a terrible Liberal, almost a *Radical.*" On another occasion he writes of the Prince: "He is represented as impertinent, full of pretension, a man totally ignorant of what are the common usages of the world." Again: "If I am correctly informed, I hear he (the Prince Consort) is still more dangerous than a Roman Catholic, being a sort of freethinker and very light in his religious principles. Mind you, I only tell what I have heard; but one thing is perfectly certain, that there is no decided religion in any of them."* We do not know to whom the Duke here refers, but he himself was certainly in the same category.

The late Baron Bunsen the Duke speaks of as "that great and egregious fool." He disliked fully as much as did George IV. the late King Leopold of Belgium; while of Baron Stockmar he writes to his confidant:

> I will tell you an anecdote of the origin of this worthy. He was what is called a company-surgeon in a Russian regiment, which is neither more nor less than a man employed in shaving the company, and preparing plasters and dressings in the regimental hospital; and this he was in 1816, when Leopold was sent for to England by the late Lord Castlereagh. Leopold had the misfortune of having a malady, for which Stockmar attended him, and he accompanied his patient to London; and Leopold, having used him to write his letters when not employing him as a surgeon, persuaded him to stay, and he became his major-domo, and by degrees his privy councillor; and being very intriguing, he employed him upon any business, and perhaps, as, you know, Leopold was always a great admirer of the fair sex, he may have employed him in that branch of affairs.†

The recently published "Memoirs of Karoline Bauer" prove that his Majesty was perfectly right in his supposition.

In short, the character of the King of Hanover (as we will henceforth call him) is accurately summed up by Charles Greville: "There never was such a man, or behaviour so atrocious as his—a mixture of narrow-mindedness, selfishness, truckling, blustering, and duplicity, with no object but self, his own ease, and the gratification of his own fancies and prejudices, without regard to the advice and opinion of the wisest and best-informed men, or to the interests and tranquillity of the country."‡

It is significant of the estimation in which the King of Hanover was held by all ranks and classes of his countrymen, that fifty years ago, when the University of Oxford was still Protestant

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* Fitzgerald's "Royal Dukes and Princesses," vol. ii. p. 287.
† *Ibid.* pp. 293–7. ‡ Quoted by Fitzgerald, *ibid.* p. 272.

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and Tory, notwithstanding the King's staunch Toryism and his impassioned opposition to Catholic Emancipation, the University refused to include him in the list of persons on whom the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred on occasion of the installation of the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor of the University.*

Although the King has been in his grave for thirty-five years, his evil reputation survives. Of this we have had proof in our own experience. Within the last four years the King's granddaughter, the Princess Frederica of Cumberland, visited West Cornwall and spent a few days at St. Michael's Mount. Parenthetically we may remark that her Royal Highness went from the Mount to worship in a Cornish village church, being, so far as we know and believe, the only member of the House of Hanover who had done so from the accession of George I. until the time at which we write. The present writer happened to join the train which conveyed the Princess from London, and was surprised to find the talk of the carriage into which he got was wholly of the sins and iniquities of her grandfather, especially the Sellis mystery; and he experienced the same thing in inns and other places of public resort.

King Ernest succeeded to the throne of Hanover on the death of William IV., in 1837. Shortly afterwards an occurrence took place which gave him an opportunity of showing his ill-conditioned nature and gratifying his antipathy to the Queen.

The story is thus related by Charles Greville :—

Lord Duncannon showed me the correspondence between him and the King of Hanover about the apartments at St. James's. The case is this: When the Queen was going to be married the Duchess of Kent told Duncannon she must have a house, and that she could not afford to pay for one (the greater part of her income being appropriated to the payment of her debts). Duncannon† told her that there were no royal apartments unoccupied, except the King of Hanover's at St. James's, and it was settled that he should be apprised that the Queen had occasion for them, and be requested to give them up. Duncannon accordingly wrote a note to Sir F. Watson, who manages the King's affairs here, and told him that he had such a communication to make to his Majesty, which he was desirous of bringing before him in the most respectful manner, and that the arrangement should be made in whatever way was most convenient to him. Watson informed him that he had forwarded his note to the King, and shortly after Dun-

* Lord Teignmouth's "Reminiscences," vol. ii.

† Lord Duncannon was at this time First Commissioner of Works, and the arrangements with reference to the royal palaces fell within his department. The Duchess, for particular reasons, objected to going back to Kensington. (Editor's notes in Greville, "Memoirs," second part, vol. i. p. 280.)

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cannon received an answer from the King himself, which was neither more nor less than a flat refusal to give up the apartments. Another communication then took place between Duncannon and Watson, when the latter said that it would be very inconvenient to the King to remove his things from the apartments without coming over in person, as the library particularly was full of papers of importance. Duncannon then proposed that the library and the adjoining room, it which it was said the papers were deposited, should not be touched, but remain in his possession; that they should be walled off and separated from the rest of the suite which might be given up to the Duchess for her occupation. This proposal was sent to the King, who refused to agree to it, or to give up the apartments at all. Accordingly the Queen was obliged to hire a house for her mother at a rent of £2,000 a year. I told Duncannon they were all very much to blame for submitting to the domineering insolence of the King, and that when they thought it right to require the apartments, they ought to have gone through with it, and have taken no denial. It was a gross insult to the Queen to refuse to give up to her an apartment in her own palace, which she desired to dispose of, and they were very wrong in permitting such an affront to be offered to her; so Duncannon himself was of opinion, but Melbourne, who is all for quietness, would not allow matters to proceed to extremities, and preferred knocking under—a mode of proceeding which is always as contemptible as it is useless.*

So the King kept his apartments until the day of his death, twelve years later; during all which time he, so far forth as we remember, never but once† occupied them, on occasion of a three months' visit to England, when he complained bitterly to Lord Strangford that he was only once invited to dine at Court and to one great ball.‡ It is significant of the relations between the King and Queen Victoria that his name is only once mentioned in "The Life of the Prince Consort," and that merely in a footnote referring to his disagreeable conduct about the Prince Consort's precedence.§

Such was the man whom the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, a clergyman, delights to honour; but even he admits that "the noted, stern, unbending Tory Duke, honoured as such by his political party, was the subject simply of execration to all on the opposite side, and indeed to people in general who did not know him personally."‖

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* Greville's "Memoirs," *ubi supra.*

† "London, that a little time ago seemed so dull that the shopkeepers were in despair, is suddenly favoured by the most animated season, for which they are indebted to the King of Hanover, now the most popular man in town, for the first time in his life." ("Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister," p. 198.)

‡ Fitzgerald's "Royal Dukes and Princesses."

§ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. i. p. 62. ‖ Vol. i. p. 6.

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We deny that the Tory party in general honoured King Ernest. His position is accurately stated by Sir Robert Peel in the letter from which we have quoted. Mr. Wilkinson further admits that when the chaplaincy was offered to him he was indeed taken aback. "The stories that were current of the King made my hair stand on end. Knowing all this," he continues, "could I, dare I, accept the appointment of his Majesty's domestic chaplain?" Again: "I knew his Majesty patronized some clergymen for whom the world had little respect, and acquaintances of their own college had no respect. Indeed it was always supposed that his Majesty's intimacy and familiarity with these clergymen were purposely shown to lead them to excess, and amuse himself by making fools of them." *

Another anticipated evil was a peculiarity in the royal family, inherited from George III., of "even during service giving vent, quite loudly, to the thoughts current in his mind." A friend of Mr. Wilkinson had been compelled to give up the curacy of Kew on account of the annoyance given him by the inveterate addiction to this practice of the old Duke of Cambridge. Mr. Wilkinson retells several of the well-known stories of the old Duke's eccentricities in church, and tells one we do not remember to have heard before: "When the clergyman read in the story of Zacchaeus, 'Behold, the half of my goods I give to the poor,' the Duke astonished the congregation by saying aloud, 'No, no; I can't do that; that's too much for any man—no objection to a tenth." †

However, Mr. Wilkinson decided on taking the appointment, and did so at an audience with the King, at which the following conversation took place:—

> I ventured to say there was one point I felt bound to mention, as it might alter his Majesty's gracious intention towards me, and that was that I might be called back to England any day, and be obliged to give up my service at a short notice, as I was to succeed to a living in my own county, the incumbent of which was a man advanced in years, somewhat above seventy, and in a bad state of health. "Ach, Gott!" said his Majesty, laughing; "is that all? Old parsons are always tough: you come with me. God-day—good-day." And his Majesty bowed me out.
>
> I may mention [continues Mr. Wilkinson] apropos to this supposed old-fowl quality in parsons, his Majesty said to me some time afterwards in Hanover, "Doctor" (his Majesty always called me Doctor, I suppose because he was used to it by having Dr. Jelf so long as his domestic chaplain), do you see in the papers that my old friend Dr.

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* Vol. i. pp. 6–10.

† *Ibid.* pp. 10, 11.

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Blomberg is dead? I wonder what the deuce he died of." "Well, sir," I said, "I think he was ninety-six, and so we may say it was small blame to him." "Oh yes," said the King; "but he was as tough as a board, and seemed quite well when I saw him in London about a fortnight ago. *

A kind of charge was given to the new chaplain by the clerical friend who had procured him the appointment.

"You are going," he said, "to an important post with your eyes open. Carry a bold front, be straightforward, and you'll get on. . . . You must speak before kings and not be ashamed or afraid. You have heard perhaps that William IV. said, 'Ernest is not a bad fellow, but if any one has a corn, he is sure to tread on it.' You must never walk as if you had a corn, and you must always remember that those who crawl are sure to be kicked. However, I am sure you will never crawl, and therefore will not be kicked." †

This manly and sensible advice was fully acted on by Mr. Wilkinson. "I had," he says, "to speak before kings in the church, and not be ashamed. I must have the respect of the King everywhere, or my occupation was gone, or indeed was nowhere;" and he very soon communicated his views on this subject to a great favourite of the King who was constantly invited to the royal table. This man having addressed Mr. Wilkinson as "Parson," he replied:

"I think, General, it will be well to tell you at once that I am not going to be the butt of any jokes from king or any one else, nor do I intend to allow any one to *parson* me. We all know that if anything is to be said in a favour, we are spoken of as clergymen, and that when blame is intended, it is the idle, the rowing, the drinking, or the larking *parson*. I would thank you, then, to grant me the respectful title as long as I try to deserve it, and to drop this opprobrious title until you find me disgracing my position by my conduct; and then it will be time for me to give up my appointment. I am quite independent enough to hold my own, and if I do not secure the common respect due to my office, and therefore to myself, I shall immediately resign, and take my departure." ‡

This manly and outspoken declaration was reported to the King, and had its effect. "His Majesty never tried to tread on any corns that I might have had;" § but he admits that "his Majesty was, it cannot be denied, a bully, and often amused himself rather cruelly, like the cat with the mouse, or, as William IV. said, "treading on other people's corns;" ‖ and he elsewhere says that "corns were often trodden upon at the King's

* Vol. i. p. 15. † *Ibid.* pp. 18, 19. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 83.
§ *Ibid.* p. 84. ‖ *Ibid.* p. 127.

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small dinners, particularly in the case of the timid and bashful."* Here are some specimens of the King's "jocular not to say bullying manner," which make one thankful one never had the misfortune to be his guest:

I have seen [Mr. Wilkinson relates] good old Sir John Bligh, our Minister at the Court of Hanover, writhing under the King's sharp and sarcastic remarks, particularly about the Whigs and Whigs' doings, and what his Majesty was pleased to call Whig delinquencies, which Sir John, however he would have stood up for his party in private, could not answer as he wished before company and servants, and about which, having been in the vice, and having been screwed up again tighter and tighter in agony, he used afterwards to speak in no measured terms, and abuse his Majesty for what he called cowardice in taking advantage of his own position, and running him into a corner openly at the dinner table, where he was obliged to keep his mouth shut.†

Here is another instance which is not only "sharp and cruel," but has the additional recommendation of being filthy:

I remember a remark made at dinner to an old and very dirty nobleman, high in rank and office. His house, by those who had seen the inside, was said to be the *ne plus ultra* of dust and disorder; his face, which was wrinkled like an old walnut, was seen by those who looked at him to be grimed in by nothing less than filth. He and all his family had been ill for some time, and when the disease whatever it was, was said to have passed away, the old Count was invited to dinner. The King said, "Glad to see you out again, Count. It's something to have got a clean bill of health. Ich höre Sie haben alle die Krätze gehabt (I hear you've all had the itch.")‡

Soon after Mr. Wilkinson entered on his duties the King gave him several strong hints about the composition, length, and solidity of his sermons. His Majesty asked:

"Doctor, have you ever read Ogden's sermons?" "No, Sir, I have never seen them." "Oh, I'll lend them to you. They were my father's favourite sermons—indeed, we all like them much; they are very short—none more than twenty minutes—but very pithy, without, I believe, a single unnecessary redundant word. *Multum in parvo*, we call them. No doubt they were prepared with great care; and indeed I have always been of opinion that any clergyman who had made a sermon for forty-five minutes could always give us the real pith of it in twenty, if he would only take the trouble." And his Majesty turned to his secretary, and saying, "Desire the librarian to send Mr. Wilkinson Ogden's

* Vol. i. p. 73. † *Ibid.* p. 127. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 128.

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sermons," he struck his heels together, according to cavalry custom, and bowed us out.*

It so happened that the first time Mr. Wilkinson preached before the King was the 5th of November. At that time the "Form of prayer and thanksgiving for the happy deliverance of King James I. and the three estates of England from the most traitorous and bloody intended massacre by gunpowder," with its atrocious libels on Romanists, disgraced the Prayer Book; and some clergymen, of whom Mr. Wilkinson was one, thought themselves bound to use it when the 5th of November fell on a Sunday. Indeed, Mr. Wilkinson highly approved of what he calls that devout and humble service, and regrets that it is expunged from the Prayer Book. He accordingly read every syllable of it, and followed it up with a full-bodied, highly flavoured no-popery sermon. When the service was over he relates:

The King again waited my time. When my prayer was finished, his Majesty again motioned me to lead the cortége back, and he and the Court followed to the ante-room, where I made my bow, to allow all to pass; and his Majesty said, "Doctor I am delighted to find that your opinions, political and divine, coincide exactly with my own. Come and dine with me, and we'll talk more about it." I do not know that I felt the full compliment, but no doubt I had made a hit—indeed I may say a *grand coup*; and my royal master's favour was secured from that very moment.†

Here is a specimen of royal criticism on clerical elocution. Mr. Wilkinson being ill, a stranger volunteered to take his Sunday duty for him. The man finding himself for the first time in the presence of royalty, quite lost all nerve, and hemmed and hawed, and stammered and stuttered, and stopped and rushed on again, in a way that was lamentable to see and hear. This occurrence led to this conversation between the King and his chaplain:

As soon as I reported myself well, I was honoured by an invitation to dinner. "Well, Doctor," said the King, "glad to see you out again. You sent me a pretty fellow last Sunday. I hear he was no clergyman at all." I was quite taken aback, and answered, "Indeed, sir, I am very sorry." "Oh! dear no. I find he was a jockey from Newmarket; in fact, nobody could have gone the pace he did but a jockey." I began to see the twinkle in the old King's eye, and, greatly relieved, carried on the joke. "Well, sir," I said, "I gave notice, and your Majesty did not say 'No.' I was obliged to take his word, and time pressed. He said he had a sermon with him; I wish it had

* Vol. i. p. 77. † *Ibid.* p. 94.

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been one of Ogden's." "Egad," his Majesty added, "you couldn't follow him; he distanced Ogden easily. The race was over in a few minutes!" I said, "I was sorry I could not move on Saturday, or I would have had him out to 'show his paces.'" "You must look him up, Doctor, and tell me more about him, and see if he has got his colours." "Oh, sir," I said, "I have inquired, but find he bolted off the course next morning!" The King was so amused that I verily believe, had the man been still in the town, his Majesty would have asked him to dinner for the fun of the thing, and would have "reverend-jockeyed him, and trod on his corns all dinner, in face of the guests and servants." *

His Majesty's way of dealing with an Irishman—an army surgeon much given to exaggeration—is another specimen of royal courtesy and good feeling:

The fact of the little man's presence in Hanover, and his amusing stories about his army career, were reported to the King, who told the Hof-marshal that, if the Doctor had a uniform, he was to be invited to dine at the palace. He had got his surgeon's cocked hat and feather, &c., and so he duly appeared. The King was in one of his jocular, not to say bullying, moods. "Well, Dr. Popkins," said the King. "I beg your Majesty's pardon—Hopkins," said the little man. "Oh! Hopkins," said the King. "Well, Dr. Hopkins, I hear you have seen men with tails, and with heads under their arms." "Not quite that, your Majesty; but I have seen what would astonish many people," and he went off at a tangent with some extravagant story. "Stop, stop; not so fast, Dr. Popkins." "I beg your Majesty's pardon—Hopkins, sire." "Well, Dr. Hopkins-Popkins, or Popkins-Hopkins, it's much the same——" "I beg your Majesty's pardon; we are the Hopkins of Ballymacrea, closely connected with the O'Briens and the O'——" "Ah! no doubt," interrupted the King; "and the O'Flynns and the O'Flahertys, and all the lot of them," &c. And so the banter, not to say baiting, went on. All were in fits of laughter, but the little man did not see it was at him. When the King had well thrashed out the Hopkinses and Popkinses and all the pedigree, he cut the matter short by turning to speak to the lady at his side, and this of course shut up the little doctor. The King had seen and heard enough of him, and never addressed him again, and in fact never saw him again, much to the little man's bitter disappointment.

Another illustration. In this instance the victim was a would-be young old lady, who appeared at a ball dressed as a girl—all in pure bridal white:

The old king came down the ranks, with his hands in his pockets—as was his wont—bending and spying with his one eye, pretending to

* Vol. i. pp. 120, 121, 122.

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be very blind, but really seeing everything that was wrong, whether it was a button on or off an officer's uniform, or an unsuitable dress in which an old woman was making a fool of herself. His Majesty as he went along spoke a few words here and there to some favoured lady, but when he came to this great white figure, drawn up still and motionless, he bent his piercing one eye forward, satisfied that it was the white porcelain stove, and, veering round, turned towards it that part of his body which an Englishman is said never to expose to friend or foe, and deliberately pretended to warm himself." *

It would be impossible to exceed the coarseness and brutality of this proceeding. This is the way in which his Majesty dealt with his physicians:

The doctors—or at least one of them—came every morning to feel his Majesty's pulse, as was their duty, for which they were paid. They prescribed if they thought it necessary, but their prescriptions were little heeded. The King let them have their own way, and took his. "Put it in the cupboard" was the order when any physic came. Once his Majesty was ill for several weeks—really ill, seriously at his age. The doctors came, of course, every day, sometimes twice or more, and they prescribed as usual. Any one who has been ill for any length of time, and has been attended in an ordinary way once or twice a day by one doctor, well knows what various medicines are prescribed and changed again and again under each phase of the disease; and he would, I believe, be astonished to see all the medicine he had drunk during his illness. Any one may then conceive what a quantity was likely to be ordered, and what changes were likely to be rung by a bevy of doctors, with such a precious personage as a king for a patient. As any bottle or powder was brought, his Majesty said "Put it in the cupboard;" and again and again it was "Put it in the cupboard." Not one drop was touched. Starving and patience were the only remedies resorted to. At last his Majesty got his good turn, and began to feel he could eat again with a relish, and by degrees Nature flung off the disorder, whatever it was, which had run its course. His Majesty was up and dressed, early at business. "Get all those bottles, powders, and pill-boxes out of the cupboards," he said, "and range them in a row round the room." It was a very small room, and they almost made a circle round the walls. The doctors came in smirking and smiling, and congratulated the King upon being up again, and looking so well. "Yes, doctors," said his Majesty, "thank God it is so. But look there—count it up. Don't you think, if I had drunk all that d——d stuff, I should have been dead long ago?" †

One more illustration of kingly blackguardism will suffice:

I remember [writes Mr. Wilkinson] a remark made once openly and loudly at dinner, on one of the days when the company was small,

* Vol. i. pp. 144–5.

† *Ibid.* pp. 148–50.

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about twelve persons at a round table, and so every word spoken was plainly heard by guests and servants. The Duke of Altenberg, father of the Crown Princess, sat nearly opposite the King. During a pause his Majesty called across the table: "Joseph, a glass of champagne—you don't get that every day at home." The Duke had been a reigning sovereign, but had abdicated in favour of his nephew, and the King's remark was true, but it could not be pleasant. It was a corn that was trodden on.*

Once, indeed, his Majesty met with his match from one of his servants.

I think [says Mr. Wilkinson] he had been seventeen years with the King, when something displeased his Majesty, who seemed that morning to have got out of bed the wrong way. "What the devil are you doing there?" said the King. "You're a fool, K——, you're a damned fool!" "Yes, your Majesty," answered K—— sharply; "I am a fool, I know I am a fool, and a d——d fool; and if I hadn't been a fool, and a d——d fool, I never should have been so long with your Majesty." They both had their say, and his Majesty was beaten for once. No warning was given; the dressing was concluded in silence, and the little Bohemian appeared as usual the next morning." †

The chaplain also acted as secretary and reader to the King, whose literary tastes appear in the following excerpt:

When letters were done, I read parts of the debates in the Houses of Lords and Commons; and often and often, in the middle of a speech, I saw his Majesty's eyes close and head nod. I then at first used to stop, when it was a case of "the silence awoke the little judge," and his Majesty, pretending he was shutting his eyes to listen, used to say "Go on"; so, after one or two instances of this I used to continue to read Lord So-and-so's speech, even though my royal master began to snore. When I came to an end, and was silent, he always said "Go on"; and if I answered "That's all, sir," he used to say, "Ah, very interesting. Now see what's o'clock. I think it must be time for the commandant!" If I told him "No sir, it's only half-past ten, or it wants twenty minutes to eleven," his Majesty would say, "Well, doctor, now let us have a look at the police reports; there's always something striking there—there one sees life and character." And I must say his Majesty was really interested, and, often as I found him go to sleep over a debate, I never remember him to have napped over a police report.

But we think our readers have by this time had enough of this kingly old blackguard, his spitefulness and brutality, though we have made a very small selection out of the mass of like stories with which these volumes are filled.

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* Vol. i. p. 160.

† *Ibid.* pp. 162–3.

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There are in these volumes many anecdotes of less distinguished persons than those to whom we have referred. Several very amusing ones are told of King Ernest's body-coachman, Richard, commonly called "Lord," Temple, who gave the imperious comptroller of the household "more trouble than all the other members of the royal service put together." He is verbally photographed by Mr. Wilkinson:

He was short, round, portly, and dignified; and when he was on his high box of office, with his gold-striped State livery, his three-cornered cocked hat, his full-bottomed wig, his silk stockings, broad plated buckles in his shoes, and large nosegay on his breast, handling the ribbons of the four magnificent English grey horses, still and immovable on his hammercloth, absorbed in his duty, and looking neither to the right hand nor to the left, he was pomposity personified.*

Here is a specimen of the man's consummate coolness, if, indeed, impudence be not the better word:

Temple was summoned to the Hof Marshal's office, and was told, as the King went out so seldom, it was quite a farce to suppose they should continue to give him so many liveries a year. The State coat alone cost £30. He could not possibly wear them.

"Well, I know that," said Temple, "but I can sell them."

"Then," said the Hof Marshal, "they should reduce his wages."

"Contract's a contract," said Temple again.

"Oh, but we shall now have a new contract." And one was produced that had been already drawn up, and signed and sealed officially.

As Temple would not come to terms about his liveries, his salary would be reduced a hundred thalers (£15). If he did not agree to this, the King now required him so little, he would be sent back to England.

The paper was handed to him to write the reduced figures, and to sign his name. Temple was not a bit abashed or afraid. His idea was that, as he had been seven years with the King, and from various tokens knew he had given his Majesty satisfaction, his salary ought rather to be increased than reduced, and so in the blank space in the paper handed to him he inserted fifty dollars *more* than he had before, signed his name, and gave it back.

He told me [continues Mr. Wilkinson] you should have seen their faces: "Sir, they scuttled about from one to another, laid their heads together, and bolted out of the room and back again, like rabbits in a burrow."†

The officials naturally and properly told Temple his conduct was an impertinence, and they threatened him with condign

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* Vol. ii. p. 198.

† *Ibid.* pp. 203–4.

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punishment. They brought the matter before the King, who sympathized with his English servant, and gave his Hanoverian officials a rap on the knuckles. "They were not," he said, "to bother him; they were not to interfere with Temple, but to let him have his own way, and be answerable for his own duty." "And so," adds Mr. Wilkinson, "he did have his own way, and chuckled, as may be supposed, over his increased salary." *

On another occasion, Temple, after receiving "an extraordinarily valuable present" from the then Empress of Russia, whom he had driven during a visit she paid to Hanover, went to the Royal Hotel, and ordered the best dinner they could give him. Just as he was in the middle of his third or fourth course and his second bottle of champagne, in came his official chief, the master of the horse, to have his dinner, and one may conceive his disgust at finding the coachman at the head of the table where he was about to dine. "Temple," continues Mr. Wilkinson, "did not budge before the great man of his department. He coolly, in dignified silence, ate on and drank on, and the great man himself was the one to give way, and walk out in disgust to get his dinner elsewhere." †

Perhaps the most amusing of these Temple anecdotes is a transaction between him and Mr. Wilkinson. We give the story in Mr. Wilkinson's own words:

> Temple lost his wife. Of course, I, as chaplain, had to perform the funeral ceremony. A few days afterwards, old Temple, in deep mourning, called upon me. He was very much upset, and evidently had something on his mind which he found a difficulty in expressing, for he stood there for a few moments in silence, and then turned his hat round and round, and looked mournfully into it, and brushed it with his hand, and at last he got out, though stammering—
>
> "I've called, sir—I've called, sir—as I wish to ask—and don't like to put it off—what I've got to pay you for that 'ere job?"
>
> "Oh!" I said; "nothing, of course. I have no fees, Temple; but I remember now I am in your debt, and I must ask you what I have got to pay for the two pots of ointment you made for my horse's cracked feet?"
>
> "Oh!" said Temple, "Lord bless you, sir, don't mention it. Nothing, sir, nothing; 'one good turn deserves another' all the world over." I am sure [is Mr. Wilkinson's kindly comment] he meant nothing disrespectful, for he was doatingly fond of his 'old woman' as he called her; but one could not help thinking it was a queer *façon de parler*. ‡

We have, as is our use and wont, spoken freely of King Ernest; but in justice to his memory we must say as a ruler he turned

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* Vol. ii. p. 205. † *Ibid.* pp. 207–208. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 212.

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out better than, from his education, his prejudices, and the first acts of his reign was to be expected. William IV. had granted a free constitution to his Hanoverian subjects, and on Ernest's succeeding him, his first act was to issue a proclamation throwing over the new constitution. He had, however, all along protested against it, and refused to sign or be a party to it, and contended that it was illegal, inasmuch as the States by which it had been enacted were illegally convoked. He also prosecuted the Liberal professors at the University of Göttingen. By these acts he incurred great odium both in Hanover and in this country.* In fact, Mr. Wilkinson admits that he brought the country to the verge of revolution. Later on, he voluntarily made some great reforms—viz., he abolished the Baronial Court of Justice, at which the people were highly pleased, saying, "Now they had one king; formerly they had twenty." Another important reform was universally hailed by the middle class with deep thankfulness, though really it was but the concession of a right; that was the opening the office of chief Ministers of State to the burgher class.† During the revolutionary year of 1848 he made some popular concessions, and Mr. Wilkinson relates that

> afterwards, when the tide had turned, and the great Powers of Austria and Prussia had won their day and re-established the supremacy of the law, and had retracted many of the concessions made in the time of their terror and weakness; and when they urged upon the King of Hanover to do the same, his Majesty answered: "He had pledged his royal word, and it was not his idea of justice or equity to retract; that what was done was done, and his Ministers must act accordingly." ‡

A statue to his memory in the Railway Square in Hanover, with the following inscription, testifies to the high estimation in which he was held by his subjects:—

> "Dem Landes Vater
> Sein treues Volk." §

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* As to these proceedings, *vide* Greville's "Memoirs" (second part), vol. i. 12, 42; and Mr. Wilkinson's "Reminiscences," vol. i. c. iv. *passim.*

† *Ibid.* p. 60. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 239.

§ "To the father of his country, from his faithful people.

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Art. V.—A New View of Registration of Title to Land.

1 and 2. *Returns on Registration of Title in the Australasian Colonies.* House of Commons Blue Books. 1872 and 1881.

3. *An Essay on the Transfer of Land by Registration.* By Sir Robt. Torrens, K.C.M.G. Published for the Cobden Club by Messrs. Cassell.

4. *Statement on the Land Laws.* By the Council of the Incorporated Law Society of the United Kingdom. Spottiswoode & Co. 1886.

5. *Land Transfer.* Published by order of the Bar Committee. Butterworths. 1886.

6. *Etude sur l'Act Torrens.* By Charles Gide, Professeur de la Faculté de Droit de Montpelier. Paris: Libraire Cotillon. 1886.

"WHEN I buy a horse, or a picture, or a bale of goods, I have no trouble, no lawyer, no delay, no expense. Why should it be different with land?" We select this as the first and commonest of the ingenious confusions that come to us in the garb of simplicity whenever the subject of land transfer is discussed. If anybody will take the trouble to consider for a moment the most obvious characteristics of land—its immobility and immutability, and the most obvious characteristics of goods, their mobility and mutability—he will perceive that a far greater amount of caution must always be necessary in buying land than in buying goods, quite independently of law, lawyers, and legal distinctions. Suppose goods are stolen: the first process is for the thief to run away with them, or otherwise *hide* them from the injured owner, and the next process usually is so to cut them up, or melt them down, or otherwise *destroy their identity*, that the owner would never recognise them again, even if he were to see them, and if this cannot be done they are at any rate removed to such a position and disposed of in such a roundabout manner that the owner may try in vain to find them again as long as he lives. Therefore, when we buy goods, we do not as a matter of precaution inquire into the history of their previous owners, because we know very well that even if questionable dealings have occurred in connection with them, the chances are so small that the rightful

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owner will be able to trace his property into our hands (which if he could do we should assuredly have to yield them up to him) that they may be neglected. Of course, most people do not so question the customs they live under as to be able to give this account of why they act as they do, but the reason is there nevertheless. But how is it with land? Suppose land is wrongfully held or wrongfully disposed of by some one, a more enlightened civilization than any yet known is required to invent the means by which a wrong-doer may so remove or alter an ordinary piece of landed property as to interpose difficulty in the way of the rightful owner in finding or recognising it. And therefore when we buy land it is a matter of common prudence to satisfy ourselves that there have been no questionable dealings with it for a considerable time, for if there have, we may be certain that the injured parties will find us out with the greatest ease, and probably deprive us, sooner or later, of what we have bought. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* The process by which the vendor of land satisfies his purchaser that there have been no questionable dealings with it for a considerable time, is called "proof of title," and amounts to a little history (seldom more than forty years old, often not so long) of the changes of ownership that have occurred during a given period, evidenced as far as possible by the original documents.

"But where would be the difficulty of having a register of land like the register of stock? When I buy stock, it is all done in ten minutes. Why cannot land be treated in the same way?" Put in this form, the question admits of an easy answer, for some of the difficulties of adapting to the transfer of land the principle upon which stock registers are based cannot fail to be obvious the moment they are stated; while others remain not so obvious, but still equally cogent. The principle upon which the stock register is based is this. The entry of a person's name opposite to a given sum of stock confers the absolute ownership of that stock upon him. Stock is transferred by erasing the name of the former owner and entering the name of the new owner. If a mistake occurs, if the bank (which keeps the register) is imposed upon, and enters a transfer without the authority of the true owner, he nevertheless loses his stock. The bank, however, is obliged in such case to repair its mistake by buying a like sum in the market, and placing it in the injured owner's name. As there is always plenty of stock to be bought, and as one £1,000 worth is exactly the same as another, this mode of compensation answers all the requirements of the case. But if the same system is applied to land, it by no means answers the requirements of the case. For in the first place land is not always to be bought, and in the second place, even if it were,

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it is not altogether satisfactory for an owner and occupier who has been living for years in the "Hill Farm" suddenly to be turned out of his home owing to somebody else's mistake, and politely requested to accept "compensation" in the shape of, say, "the Valley Mills," situated in a neighbouring county. Again: there is never any difficulty about the description of the registered property in the case of stock. Suppose we have an entry made in 1846 that A is the owner of £1,000 Consols. B, wanting to buy of A in 1886, sees at a glance that he will get exactly what he wants if A's name is scratched out and his own put in its place. But now suppose we have an entry made in a land Register in 1846 to the effect that A is the owner of the "Hill Farm." B, a new neighbour, wants to buy the "Hill Farm" of A in 1886. It is by no means clear that he will get exactly what he wants by having his name written in the register in place of A's; for the existing Hill Farm that B knows may be a very different holding indeed from the land to which A's registered title applies. Since the registration took place parts of the Hill Farm have been gained by encroachment, other parts by informal adjustment of boundaries with neighbours, parts by exchange, parts by the inclusion of bits of A's other adjoining estates, parts by inclosure of waste lands; and so it may happen that the special little corner of that farm, the very Naboth's vineyard that B is principally desirous to obtain, is not included in A's registered title at all, and that in order to get it safe, B must investigate, and hunt up evidence, and in short satisfy himself about it just as he does now.

The truth of the matter is, that the adaptation of the registry principle to the transfer of land is a matter of immense difficulty, and if it be true that at last a system has been devised by which it can be done, it is only as the result of great labour, great ingenuity, and a history of experiments fruitful in disheartening failure. Having thus cleared the ground of one or two preliminary obstructions, we will proceed to recount in order the various phases through which the subject has passed so far as is necessary to the right understanding of the substantive scheme we have to propound.

There are two very different sorts of "registration of land"—namely, "registration of deeds" and "registration of title." In the counties of Middlesex and York, in Ireland, in most English colonies, in Scotland, in India, in most of the United States, in France, Belgium, Italy, and many other parts of the Continent, there exist *registries of deeds*. The object of a deed registry is to prevent fraud. It does nothing of itself to simplify, or cheapen, or quicken transfer. Its leading idea is to provide a purchaser of land with the means of satisfying himself that no

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material document in the history of a title is being concealed from him by his vendor, and the means usually taken to effect this end is to provide an office where all deeds may be registered, and to enact that registered deeds shall prevail over unregistered ones. Therefore if a purchaser finds all the deeds submitted to him by his vendor satisfactory, and then consults the register, and finds they are all registered, and that there are no other deeds registered relating to the property, he may be almost certain that the deeds he has seen are genuine, and that if any other deeds exist they will not prevail against him, if he registers his own conveyance. Of course a great variety of modifications are introduced into the practical working of the system, by which various difficulties are obviated with differing degrees of success. Also it may be stated that under favourable conditions a deed registry may be made the indirect means of considerably simplifying and cheapening conveyancing as well as preventing fraud. A very conspicuous instance of this is afforded by the Scotch registry. But still, when all is said and done, a deed registry does not pledge the State to any assertion beyond this, that *certain documents have been registered:* however much it may help the inquiry as to their ultimate effect, the need of a lawyer is hardly ever obviated, as the final responsibility of interpreting them remains with the party himself, and if he misinterprets them the loss is on his own head.

In England and Ireland (to an almost inappreciable extent, however), in the Australasian and in some other colonies, in Iowa, U.S.A., in the Hanse Towns, in Prussia, Hesse, and some other districts in Europe, and in the French colony in Tunis, *registry of title* has been established. The object of this system is to provide both for safety and for ease; the leading principle is that of the stock register above described, but with a vast amount of exception and reservation owing to the difference in the subject matter to which it is to be applied. Some of the details will appear later on; but at present it is enough if it is seen that under such a system the government commits itself to a most distinct statement of fact—namely, that A is the owner of the Z estate; it absolves the purchaser from all obligation to make up his own mind about it; it affords an escape in a vast number of cases from the necessity of engaging professional help; and if a mistake occurs, it is not the purchaser who has to suffer.

Before proceeding to consider this new system, one very prevalent misconception as to the effects of the present system must be touched upon.

For it is often supposed that great *insecurity* exists at present. That landowners do not know whether their land is their own;

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with the result, one would suppose, that a good deal of loss must be occasionally incurred by unwary purchasers owing to defective title. It may accordingly be somewhat of a surprise to many to learn that the following decisive statement has recently been made by a very high authority :*—

With regard to the safety of purchasers on absolute sales, the existing system of conveyancing, so far as mere safety is concerned, approaches as nearly to perfection as any system which has ever existed in any country. The voluminous evidence appended to the various Parliamentary Reports above referred to (1857, Registration Commission; 1870, Land Registration Commission; 1878, 1879, Mr. O. Morgan's Committee) shows that witnesses with the widest experience of the relevant facts were unable to specify any example which had ever occurred to them in business of a purchaser on an absolute sale who had been evicted by reason of a concealed flaw in his title.

A few of these witnesses are then quoted. To select two :—Mr. Barber, Q.C., says : " In the course of a very large experience, I cannot at this moment recall a single instance where on a purchase and sale transaction the purchaser has been ousted because of a fraud in the execution of a deed." Mr. E. W. Rowcliffe, of the firm of Gregory, Rowcliffe & Rawle, says :

I have never known a purchaser lose his property or suffer any loss from a concealed incumbrance or liability on account of the shortness of the title he had taken. Indeed, I may say that during nearly twenty-five years of litigated business arising in all parts of England, I have never known a purchaser lose his property from any unknown defect of title. I have known cases in which purchasers have been ejected, but the defect has been known and guarded against either by absolute covenants or deeds of indemnity.

What these are we need not explain; it suffices that they are adequate.

But when from safety we come to consider *speed* or *cheapness*, the tale is very different. So far as we are able to discover, there is no civilized country in the world where sales and mortgages habitually take so long a time to transact as they do here. While in some highly civilized countries—France and Prussia, for instance, not to speak of our own Colonies—land is habitually sold and mortgaged in a day, or even in an hour, including everything, from the commencement of the negotiation to the completion of the transaction, in England a month or two is a very fair average time for such transactions to occupy; they

* "Land Transfer," pp. 68, 69.

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have been known to extend over years; in small matters they are occasionally pulled through in a week or a fortnight, and when this period is shortened to three or four days, the feat is pointed at and remarked upon as an instance of marvellous expedition. The legal charges too (though much improved by the recent introduction of a "scale," which fixes a large proportion of them according to the value of the land dealt with) are far higher in England than anywhere else in the case of small properties; though in the case of great estates our charges compare favourably with a few (but only a few) of the continental States —France and Belgium, for instance. It must be remembered, however, in looking at totals taken from continental experience, that they include a very high Government duty chargeable on sales in most of those countries. In France and Belgium the duty alone amounts to seven per cent. on the value of the land, whereas in England only one-half per cent. is thus charged. This is not a law expense at all, but a tax, and care should be taken that it is deducted when law expenses are being treated of. But in Scotland, in our own Australasian Colonies, the United States, Prussia, Bavaria, Austria, and other German States, Holland and Greece, and probably many other places too, the expenses of sales and mortgages of ordinary landed properly are utterly insignificant in comparison with our own. The lowest legal charge for a deal with land in England is £6, for there must be at least two parties concerned, and each of them may be charged £3. This is considerably above the *maximum* charge in some States. In practice these charges are no doubt lessened very much; solicitors, especially in the country, being willing to do work for a guinea or two, or even less, to oblige their poorer clients, but probably similar allowances are made in other countries too, and however this may be, the principal fact remains as stated —that the legal charges of land transfer in England will almost invariably be found to be the highest in the world.

The Council of the Incorporated Law Society * claim that the idea of registering title to land originated with solicitors. It was certainly suggested by Mr. T. G. Fonnereau, a London solicitor, to the Real Property Commissioners of 1828, and was afterwards worked out in different ways by Mr. R. Wilson, another London solicitor, a member of the Council of the Incorporated Law Society, Mr. W. S. Cookson, Mr. E. Field, and Mr. W. Williams, who is still a member of the Council. But the barristers were not behindhand either: the most distinguished among them were

* Statement of the Land Laws, p. 8.

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Mr. Duval in 1829, and later Lord Cairns when Attorney-General, and Sir Henry Thring.

When it is considered that all law reform is expected to come from the lawyers; that the only ones that are competent to the task are the busiest and most hard-worked in other ways; that every bit of the labour such persons bestow upon the herculean task is performed gratis; and that the only immediate personal result of its successful conclusion is the increase of trouble necessarily incident to all changes, and a prospect of speedy diminution in professional gains, the wonder is, not that we have so little law reform, but that we have so much.

Before proceeding to the Acts themselves, a word or two of general explanation will be useful. Under all Acts establishing registration of title, two principal classes of operations have to be provided for, which may be respectively termed "first registrations" and "subsequent dealings." They may be shortly (though rather imperfectly) described thus:—

First Registration.—A person applies to be registered as owner of given lands. The registrar inquires as to his claim to such lands, and as to the correctness of the description of their boundaries furnished by him. When both are satisfactory the applicant is registered. The entry in the register confers an absolute title upon him.

Subsequent Dealings.—The registered owner wishes to sell. He sends an order to the registrar (somewhat unhappily termed an "instrument of transfer"), requiring him to enter the purchaser as registered owner in his place. The registrar satisfies himself that the order is a genuine one, and makes the required entry. This confers an absolute title on the purchaser.

There is no essential difference between the act or the effect of registration in these two cases: in both cases it results in the same thing—namely, that the registered owner for the time being has the equivalent of a fresh Crown grant made to himself, annulling all former grants, absolute, unimpeachable. But the difference in the preliminary duties of the registrar in the two classes of operations justifies their separation for purposes of practical discussion.

Registration of title was first instituted in England by "an Act to facilitate the proof of title to and the conveyance of real estates" (25 & 26 Vic. cap. 53), carried by Lord Westbury in 1862. Under that Act any person owning a fee simple, or a leasehold for years of which fifty were unexpired, or a leasehold for lives of which two were still subsisting, was at liberty to register his title if he could satisfy the registrar that it was unimpeachable, or, in technical language, "marketable." After first registration of any property, a purchaser's inquiries

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as to title would be confined to the ascertainment of subsisting interests entered on the register, and the process of conveyance might be the comparatively inexpensive process of a "registered transfer." In the year 1863, eight titles were registered; in 1864, eight more; in 1865, forty-eight; in 1866, one hundred and five—slow but steady progress; and it appeared as though the scheme would eventually succeed. But after 1866 dissatisfaction began to be felt by those who had tried the system; titles were removed by their owners from the books, entries fell off; in 1870 there were only twenty-nine titles registered: in 1874 only four.

A great many suggestions have been made as to the probable causes of the failure of Lord Westbury's Act. But life is short, and as only two of them are in any way supported by facts, we do not propose to enter into any but these two. The first is, that the difficulty of proving an unimpeachable title to the registrar, and the difficulty of overcoming the objections of neighbouring owners to the registration of disputable boundaries, were so great that few landowners were in a position to face the combined dangers of expense and delay and risk of total or partial failure, for the mere possibility of benefit on future sales and mortgages. A few details will help us to realize what these dangers were.

Mr. Butt (Evidence, Land Transfer Commission, 1870) told the story of the only three registrations he had himself conducted. The first was a title which the Court of Chancery had accepted on behalf of suitors. Before the registry could accept it, eighteen months were spent in additional inquiries. In the next case the private negotiations on a purchase, including a delay, owing to the purchase money not being forthcoming, had been completed in ten months. Registration, commenced immediately afterwards, occupied two years and five months in additional inquiries. The costs of the purchase, including duty, were £79. The registration cost £134. The third title was exactly the same as the first, but though the registrar was informed of this, the rules obliged him to go through the whole process over again, which surely ought to have been unnecessary. Among other cases mentioned to the Commissioners were these: A title accepted in two months at a cost of £78 on a private purchase was taken to the registrar directly afterwards. It was still pending at the end of two years and a half, and the costs up to date were £90 (Evidence Nos. 627–666). Another title which was accepted on a purchase in four months, at a total cost (including conveyance and duty) of £56, registered immediately afterwards, cost £124, and one year and eight months delay, and was even then compelled to have the following note endorsed upon it:—"By the will of A, proved 31 December 1831, the

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hereditaments were, with the other real and personal estate of the said testator, charged with a moiety of a sum of £2,000 for the benefit of D, one of the two only children who attained twenty-one; of C, widow, deceased, the daughter of the testator; D died intestate, and was buried 24th April 1847. No administration has been taken out to D, but the whole of the sum of £2,000, together with interest thereon, was on the 20th February 1862 paid to E, his only brother and sole next of kin, and sole executor of C" (Evidence, Nos. 667–681). We shall not attempt the task of translating this into the vulgar tongue—suffice it to say that it is a suggestion of a risk of incalculable remoteness, to which no lawyer would give a second thought; but to a plain man it is certainly unintelligibly ugly.*

The professional reader will wonder how the time was spent. The following example will enlighten him. One of the former owners of an estate to be registered was John Harrison, of Reigate, farmer, who bought it in 1830, and died in 1850. The registrar required proof that a judgment against one John Harrison, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, beerseller, and another judgment against one George Harrison, of Cockermouth, ironmonger, did *not* affect the estate. (Appendix, p. 56.)

The second failing of Lord Westbury's system seems even worse than the first. When all the months and years had been spent, and the title proved and the bill paid, and the time for mortgage or sale had arrived, and the reward of ease and expedition and cheapness was evidently expected, it nevertheless constantly happened that the hope turned out entirely a delusive one: more time, more trouble, more money being spent over the *simplest transactions* with registered property than would have been incurred in the like operations under the private practice. For instance, it appears from the evidence given to Mr. O. Morgan's Committee in 1878 that Mr. Joshua Williams, Q.C., bought a registered property, and afterwards mortgaged, and then sold it. He experienced "a great deal of delay, and a great expense, more I think than would have been incurred if the property had not been on the registry" (1878, No. 384). Mr. H. W. Elphinstone purchased registered land, and incurred £11 extra expenses, and three months' extra delay, owing to its being registered, he says: "I had formed a very strong opinion in favour of registration of title at first, but now I have had practical experience of it, and my experience has been very painful" (1879,

* The Registrar furnished details of twenty-five cases of first registration as "a fair illustration." The average time for each was two years and five months; one case came within nine days of five years; and only three took less than twelve months each. The shortest time on record was four months twenty-seven days. (Appendix, p. 78.)

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Nos. 359–367). Other cases were also mentioned. No single witness examined by the Committee mentions a case of money or trouble or time being saved by registration; and many more instances of well-grounded dissatisfaction can be collected by any one who asks questions from those who have had experience. It need not be pretended that in no instance has benefit been derived from the registry (though it is certainly remarkable that no instance was mentioned in evidence); but it is abundantly clear that the net result of experience of the office practice was this: that solicitors, having to consider whether they should, as a rule, advise their clients to register their titles, came to an almost unanimous decision that they could not do so. The absolute title conferred by registration was practically *no advantage* at all, for, as we have seen, owners and purchasers of land are already quite safe enough: the *immediate expense* was *enormous:* the *ultimate promise* of easy transfer and mortgage had proved a *delusion* in many cases—the Act had absolutely nothing to recommend it, and it so fell into neglect.

But matters were not allowed to rest here. A Royal Commission, consisting of law lords, members of Parliament, barristers, and solicitors, was appointed in 1868 to examine into the causes of this failure. The Report of that Commission was most discordant; several of its most influential members dissenting on many point. Why these Commissioners should have been so much more impressed by the first of the above mentioned causes of failure than by the second, it is very difficult to see, but so it was; and accordingly their suggestions for remodelling the registration scheme all proceeded in one direction—facilitating the process of first registration.

These suggestions were followed out, more or less faithfully, by our second Registration Act, which was carried by Lord Cairns in 1875. Lord Cairns's Act facilitates the process of first registration in three principal ways. The registrar is given power to accept less than a "marketable" title wherever he may think it safe to do so; the attempt to guarantee boundaries is abandoned (which alone diminishes the expenses of first registration by one-third) and a new sort of registration—"possessory registration"—was offered. Possessory registration does not warrant the title of the first registered owner, and therefore dispenses with the need of inquiries on first registrations. Its operation may be thus summarized:—A person applies to be registered as possessory owner of given lands; the registrar makes no inquiry as to his title, but registers him on his own and his solicitor's declarations. The registration confers no more title upon him than he possesses already. This owner wishes to sell. He sends his order to

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the registrar, and the registrar satisfies himself that the order is a genuine one, and enters the purchaser's name. This confers on the purchaser an absolute title to whatever the first registered owner has to dispose of. This will be sufficient or not for practical purposes according to circumstances. For instance, it will probably be insufficient if the sale takes place very soon after the first registration, and proof will then be required, in the old way, that the owner's title was a good one at the time of the first registration. If, however, a good long time —say twenty or thirty years—has elapsed since the first registration, the purchaser will probably be quite content; for by this time it will be practically certain that the first registration *was* a correct one—that the first registered owner was then truly entitled to the estate registered—or that, if he was not, all likely claims against him have been barred by lapse of time; and thus a practically absolute title is obtained by the cheap process of sitting still, without the need of an official examination to begin with. Hardly any possessory titles have been registered. The surprise which this announcement will probably produce may be diminished by the statement of four bills for possessory registrations—the only ones we have been able to obtain. They are £18 12*s.* 6*d.*, £16 1*s.* 9*d.* (for a property worth only £105), £15 17*s.* 2*d.*, £28 4*s.* 10*d.* Remembering that the possible advantages for many years after first registration are absolutely *nil*, these disclosures alone go some way towards accounting for the phenomenon. No serious attempt was made to improve the office practice on the registration of subsequent dealings, nor do the framers of the Act seem to have been at all aware of the necessity for improvement in this particular. Notwithstanding the above-mentioned and other high bids for popular favour which it contained (some of which are open to very serious censure on the ground of laxity), Lord Cairns's Act never succeeded in obtaining the small share of public notice that its predecessor did. Only 113 titles have been registered under it in ten years.

The truth is, that the same defects which we observed under Lord Westbury's Act continue to prevail under Lord Cairns's, mitigated only to a slight degree in respect of first registrations.

To prove a title to the registrar remains a much more formidable undertaking than to prove it to a private purchaser, and as long as this is the case it is impossible to make any progress. "A landowner has to prove his title to the official—practically in the country we never prove a complete title on a sale—and his solicitor has to obtain a much larger mass of information than is usually rendered to purchasers" (Evidence, 1878,

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Nos. 2349, 2350). To register under Lord Cairns's Act "would cost as much again" as an ordinary purchase by a member of a building society (Evidence, 1878, Nos. 2953, 3028). "The public officer is beyond all question more particular than an ordinary solicitor" (1879, No. 1356). The expenses of the purchase of a particular estate were £62; registration under Lord Westbury's Act cost £131. A careful expert estimated that under Lord Cairns's Act it would cost £100, the reduction being due to the omission of all guarantee of boundaries—that is, by a proportionate diminution in the usefulness of the registered title (1879, Nos. 388–394). Passing, again, from first registrations to the after-experiences of those who have used Lord Cairns's Act, we find the same complaint as we noticed in sales under Lord Westbury's. "You not only incur an expense of transferring within the office which amounts to a sum exceeding what the members of building societies pay, but in order to approach the office you have to pay a professional agent his fees to get the thing done for you" (1878, No. 1782). "The delay takes place in every transaction, and that is a very serious thing in small transactions; there is no reason why the transaction should be anything but a simple one, and very uncostly; but practically it is not so" (1878, 3001, 3034). The minimum cost to the owner appears to be somewhere about £8 all told; therefore it is clear that in small transactions, such as selling a plot off a large estate, the expense cannot fail to be greater than it usually is under the unregistered practice; and as Lord Cairns's Act does not allow titles to be removed from the register, a very small property has *no escape* from law charges which may absorb its entire income for years, *however willing* all parties may be to act easily and liberally to each other.

It is strange that, with these later facts before them, the next Parliamentary Committee on the subject (Mr. O. Morgan's Committee of 1878, 1879) should again have failed to perceive the damning character of the blot they disclose, and should have suffered the Australian experience—which they consulted on a variety of less important topics—to escape them as to the one point by which a safe and easy remedy for the faults here emphasized is disclosed, with which remedy we propose to acquaint the reader before long.

For it must be known that side by side with this discouraging series of failures in England there has been going on a series of great and uniform successes in the Australasian colonies ever since 1857, when the first Registration Act was introduced into South Australia by the late Sir Robert Torrens. With no learned Chancellors to frame it, as with us—on the contrary, in the teeth of so strong a professional opposition that lawyers

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appear to have been excluded from certain offices under the Act, for fear of their ruining it in practice—the framer completely succeeded in hitting such an exact middle line between rashness and timidity as to enable all the business of the office to be conducted with ease and despatch, without incurring any appreciable risk from fraud or error. Also, after a year or two, certain most important alterations were seen to be necessary in the nature of the absolute title granted; alterations which advanced jurists in England are at last independently inventing over again, about thirty years in arrear.

As many people in England are quite unaware of the success which the Australian "Torrens" system has achieved, a few facts from original sources may be usefully submitted here. The measure was introduced into South Australia first in 1857, as already stated. In the course of the first eighteen months more than 1,000 applicants to register titles came forward voluntarily out of a population of 100,000. (Looking at the population of England, it would appear that a similar enthusiasm in this country would produce 200,000 applicants, or thereabouts, in the same time.) The Act was so successful in South Australia that it was copied in Queensland in 1861 (where now over 98 per cent. of the whole land of the colony is registered), in Tasmania in 1862, in Victoria in the same year, in New South Wales in 1863—in spite of some misgivings lest the greater antiquity of that colony (founded 1788) might render it less suitable, which misgivings soon proved groundless. New Zealand and Western Australia followed in 1870 and 1874, thus completing the entire list of Australasian colonies. As to its results, Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for South Australia, says: "Registration of title is now almost universal—for one transaction under deeds now there a thousand under the Act. [To a person wanting to borrow money on mortgage] I should say, first, 'Real Property Act, I suppose?' Then the next thing would be, 'You do not want a lawyer, I suppose? I do not.' He would probably say 'No.' I should go to the Registry Office, and draw out a mortgage upon the counter, have it witnessed, and hand it to the clerk, and say to him, 'It will be ready to-morrow afternoon, I suppose?' Bankers and merchants have a clerk who looks after these things and gets mortgages on property made. There is no necessity for the intervention of a lawyer; such a thing is never thought of." (Evidence, 1879, Nos. 1778, 1792). Sir Robert Torrens has had people mortgaging their land for £7, because a man gets his mortgage for 5*s.*, and in a quarter of an hour (1878, No. 3235). In Tasmania it is an every-day occurrence for parties to come to the office, sign the proper forms, filled up by the clerk according to their instruc-

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tions, pay over the purchase money, or the amount lent, then and there at the counter, and walk off with their business completed. (1872 Return, p. 137.) From New South Wales we learn "the public generally have become so accustomed to our certificates as in many instances to decline accepting a property except the title is registered." In New Zealand "a large proportion of land transfer business is transacted by unprofessional persons licensed as land brokers, and who readily acquire the necessary familiarity with the system" (1881 Return, p. 99): their fees are about 5*s.* or 6*s.* 8*d.* "The broker is sometimes a solicitor, sometimes a land agent, sometimes a merchant." (1879 Evidence, No. 1947). Even where a lawyer is employed the work is so simple that the total expense seldom exceeds £3. (Hon. R. C. Baker: *London Chamber of Commerce Journal*, Dec. 1885, p. 298.)

Business men conversant with the actual process of sale and mortgage and lease of land will be curious to know how provision is made under the registry system for various matters of detail. Space does not permit of our entering into these, but it must suffice to assert here that the Torrens system has been so developed as to meet all exigencies of everyday business requirements, including especially temporary "equitable mortgages" to bankers without publicity, the transaction of business at a distance from the registry, the protection of secondary interests, alteration of boundaries.

Besides the Australasian colonies, the Torrens system has spread into British Columbia, Iowa, Fiji, and Tunis. It is about to be adopted in Singapore and Malacca, and has lately attracted a great deal of notice in France, both in the newspapers and in the works of jurists.

We must now ask the attention of the reader to what we consider to be the chief cause of our failure in England to realize this success.

The Torrens system makes adequate provision for the possible occurrence of a mistake; the English systems are absolutely silent on the subject. To appreciate the gravity of this omission it is only necessary to consider for a moment the irresistible force of the engine employed wherever registration of absolute title is applied to land. To take two extreme cases that might occur under the English Acts:—Lord F. lets his family mansion to Mr. B. for twenty-one years, and goes to live on the Continent. Mr. B. after a while registers himself as owner in fee simple by means of forged documents of title, and afterwards sells the place by a registered sale to a genuine purchaser. Lord F. and his family have lost their seat, and no provision is made for their compensation in any way. Again, suppose Mr. Brown is the registered owner of the "Hill Farm" and is

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living on it in peace and quiet. Mr. Jones, an adept in personation and forgery, pretends to a stranger, Mr. Robinson, that he is Brown, and purports to mortgage the "Hill Farm" to the said Robinson, forging Brown's signature, producing a forged copy of Brown's certificate of title, and forging the necessary "verification." The mortgage is registered—Jones absconds. In this case, unless Brown by hook or by crook can satisfy that fraudulent mortgage (of which he now hears for the first time), he is entirely at the mercy of Robinson, and liable to be sold out by him. In such a case, if his property had not been registered, Brown would have been safe, but actually *because it is registered* he is liable to lose it, without a chance of redress, although he knew nothing, and could not by any means have known anything, of Jones's fraudulent proceedings, which were all carried on behind his back. Persons who go and laugh at the delicate situation of the too zealous Koko and Pooh Bah in "The Mikado" are probably not aware that the Japan of Mr. Gilbert is by no means the only place where personation on the part of another, coupled with a "stupid Act saying nothing about a mistake," may involve innocent persons in very unpleasant consequences.

Now although experience is gradually tending to show that such occurrences are in the last degree unlikely to happen, yet their bare possibility casts a serious impediment in the way of progress for any voluntary registration scheme, and that in two ways. For one thing, solicitors, who realize these dangers as far more serious than any that exist under the present system—for they are dangers which no vigilance can provide against, whereas all the dangers of the present system can be provided against by vigilance—solicitors scruple to advise their clients to put themselves under a system in which they are possible. While, on the other hand, the apprehension of such occurrences introduces such a nervous timidity into the framers of the Rules of Procedure in the office, that the precautions insisted on to guard every initial registration and every subsequent transaction from the least loophole of fraud, or possibility of mistake, are such as to impede the progress of every-day business to a most inconvenient extent, and in fact, as we have seen, to produce the absurd result that in England a first registration costs two or three times as much as an ordinary sale, and a registered sale will often cost more trouble, more money, and—worst of all—more time, to carry through than an unregistered dealing of the same character.

Now let us turn to the Torrens system. In the first case that we put, Lord F. would receive the full value of the land he had been deprived of out of an "assurance fund" raised for that purpose by a percentage charged on all registrations (though in

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Australia it is likely enough that this arrangement meets all the requirements of the case, probably in England it would be better to put it the other way—namely, to make the first registration inoperative altogether against Lord F., and to award the compensation to the purchaser from Mr. B.). In the second case, Brown would be left in peace, and Robinson would be compensated for his loss out of the same "assurance fund."

Passing to the Australian office procedure on first registration and on subsequent dealings, we find that this excellent provision for mistake induces a freedom from timidity in accepting fair titles, and an absence of official interference on sales and mortgages which those who conduct business in our office may well envy, which turns every registered owner of land into a walking —and talking—advertisement of the advantages of the system, and at the same time is shown, by an experience of nearly thirty years, to furnish far more than adequate protection for the assurance fund against excessive loss. In 1880 (the date of the last report) the various assurance funds amounted to over £180,000; the sum total of all the compensations that had been paid was only £2,500; and the several funds of Tasmania, New South Wales, and New Zealand (the three oldest colonies, containing titles dating back to 1803, 1788, and 1814 respectively), and Western Australia, were actually intact. The percentage charged is one halfpenny in the pound on the value of the land (about one-fifth per cent.), except in Tasmania, where it is only one farthing, and it is paid on first registration and on every death of a registered owner.

As it is often supposed that the great difficulty in England must necessarily be first registration, owing to the confused state of all titles, it will be well to observe how, if the peculiarity of the Torrens system just pointed out were adopted here, the first registration of all titles—old or young, simple or complicated, long or short, clear or cloudy—would be equally facilitated.

For, under the wing of an assurance fund, the Australian registrars are in a position totally different from that of our registrar. It has been well remarked of our registrars' scrupulosity under Lord Westbury's Act, that

> the precautions adopted by the Registration Office were not only justifiable, but such as could not have been neglected without the grossest dereliction of duty. The fact that some of them are often waived in practice by willing purchasers affords no reason why a dormant claim as to which the purchaser is willing to "take his chance" should be arbitrarily abolished by a public official. It should be remembered that "waiving a requisition" means only, on the part of a purchaser, voluntarily choosing, for the sake of completing a purchase, to incur a given risk; whereas on the part of

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the registrar it may mean confiscating somebody else's legal rights. An application for registration with indefeasible title is not a mere application to effect a sale, in which the opposite party has a full right to waive any objection. It is an application to decide finally upon the possible rights of strangers to the proceedings, who are not only unrepresented but probably unaware of what is taking place. Nobody can question a purchaser's right to accept any title for what it is worth, relying on the probability that dormant claims will continue to sleep. But it is quite possible to question the propriety of permitting a public officer arbitrarily to bar dormant claims merely because he thinks it unlikely that they will be effectively prosecuted. ("Land Transfer," p. 46.)

Of the increased liberty allowed to the registrar under Lord Cairns's Act the same authority remarks:

The convenience of this enactment in facilitating the registration of titles is obvious; but this convenience is manifestly gained by giving power to a public official to confiscate dormant rights without compensation if he thinks them not likely to be prosecuted with effect. It has been already pointed out that in this process there is nothing analogous to the consent of a willing purchaser to run the risk of a remotely possible or dormant claim. The fact that many purchasers are willing to incur some slight degree of risk affords no reason why dormant rights which may be involved should arbitrarily be confiscated, especially without compensation (p. 55).

Practically, however,

the new registry did nothing at all to remove the main objection which experience had shown to be fatal to the old one—viz., that it inevitably saddles a landowner with a very appreciable additional expense, and (if a purchaser) with a still greater disadvantage in the way of delay in completing his purchase, for the sake of obtaining an advantage which, even if of undoubted value in itself, offers only a remote and uncertain advantage to the person himself at whose cost it is obtained. An Act may easily introduce into its practice a dangerous laxity of procedure, but no degree of laxity which could be regarded as tolerable could possibly have effected the object aimed at. If such provisions are administered with prudence and discretion, they leave the procedure, as far as the present point is concerned, practically unaltered. Some reduction may be made in the necessary expense, but the practical effect for this purpose of a mere reduction is inconsiderable (p. 61).

With all this we entirely concur, and we have quoted it at length to enable the reader to appreciate the gravity of the point we are discussing.

With the Australians, however—*mirabile dictu*—it is the avowed practice to accept all titles which appear to be practically safe, not only as freely as, but more freely than, ordinary

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purchasers. With this we also concur. Why? The result is arrived at in two steps. That the Australian registrar may act *as freely* as ordinary purchasers results from the consideration that owners of dormant claims which he may overlook, or elect to "take his chance" of, are not irreparably injured by his mistakes, owing to the power of compensation afforded by the fund; that he can act *more freely* than ordinary purchasers, results from the ordinary consideration underlying all insurance business—namely, that larger risks can be prudently incurred where many cases are treated together, than where they would have to be incurred by different individuals one by one. Nobody would insure one ship or one house or one life on terms short of exorbitant; when many are taken together, the charge becomes reasonable at once. So with titles. No one would prudently accept a title with a grave *hiatus* in it if he could help it, but when they are insured by the hundred the matter is much easier. (It must not be supposed that the registrars in Australia, or purchasers in England, ever accept a title from A which indicates that B is probably the real owner. "Bad title" means for the most part "defective title" only—a title in which there is a gap —"a pig in a poke," in fact. It should not be called a chain with a *weak link;* it is a chain one of whose links *cannot be tested* except by the fact that the chain bears. Anything worse than this is never thought of for an instant.)

With the recognition of this principle, that the registrar with an assurance fund is in an easier position than an ordinary purchaser, a corollary of the utmost practical importance immediately follows, and that is, that in prospect of a sale or mortgage it is invariably cheaper to register the title than to proceed in the ordinary way; or again, that immediately after a substantial dealing a title will usually be in sufficiently "apple-pie order" to ensure its registration (if desired) without delay or difficulty, and possibly even without expense.

We have stated these results in the first instance as following logically from the premises. If this origin causes them to be regarded with any suspicion, the following extract from the report of the Registrar of Titles of Victoria in 1880 may be held to give them a more substantial value. He says:

Applications to bring land under the Act are generally made when the parties are dealing with the land, and the expenses of passing the title through the office must vary according to the business to be transacted, *but it must be much less than would have to be incurred in the investigation and making good titles between vendor and purchaser under the old system*, from the fact that requisitions are only made by the office upon questions involving some substantial interests, and the compliance with them is not required to be of such a formal character as would be the case under the old system. (1881 Return, p. 147.)

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We wonder what an Australian registrar would say to the story of the Newcastle beer-seller, or the unadministered D, given at p. 84.

That the titles here referred to were not absolutely baby titles appears from the fact that the Victorian Act, having been passed in 1862, since which date all fresh Crown grants were put on the register by law, all titles coming to the office for first registration in 1880 were at least eighteen years old—an age which in the colonies would imply on the average six or eight dealings to peruse, of a highly informal character occasionally. Whatever means be adopted in England for working out the details, it is tolerably certain that if we proceed on this principle it will yield the same broad practical result that it has yielded in Australia—that is to say, that the occasion of sale or mortgage will offer a favourable opportunity for the registration of titles in all cases, and that when this is made clear by a few examples the public will not be slow to avail themselves of it.

First registration is only half the difficulty, however. Unless we take efficient means to prevent the subsequent disappointments which so many have experienced as the result of registration, it will be of no use to open ever so easy a door to applicants for first registration. The well-advised fly does not hasten to avail himself of the "facilities" for entrance afforded by the breadth of the spider's lintel. Now, as to this, whatever opinions may be entertained as to the differences between English and Australian titles before registration, there can be little doubt that after registration the same methods of dealing would be equally applicable to both. Our advice, therefore, on this head is exceedingly simple, and we have reason to believe it would be efficacious. Instead of racking our brains to *invent* new modes of registering dealings, why should we not simply *copy* the Australian methods? They are quite different to ours, and not nearly so cumbrous. For instance, in England, before a registered estate can be dealt with, before the purchaser can cross the threshold of the office, or the registrar dip his pen in the ink, a solicitor *must* be employed. He must know the parties, must see them sign a paper, and must make an affidavit: this is thought to be an indispensable protection against fraud. If it be so it is rather humiliating to our national honesty, for it is unnecessary in Australia. (The suggestion has been made, that notoriety in a small community enables precautions to be dispensed with that are needed in a large one. But does it really appear that any appreciable difference can exist in this respect between England and Australia, with its 3,000,000 of inhabitants scattered over a territory as large as Russia?) The success or failure of a system of this kind may most easily depend on points of detail (witness the different results, well known to

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lawyers, obtained from the identically constituted Deed Registries of Middlesex and Yorkshire), and why in the world we should risk a fresh *fiasco* over official procedure when there is a complete body of procedure ready to hand, which has stood the test of nearly thirty years' experience under very severe pressure of multifarious business, it is difficult to see.

If the new registrar were sent over to Australia, he would learn the business better in a month than in studying the fruits of years of labour spent in compiling reports and returns. If this be thought expensive, let it be observed that our failures have cost the treasury between £80,000 and £90,000 already; that for some years back we have been losing over £4,000 a year by them, and that until the office rights itself by gaining the confidence and patronage of the public, we are pledged to go on in the same extravagant fashion.

The question of finance is an exceedingly important one. The Australian registries are all self-supporting, and have long since recouped the initial outlay. Their fees are uniform, and rarely exceed 30*s.*, including everything; an ordinary simple mortgage usually costs 5*s.* Detailed accounts of receipts and expenditure have not come to us, but this much at any rate appears from Queensland. In that colony they have over 40,000 titles on the register, and the total gross expenses of the maintenance of the office are less than £5,000 a year—less, that is, than we have been paying in England for an office which has a bare 3,000 titles now on the books. If it be fancied that the work per title in England is heavier than that performed in the colonies, we may mention that, according to returns from Victoria (the Queensland returns are silent as to this point), property in that colony appears to be dealt with to the extent of its entire value at least *once in every two years;* and in Queensland mortgages are occasionally so complicated as to necessitate 1,500 entries each. (This figure is startling, but we take it from the Parliamentary Return of 1881, p. 89.)

It would be a great mistake to fix the fees chargeable in the English office as low as the Australian fees at first. They may be lowered as time goes on, but it is a matter of great importance to obtain a safety surplus as soon as possible. They should be based upon the present scale of fees for private conveyancing, and, if possible, no "extras" should be allowed of any sort or kind—the present schedule of registry office fees is a veritable wasps' nest of unexpected three-and-sixpences. We may state it as the result of calculations, of which we shall be happy to furnish the details to any one desirous of testing them, that if our registration fees are fixed at one-tenth of the minimum total costs of conveyancing according to the *ad valorem* scale issued under

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the Solicitors' Remuneration Act of 1881, and the gross office expenses per title per annum be reckoned at *double* those incurred in Queensland, then, on the modest assumption that on the average all registered property will bring in the above fees only *once in every twenty years*—a considerable annual surplus will accrue.

The subscription to the guarantee fund requires consideration, both as to its amount and as to the occasion on which it should be paid. As to its amount, the statistics of the Australian funds already given seem to show that the risk from fraud in registered dealings subsequent to first registration is quite inappreciable; and, as to first registration, the ordinary experience of purchasers on sales in England—who are often not only willing and even eager, but positively reckless, as to the titles they will accept—would show that the risk to be incurred from even the most liberal acceptance of ordinary titles is more nominal than real. On the whole, it seems that the Australian charge of one-fifth per cent. would be ample in amount. The extreme desirability of charging no extra expenses on first registration beyond what are barely necessary suggests the expedient of postponing the moment of subscription to the fund until the occasion of the first registered dealing *for value*. (A dealing "for value" is a dealing by way of sale, mortgage, or lease, or a settlement on marriage; it is opposed to a "voluntary" transaction, such as a gift by deed or will, a succession on an intestacy, or a settlement not made on marriage.) This occasion is more appropriate in reality than that of initial registration, because neither under the Torrens system nor under any other system that we are aware of, except Lord Cairns's Act, does the Government guarantee become absolute until that moment. Considering the increased inducement offered to fraud by giving an absolute guarantee to the first registered owner, it seems a most undesirable course to adopt. If the figures are worked out, it will be found that even when the one-fifth per cent. assurance charge is added to the office fee above suggested for registering the dealing, the total will not nearly approach the present costs of the same transaction.

With regard to placing estates on the register for the first time, it seems that the most easy and economical way to act would be to accept any title which a purchaser actually has accepted on a sale, whether under conditions or not, and which his solicitor reports to the office as free from substantial risk. To discuss this suggestion would be a long matter, but considering that the first registered owner does not get the Government guarantee, but only *power to offer it to a genuine purchaser*, and that the former of course, as in Australia, can be made to remain primarily liable for mistakes to that purchaser,

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just as he now remains liable according to the existing practice of conveyancing, it is difficult to see what combination of persons or circumstances could and would involve the fund in liability, from which same combination private purchasers are not also equally liable to suffer loss under the present system. If this be a just observation, it seems to follow from the fact already noticed that purchasers do not suffer loss now, that the fund would not suffer loss then.

The last point of principle to which we intend to advert is this. If we abandon the "absolute indefeasibility" system, and substitute for it an extension of the Australian system sufficient to justify the description of the new system as one of "pure guarantee," then registrations are divested of their "judicial" character, and may with perfect propriety be conducted *privately*. In systems where the registered title is made absolute or indefeasible, if a mistake occurs, some one loses his land. But under the guarantee system no one is hurt; the old owner retains his rights, while the fund compensates the deceived party. Thus all those advertisements and notices to all sorts of persons likely to have claims (which proved so prejudicial to progress under the old Acts, and which still entail some expense to applicants in Australia) are avoided, and boundaries can be guaranteed exactly in the same way as titles, without any prejudice to adjoining owners. Here again the present experience of purchasers on sales will be found, on reflection, to afford a perfectly trustworthy guide to the risk of loss incurred by the fund if this course be adopted.

In the preceding pages we have endeavoured to show in outline our reasons for believing that all but a very few titles may be speedily guaranteed, as under the Torrens system, at no cost to the State, and little or no cost to the individual; and also we have indicated the particular respect in which such an improvement of our every-day office procedure on sales and mortgages may be made as will speedily induce the great majority of vendors and purchasers of land and houses to accept the offer thus held out to them.

It may be interesting to the reader to learn, by way of conclusion, what are the alternative schemes which have been proposed. They mostly assume that no voluntary system has a chance of being adopted, and therefore propose compulsion in some form. They all omit the one improvement which alone will suffice to make compulsion unnecessary, and the omission of which will render compulsion intolerable—the reform of the office procedure on registered sales and mortgages in conformity with the Australian practice. The alternatives are as follows:—

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1. The compulsory registration of every *primâ facie* title as absolute, with indemnity, either by the State alone, or with the aid of an insurance fund, to persons injured. Considerable expense and an unknown risk would result to the State from this, together with considerable hardships to individual owners, especially those out of possession, and any whose titles are liable to attack, which such a measure would at once precipitate.

2. The compulsory registration, at the next sale of every property, of a "possessory title," as under Lord Cairns's Act. That is to say, to force every landowner (for his own good merely, and apparently at his own expense) to do that which not one landowner in 20,000 has yet been persuaded to do of his own accord; it would add some expense to every sale—how much we have already seen; it would cost the State a good deal to inaugurate, and its benefit would not accrue for a long time.

3. To curtail the present wide power of disposition which owners of land possess, so as to bring all titles to any easily registrable state. As to this it seems enough to point out that no facility of transfer seems worth the sacrifice of liberty of disposition.

4. The establishment of a Landed Estates Court. This would perhaps be a safe system, but it would probably be very costly both to the State and to the suitors, and much more dilatory than the present system. The circumstances which caused it to be welcome in Ireland do not exist here. We do not apprehend that any such project as this last is being seriously entertained by the authorities.

The two great evils of resorting to compulsion in a matter like this are, first, that in case the system should not work well, a most awful obstruction will be placed upon the transaction of all the business of the country till it is abolished—a very serious thing to contemplate; and second, that a great press of work will commence all at once, thereby largely increasing the expense of inauguration and the risk of failure, instead of the business being allowed to extend itself by degrees, in which case increasing demands can be easily met as they arise. Besides which, unless we believe that purchasers, mortgagees, and lessees of land or houses are very feeble or very stupid, it is incredible that any system *really beneficial* to them will need any such aid as compulsion; the demand for which, on the part of legislators, sounds to us far more like a confession of weakness than an assertion of strength.

The project we have unfolded is designed to effect the desired object with the least possible change of existing law, and only the most gradual modification of existing practice. It is hoped that it may commend itself to the not inconsiderable number of

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well-informed persons who believe in registration of title in the abstract, but, thinking its establishment impossible without resort to compulsion in some form, naturally shrink from the aid of so treacherous an ally. To escape all censure we cannot hope. "The expectation of ignorance," says Dr. Johnson,* "is indefinite, and that of knowledge is often tyrannical. It is hard to satisfy those who know not what to demand, or those who demand by design what they think impossible to be done."

Art. VI.—What and How to Read.

1. *Pall Mall Gazette "Extra,"* No. 24. *The Best Hundred Books.* By the Best Judges. London: *Pall Mall Gazette* Office. 1886.
2. *The Pleasures, the Dangers, and the Uses of Desultory Reading.* By the Right Hon. the Earl of Iddesleigh. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1885.
3. *The Choice of Books; and other Literary Pieces.* By Frederic Harrison. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.
4. *The Pleasures of a Bookworm.* By J. Rogers Rees. London: Elliot Stock. 1886.

"THE choice of books," says Mr. F. Harrison, "is really the choice of our education, of a moral and intellectual ideal, of the whole duty of man."† If we of the present day go wrong in our choice, it is not for want of warning, for we are deluged with advice as to what books we should read, and how we should read them. This deluge began in November last by Lord Iddesleigh's "desultory discourse," as he calls it, delivered, as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University, to the students. It is published, with a few additions, under the title named at the head of this article. Sir John Lubbock in the December following made the choice of books the subject of his address, as President of the Working Men's College, to the members of the College, and followed it up by publishing in the *Contemporary Review* a list of "The Best Hundred Books," which he afterwards revised. Mr. Frederic Harrison also gives us his advice on the choice of books, "founded on the basis of Auguste Comte's library;"‡ and lastly, Mr. J. Rogers Rees in the

* Preface to Shakespeare. † "The Choice of Books," p. 20.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 92, *note.*

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course of the spring gave to the world the interesting little volume which he calls "The Pleasures of a Bookworm." When Sir John Lubbock's list came out, the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* gratified his passion for curious investigation, and undertook the task of submitting Sir John's list to a variety of men eminent in society and literature, and asking for their opinions and criticisms, and for a list of what each of them considered the hundred best books. These opinions and criticisms now form the pamphlet entitled "The Best Hundred Books." Sir John's list, as finally revised by himself, stands thus:—

1. The Bible.
2. Marcus Aurelius, "Meditations."
3. Epictetus.
4. Confucius, "Analecta."
5. "Le Bouddha et sa Religion" (St. Hilaire.)
6. Aristotle, "Ethics."
7. Mahomet, "Koran."

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8. "Apostolic Fathers," Wake's Collection.
9. St. Augustine, "Confessions."
10. Thomas à Kempis, "Imitation."
11. Pascal, "Pensées."
12. Spinoza, "Tractatus Theologico-politicus."
13. Comte, "Catechism of Positive Philosophy" (Congreve).
14. Butler, "Analogy."
15. Jeremy Taylor, "Holy Living and Holy Dying."
16. Bunyan, "Pilgrim's Progress."
17. Keble, "Christian Year."

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18. Aristotle, "Politics."
19. Plato's Dialogues; at any rate, the "Phaedo" and "Republic."
20. Demosthenes, "De Coronâ."
21. Lucretius.
22. Plutarch.
23. Horace.
24. Cicero, "De Officiis," "De Amicitiâ," "De Senectute."

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25. Homer, "Iliad" and "Odyssey."
26. Hesiod.
27. Virgil.
28. Niebelungenlied.
29. Malory, "Morte d'Arthur."

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30. "Maha Bharata," "Ramayana." Epitomized by Talboys Wheeler in the first two vols. of his "History of India."
31. Firdusi, "Shahnameh."
32. "Sheking" (Chinese Odes).
33. Æschylus, "Prometheus," "House of Atreus," "Trilogy," or "Persæ."
34. Sophocles, "Œdipus Trilogy."
35. Euripides, "Medea."
36. Aristophanes, "The Knights."

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37. Herodotus.
38. Xenophon, "Anabasis."
39. Thucydides.
40. Tacitus, "Germania."
41. Livy.
42. Gibbon, "Decline and Fall."
43. Hume, "England."
44. Grote, "Greece."
45. Carlyle, "French Revolution."
46. Green, "Short History of England."
47. Bacon, "Novum Organum."
48. Mill, "Logic."
49. " "Political Economy."
50. Darwin, "Origin of Species."
51. Smith, "Wealth of Nations" (part of.)
52. Berkeley, "Human Knowledge."
53. Descartes, "Discours sur la Méthode."
54. Locke, "Conduct of the Understanding."
55. Lewes, "History of Philosophy."

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56. Cook's Voyages.
57. Humboldt's Travels.
58. Darwin, "Naturalist on the *Beagle*."

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59. Shakespeare.
60. Milton, "Paradise Lost" and the shorter poems.
61. Dante, "Divina Commedia."
62. Spenser, "Faerie Queen."
63. Dryden's Poems.
64. Chaucer: Morris's, or (if expurgated) Clarke's, or Mrs. Haweis' edition.
65. Gray.
66. Burns.

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67. Scott's Poems.
68. Wordsworth: Mr. Arnold's selection.
69. Heine.
70. Pope.
71. Southey.

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72. Goldsmith, "Vicar of Wakefield."
73. Swift, "Gulliver's Travels."
74. Defoe, "Robinson Crusoe."
75. "The Arabian Nights."
76. Cervantes, "Don Quixote."
77. Boswell, "Johnson."
78. Burke, Select Works (Payne).
Essayists:
79. Bacon.
80. Addison.
81. Hume.
82. Montaigne.
83. Macaulay.
84. Emerson.
85. Molière.
86. Sheridan.
87. Voltaire, "Zadig."
88. Carlyle.
89. Goethe, "Faust" and "Wilhelm Meister."
90. White, "Natural History of Selborne."
91. Smiles, "Self Help."

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92. Miss Austen: either "Emma" or "Pride and Prejudice."
93. Thackeray, "Vanity Fair."
94. ,, "Pendennis."
95. Dickens, "Pickwick."
96. ,, "David Copperfield."
97. George Eliot, "Adam Bede."
98. Kingsley, "Westward Ho!"
99. Bulwer Lytton, "Last Days of Pompeii."
100. Scott's Novels.*

In the outset of our remarks we wish each of our readers to ask himself or herself two questions—(1) Have I read, not these hundred books, but any hundred books? (2) Do I know any one who has read a hundred books? With regard to Sir John's list, it has been mischievously suggested, "Why not send a confidential interviewer to ask Sir John Lubbock whether he has read all his hundred books; and if not, why not?"†

Mr. Frederic Harrison makes some true remarks on the readers and reading of the present day: "Even those who are resolved to read the better books are embarrassed by a field of choice practically boundless. . . . . Systematic reading is but little in favour even amongst studious men; in a true sense, it is hardly possible for women." What follows is, we fear, but too true:

> If any person given to reading were honestly to keep a register of all the printed stuff that he or she consumes in a year—all the idle tales of which the very names and the story are forgotten in a week—the bookmaker's prattle at so much a sheet, the fugitive trifling about silly things and empty people, the memoirs of the unmemorable, and lives of those who never really lived at all—of what a mountain of rubbish would it be a catalogue?‡

We have not at hand Sir John Lubbock's address at the Working Men's College, but we presume his list is intended for working men, and if so, we agree with Mr. Quaritch the bookseller, of Piccadilly, that "Sir John's working man is an ideal

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* "The Best Hundred Books," p. 24. † *Ibid.* p. 23.
‡ "The Choice of Books," p. 9.

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creation." "I," he adds, "have known many working men, but none of them could have digested such a feast as he has prepared for them."* This opinion is corroborared by information supplied by the librarian of the Free Library of Darlington. His list of the books which are the favourites of the members, who are mainly of the working class, includes only nine of those given by Sir John Lubbock.†

Of Sir John's list we agree with the DUKE of ARGYLL, who writes: "Sir John Lubbock's list seems to me very good as far as such lists can possibly go." To this opinion the MASTER OF BALLIOL assents; adding—to which we also assent: "The chief fault being that it is too long." Mr. FROUDE remarks: "People must choose their own reading, and Sir John Lubbock's list will do for a guide as well as others. I, at any rate, do not wish to put myself into competition with him." With commendable caution, PROFESSOR FREEMAN writes: "I feel myself quite unable to draw up such a list as you propose, as I could not trust my own judgment on any matter not bearing on my own special studies, and I should be doubtless tempted to give too great prominence to them.‡

It is with full assent and consent that we subscribe to the remark of Professor J. S. Blackie:

> No man, it appears to me, can tell another what he ought to read. A man's reading, to be of any value must depend on his power of assimilation, and that again depends on his tendencies, his capacities, his surroundings, and his opportunities.

And again:

> In attempting to frame such a list as that put forth by Sir John Lubbock, it is also of the utmost importance to keep in view what sort of persons we are favouring with our advice; and here I see two large classes of readers—those who have large leisure, and have gone through a regular process of severe intellectual discipline; and those who can only redeem a few hours daily, if so much, to fill up the gaps left in the hasty architecture of their early attempt at self-culture.

And again:

> To a political student, on the highest platform of course, Aristotle and Thucydides are supreme authorities; but it would be unreasonable to expect that the mass of intelligent young men in our great cities, untrained in intellectual gymnastics and unfurnished with scholarly aids, should set themselves systematically to grapple with severe thinkers of this type, or with metaphysics or metaphysical theology. §

Mr. Carlyle has somewhere said that "books are, like men's

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* "The Best Hundred Books," p. 20.
† *Ibid.* p. 25.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 23.
§ *Ibid.* p. 18.

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souls, divided into sheep and goats;" and probably there is no better advice on the choice of books than that which, in his pithy manner, he gave to the students of Edinburgh University: "Learn to be good readers, which is perhaps a more difficult thing than you imagine. Learn to be discriminative in your reading—to read all kinds of things that you have an interest in, and that you find to be really fit for what you are engaged on."* Of this opinion was Dr. Johnson—"A man," he says, "ought to read just as inclination leads him, for what he reads as a task will do him little good."† "You see," says Professor Max Müller, "the best books are not the best books for everybody."‡

Sir John Lubbock is surprised at the great divergence of opinion as to the best books which has been expressed. "Nine of your correspondents," he writes to the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "have favoured us with lists of some length. These lists contain some 300 works not mentioned by me (without, however, any corresponding omissions), and yet there is not one single book which occurs in every list, or even in half of them, and only about half a dozen which appear in more than one of the nine."§

We will now glance at some of the criticisms of Sir John's "best hundred." The PRINCE OF WALES, speaking with diffidence, expresses the opinion that the list suggested by Sir John Lubbock could hardly be improved upon. His Royal Highness would, however, venture to remark that the works of Dryden should not be omitted from such an important and comprehensive list."‖ Mr. CHAMBERLAIN does not think he could greatly improve Sir John's list, but would inquire "whether it is by accident or design that the Bible has been omitted?" It will be observed that in Sir John's revised list the Bible stands at the head. The political reputation and official position of Mr. Bryce, M.P., have made people forget that he first made his reputation by his book on "The Holy Roman Empire," and that he is still an Oxford Professor and a Fellow of Oriel.

I give you [he writes to the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*] some additions to and criticisms on Sir John Lubbock's list, which occur to me. I have not seen the remarks of your other correspondents, except Mr. Ruskin's. In Greek poetry Pindar ought to be substituted for Hesiod. In Greek philosophy, Aristotle's "Rhetoric" and "Poetic" ought not to be omitted. Of Cicero it would be much better to have some Orations than the "Offices" or "Old Age." St. Augustine's

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* Address to the students as Lord Rector, Hotten's ed. p. 157.
† Boswell's "Life," vol. ii. p. 213 (ed. 1859).
‡ "The Best Hundred Books," p. 17.
§ *Ibid.* p. 23.
‖ *Ibid.* p. 5.
¶ *Ibid.* p. 5.

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"De Civitate Dei" is indispensable. Perhaps no book ever more affected history. The Icelandic Sagas, or some of them, ought to be added. Most of the best have been translated, such as "Njals Saga," "Grettis Saga," and the "Heimscringla." The poems in the "Elder Edda" (now admirably translated in Vigfusson and Powell's "Corpus Poeticum Boreale") ought also to find a place. For travels, add Marco Polo; for history, Machiavelli's "Prince." In Italian poetry, Ariosto and Leopardi should come in. The "Lusiad" of Camoens is one of the finest examples of a poem in the grand style, and not the less interesting because the only work of Portuguese genius whose fame has overpassed the limits of its country. Montesquieu's "Esprit des Lois" is indispensable; so is "Candide." In modern fiction "Les Miserables" and "The Scarlet Letter" may well replace Kingsley and Bulwer. The modern poets Keats and Shelley surely rank above Southey and Longfellow. Whether you put anything in its place or not (for example, Kant's "Kritik der reinen Vernunft" or Hegel's "History of Philosophy"), Lewis's "History of Philosophy" should be struck out.*

Lord COLERIDGE, premising that since he left the university his reading has only been desultory and superficial, continues:

Generally speaking, I think Sir John Lubbock's list a very good one, as far as I know the books which compose it. But I know nothing of Chinese or Sanscrit, and have no opinion whatever about the Chinese and Sanscrit works he refers to. To the classics I should add Catullus, Propertius, Ovid (in selections), Pindar, and the pastoral writers Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus.

I should find a place among epic poets for Tasso, Ariosto, and, I should suppose, Camoens, though I know him only in translation. With the poem of Malory on the "Morte d'Arthur" I am quite unacquainted: Malory's prose romance under that title is familiar to many readers from Southey's reprint of (I think) Caxton's edition of it.

Among the Greek dramatists, I should give more prominent place to Euripides—the friend of Socrates, the idol of Menander, the admiration of Milton and Charles Fox; and I should exclude Aristophanes, whose splendid genius does not seem to me to atone for the baseness and vulgarity of his mind. In history, I shall exclude Hume, as mere waste of time now to read; and include Tacitus and Livy and Lord Clarendon and Sismondi. I do not know enough about philosophy to offer any opinion. In poetry and general literature, I should certainly include Dryden, some plays of Ben Jonson, and Ford and Massinger, and Shirley and Webster; Gray, Collins, Coleridge, Charles Lamb, De Quincey, Bolingbroke, Sterne; and I should substitute Bryant for Longfellow; and most certainly I should add Cowper. In fiction I should add Miss Austen, "Clarissa," "Tom Jones," "Humphrey Clinker;" and certainly exclude Kingsley.†

Mr. RUSKIN has "put his pen lightly through the needless, and *blottesquely* through the rubbish and poison of Sir John's

* *Ibid.* p. 6. † "The Best Hundred Books," p. 5.

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list," with the result of reducing it by fully one-half. He omits all the non-Christian moralists among the theological books; he retains only Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying" and "The Pilgrim's Progress." From the historical writers he excludes Gibbon, Voltaire, Hume, and Grote; he erases John Stuart Mill's name altogether, and every writer on philosophy but Bacon, and of him would read chiefly "The New Atlantis." He strikes out Southey and Longfellow from among the poets, and Hume, Macaulay, and Emerson from among the essayists; but he would read all Plato and every word of Scott and Carlyle.

Mr. Ruskin, in a subsequent letter to the editor, says:—"The idea that any well-conducted mortal life could find leisure enough to read one hundred books would have left me wholly silent on the matter, but that I was fain, when you sent me Sir John's list, to strike out, for my own pupils' sake, the books I would forbid them to be plagued with." He adds his reasons for erasing some of the books. These judgments are pre-eminently characteristic of the man's dogmatic, self-sufficient, supercilious, and, we must add, superficial nature:

1. *Grote's History of Greece.*—Because there is probably no commercial establishment between Charing Cross and the Bank whose head-clerk could not write a better one, if he had the vanity to waste his time for it.

2. *Confessions of St. Augustine.*—Because religious people nearly always think too much about themselves, and there are many saints whom it is much more desirable to know the history of—St. Patrick, to begin with, especially in present times.

3. *John Stuart Mill.*—Sir John Lubbock ought to have known that his day was over.

4. *Charles Kingsley.*—Because his sentiment is false, and his tragedy frightful. People who buy cheap clothes are not punished in real life by catching fevers; social inequalities are not to be redressed by tailors falling in love with bishops' daughters, or gamekeepers with squires'; and the story of "Hypatia" is the most ghastly in Christian tradition, and should for ever have been left in silence.

5. *Darwin.*—Because it is every man's duty to know what he is, and not to think of the embryo he was, nor the skeleton that he shall be. Because also Darwin has a mortal fascination for all vainly curious and idly speculative persons, and has collected, in the train of him, every impudent imbecility in Europe, like a dim comet wagging its useless tail of phosphorescent nothing across the steadfast stars.

6. *Gibbon.*—Primarily none but the malignant and the weak study the Decline and Fall either of State or organism. Dissolution and putrescence are alike common and unclean in all things; any wretch or simpleton may observe for himself, and experience himself, the processes of ruin; but good men study and wise men describe only the growth and standing of things—not their decay.

For the rest, Gibbon's is the worst English that was ever written by

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an educated Englishman. Having no imagination and little logic, he is alike incapable either of picturesqueness or wit; his epithets are malicious without point, sonorous without weight, and have no office but to make a flat sentence turgid.

7. *Voltaire.*—His work is, in comparison with good literature, what nitric acid is to wine, and sulphuretted hydrogen to air. Literary chemists cannot but take account of the sting and stench of him; but he has no place in the library of a thoughtful scholar. Every man of sense knows more of the world than Voltaire can tell him; and what he wishes to express of such knowledge he will say without a snarl.*

Mr. SWINBURNE would add Mill "On Liberty," and Mrs. Gaskell's works.

Mr. WILLIAM MORRIS writes: "I hope I shall escape boycotting at the hands of my countrymen for leaving out Milton; but the union in his works of cold classicalism with Puritanism (the two things which I hate most in this world) repels me so that I cannot read him."† Mr. Morris adds: "I should like to say here that I yield to no one, not even Mr. Ruskin, in my love and admiration for Scott; also that, to my mind, of the novelists of our generation Dickens is immeasurably ahead." ‡

Lady DILKE, after expressing her assent (in which we concur) to the criticisms of the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the wisdom of placing before "working men, or any men whatever, such a vast and heterogeneous course of study," adds (and we venture to express our concurrence in the opinion): "To be in a position to properly understand and appreciate the works on Sir John's list, I undertake to say that one must have spent at least thirty years in preparatory study, and have had the command of, say, something more than a thousand other volumes." §

Mr. WILKIE COLLINS, after recommending Sterne's "Sentimental Journey" as the best book of travels "that has ever been written," and "Childe Harold" as "the greatest poem which the world has seen since 'Paradise Lost,'" continues:

My own ideas cordially recognize any system of education the direct tendency of which is to make us better Christians. Looking over Sir John Lubbock's list from this point of view—that is to say, assuming that the production of a good citizen represents the most valuable result of a liberal education—I submit that the best book which your correspondent has recommended is "The Vicar of Wakefield," and of the many excellent schoolmasters (judging them by their works) in whose capacity for useful teaching he believes, the two

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* "The Best Hundred Books," pp. 8, 9.

† Our readers will remember Dr. Johnson's saying: "Why, sir, no one ever read 'Paradise Lost' for pleasure."

‡ "The Best Hundred Books," p. 11. § *Ibid.* p. 12.

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in whom I, for my part, most implicitly trust are Walter Scott and Charles Dickens. Holding these extraordinary opinions, if you asked me to pick out a biographical work for general reading, I should choose (after Boswell's supremely great book, of course) Lockhart's "Life of Scott." Let the general reader follow my advice, and he will find himself not only introduced to the greatest genius that has ever written novels, but provided with the example of a man, modest, just, generous, resolute, and merciful—a man whose very faults and failings have been transformed into virtues through the noble atonement that he offered at the peril and the sacrifice of his life.

Mr. COLLINS is also of opinion that "the most perfect letters in the English language" are those of Byron, published in his Life by Moore, and he recommends a book unknown, we venture to affirm, to nine-tenths of even our middle-aged readers. "Read, my good public, Mrs. Inchbald's 'Simple Story,' in which you will find the character of a young woman who is made interesting even by her faults—a rare triumph, I can tell you, in our art."*

At first sight there seems something incongruous in the editor of *Punch* recommending the study of Cardinal Newman's works; but Mr. F. C. BURNAND writes: "I should recommend 'The Grammar of Assent' and *all* Cardinal Newman's works. His 'Lectures on Catholicism in England' are masterpieces."† In this recommendation we thoroughly agree, especially as to "The Grammar of Assent," one of the most wonderful books the present generation has seen. The Cardinal was applied to for his opinion on Sir John Lubbock's list, but feeling at his great age unequal to the task, was obliged to decline it. It would have been interesting to have had the views of such a master of thought and expression. We gain from another source some slight information on the subject. Mr. Jennings, describing the Cardinal's library, says:

> The books with which the walls are lined bear evidence that light literature is not disregarded. Miss Austen, Thackeray, Anthony Trollope, Sir Walter Scott, Mrs. Gaskell are favourite authors with the great theologian. Of modern English poets, Wordsworth, Southey, and Crabbe are highly valued by him, and constantly read.‡

Mr. HENRY IRVING writes: "Before a hundred books, commend me first to the study of two—the Bible and Shakespeare."

Mrs. LYNN-LINTON would add to the list "Pilgrim's Progress," Green's "History of the English People," Herbert

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* "The Best Hundred Books," p. 13. † *Ibid.* p. 12.

‡ "Cardinal Newman: the Story of his Life," by Henry J. Jennings, pp. 134–5.

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Spencer (every word), Lecky, and all Darwin; Carlyle's full works (no selection), and George Eliot; Miss Austen, Bate's and Wallace's and Livingstone's travels, Laing's "Travels in Norway," Kinglake's "Eothen" and "History of the Crimean War;" and to French literature, Dumas (the elder), G. Sand, and Balzac, if the reader be a man.

Archdeacon FARRAR writes: "If all the books of the world were in a blaze, the first twelve which I should snatch out of the flames would be the Bible, the 'Imitatio Christi,' Homer, Æschylus, Thucydides, Tacitus, Virgil, Marcus Aurelius, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth. Of living writers I would save first the works of Tennyson, Browning, and Ruskin."* We are surprised not to find the Archdeacon's "Life of Christ" in any of the lists.

The PRESIDENT OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION places in his list some books not to be found in any of the others. Amongst these are—Professor Bryce's "History of the Holy Roman Empire," Helps' "Friends in Council," "Companions of my Solitude," and "Organization of Common Life," Bossuet's "Funeral Orations," Whately's "Cautions for the Times," Newman's "Parochial Sermons," and Wraxall's "Memoirs;" and he concludes his letter with this advice: "Add to these an occasional course of reading in the *Church Times*, the *Guardian*, the *Record*, the *Rock*, the *Watchman*, the *Nonconformist*, the *Inquirer*, and the *Freethinker*, in order to see how diligently our contemporaries endeavour not to understand but to misrepresent each other; and by the aid of the books above mentioned I think the unlearned reader will find enough to instruct, amuse, and astonish him, both in England and elsewhere.†

The PRESIDENT OF THE BAPTIST UNION places Dean Stanley's "Life of Arnold" on his list, and also Carlyle's "Life of Sterling;" and would only select about half a dozen from Macaulay's "Essays." He states his preference for Miss Austen's "Mansfield Park" over her "Pride and Prejudice;" and considers "Esmond" Thackeray's masterpiece, in which opinion we concur.

The HEAD MASTER OF ETON recommends Stanley's "Jewish Church" and Ewald's "History of Israel." His historical list is as follows:—Hallam's "Middle Ages," "History of Literature," "Constitutional History;" "Green's "History of the English People;" Macaulay's "History of England;" Stanhope's "Reign of Queen Anne;" Stanhope's "Life of Pitt;" Lecky's "History of England, Eighteenth Century;" Carlyle's

* "The Best Hundred Books," p. 14. † *Ibid.* p. 15.

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"Frederick the Great;" Thiers' "Consulat et l'Empire;" Napier's "Peninsular War;" Hooper's "Waterloo."*

The HEAD MASTER OF HARROW is the only correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* who recommends Locke's "Conduct of the Understanding"—a book not now appreciated and studied as it should be.

PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER writes: "If I were to tell you what I really think of the hundred best books, I am afraid you would call me the greatest literary heretic, or an utter ignoramus. I know few books, if any, which I should call good from the beginning to the end. . . . . 'I pray thee have me excused.'"*

The list supplied by PROFESSOR BLACKIE contains two names not to be found in any other list—viz., Dr. Martineau and the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis; but he does not state which work of either author he recommends, or whether he equally recommends all their works.

Mr. R. HARRISON (librarian of the London Library) would add O'Connor's "History of Our Own Time" to the historical section.

Mr. H. M. STANLEY (the African explorer) passes this criticism on Sir John's list:

> I observe that science, astronomy, chemistry, geology, geography, natural history, manners and customs of people, are wholly omitted by Sir John Lubbock, as well as arts, manufactures, industries, biographies, antiquities, &c. If a man knows nothing of these, he had far better throw every book on Sir John's list into the waste-basket, except the Bible. For, supposing that he knows all about philosophy and history and the classics, if he has no ideas beyond what he has gathered from these, he is only fit to be a soldier or a mechanical copyist."†

There are some omissions from all the lists which surprise us. The name of Dr. E. A. Freeman appears in none; neither does that of Lord Beaconsfield, and yet his "Coningsby" at least is a standard and a valuable work. Amongst other writers of fiction, no place is found for either Miss Edgeworth or Miss Ferrier. But of all the omissions the one that most surprises us is that it is only in Sir John Lubbock's list that we find Keble's "Christian Year." Has it had its day?

After all this discussion about the best books, the case remains as it is stated by Lord Iddesleigh: "So great is the mass of our book-heritage that it is absolutely impossible for any one, and

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* "The Best Hundred Books," p. 17. † *Ibid.* p. 22.

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doubly impossible for one who has other engagements in life, to make himself acquainted with the hundredth part of it. So that our choice lies for the most part between ignorance of much that we would greatly like to know and that kind of acquaintance which is to be acquired only by desultory reading."* But the Lord Rector gave this warning to the Edinburgh students: "We are not to confound desultory work with idleness."† And with the exactness of an Oxford man of the old school he proceeds to define the word "desultory":

It is useful to look to the origin of words. The word desultory is of Latin parentage, and it was applied by the Romans to describe the equestrian jumping actively from one steed to another in the circus, or even, as was the case with Numidians, from one charger to another, in the midst of battle. That certainly was no idle loitering. It was energetic activity, calculated to keep the mind and the body very much alive indeed. That should be the spirit of the desultory reader. His must be no mere fingering of books without thought how they are to be turned to account. He may be wise in not allowing himself to become a bookworm, but he must take care not to become what is much worse—a book-butterfly. Whatever is worth doing is worth doing well, and it is possible to so regulate and pursue a seemingly desultory course of reading as to render it more truly beneficial than an apparently deeper and severer method of study.‡

And even in the case of those who give themselves up to strictly limited subjects, Lord Iddesleigh affirms that the intermixture of some general and desultory reading is necessary both for the very purposes of their study and in order to relieve the strain of the mind and to keep it in a healthy condition, and he tells us his own experience:

I never read so many novels in succession as during the months that I was working for my degree at the rate of ten or twelve hours a day; and in the week when I was actually under examination I read through the "Arabian Nights" in the evenings. I forget who the great judge was who, being asked as to his reading, answered that he read nothing but law and novels. But there is plenty of literature besides novels and besides the "Arabian Nights" which will be good for the relaxation of the mind after severe study, and I venture to think that the more miscellaneous our selection is, the more agreeable as well as more profitable it will be.§

And he refers to the well-known passage in Bacon's essay "Of Studies," which should be borne in mind by those, if any such there shall ever be, who set about to read Sir John Lubbock's "Hundred": "Some books are to be tasted, others to be swal-

* "Desultory Reading," p. 17.
† *Ibid.* p. 15.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 15.
§ *Ibid.* pp. 19, 20.

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lowed, and some few to be chewed and digested—that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly and with diligence and attention." Lord Iddesleigh also quotes with approval the following passage from Dr. Arnold:

Keep your view of men and things extensive, and depend upon it that a mixed knowledge is not a superficial one. As far as it goes, the views that it gives are true, but he who has read deeply one class of writers alone, gets views which are almost sure to be perverted, and which are not only narrow but false. Adjust your proposed amount of reading to your time and inclination. This is perfectly free to any man; but whether the amount be large or small, let it be varied in its kind, and widely varied. If I have a confident opinion on any one point connected with the improvement of the human mind, it is this.*

The noble lord also gives this salutary, and in these days of competitive examination necessary, warning against "cramming":

This I wish to impress upon you, that, regarding the matter from an educational point of view, learning is too sensitive to be successfully wooed by so rough and so unskilful a process, and that it is only to those who approach her in a reverent and loving spirit, and by the regular paths of patient and careful study, that she will open the portals of her abode and admit the student to her heart. †

Equally necessary for the times is this caution:

If modern literature has any competition to dread, it is not that of the old classical writers, but of the daily, weekly, or monthly periodicals, which fall as thickly round us as the leaves in Vallombrosa, and go near to suffocate the poor victim who is longing to enjoy his volume in peace, whether that volume be of Sophocles or of Shakespeare, or of Goethe or of Burns. Or if by chance our would-be student is one who for his sins is engaged in political contests himself, he may recall the position of Walter Scott's Black Knight at the siege of Front de Bœuf's castle when defeated by the din which his own blows made upon the gate contributed to raise. How, under such circumstances, he must wish that he was like Dicæspolis in the "Acharnians," and could make a separate peace for himself! ‡

This reference to Sir Walter Scott leads us to say we rejoice to read, not only what Lord Iddesleigh, but what Mr. Frederic Harrison, says of that great man, and to express our assent and consent to their judgment of him:

We all read Scott's romances, as we have all read Hume's "History of England;" but how often do we read them, how zealously, with

* "Desultory Reading," p. 27. † *Ibid.* p. 33. ‡ *Ibid.* pp. 43 44.

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what sympathy and understanding! I am told that the last discovery of modern culture is that Scott's prose is commonplace; that the young men at our universities are far too critical to care for his artless sentences and flowing descriptions. They prefer Mr. Swinburne, Mr. Mallock, and the euphuism of young Oxford, just as some people prefer a Dresden shepherdess to the Caryatides of the Erechtheum, pronounce Fielding to be low, and Mozart to be *passé*. As boys love lollypops, so these juvenile fops love to roll phrases about under the tongue, as if phrases in themselves had a value apart from thoughts, feelings, great conceptions, or human sympathy. For Scott is just one of the poets (we may call poets all the great creators in prose or in verse) of whom one never wearies, just as one can listen to Beethoven, or watch the sunrise or the sunset day by day with new delight. I think I can read "The Antiquary," or "The Bride of Lammermoor," "Ivanhoe," "Quentin Durward," and "Old Mortality," at least once a year afresh.

Scott is a perfect library in himself. A constant reader of romances would find that it needed months to go through even the best pieces of the inexhaustible painter of eight full centuries and every type of man; and he might repeat the process of reading him ten times in a lifetime without a sense of fatigue or sameness. The poetic beauty of Scott's creations is almost the least of his great qualities. It is the universality of his sympathy that is so truly great, the justice of his estimates, the insight into the spirit of each age, his intense absorption of self in the vast epic of human civilization. . . . . And this glorious and most human and most historical of poets, without whom our very conception of human development would have ever been imperfect, this manliest and truest, and widest of romancers, we neglect for some hothouse hybrid of psychological analysis, for the wretched imitations of Balzac, and the jackanapes phrasemongering of some Osric of the day, who assures us that Scott is an absolute Philistine.*

In the same spirit and to the same effect speaks Lord Iddesleigh:

Think what a mine of wealth we possess in the novels of your own great master—what depths he sounds, what humours he makes us acquainted with! From Jeanie Deans, sacrificing herself to her sisterly love in all but her uncompromising devotion to truth, to the picture of the family affection and overmastering grief in the hut of poor Steenie Mucklebackit; or, again, from the fidelity of Meg Merrilies to that of Caleb Balderstone; you have in these and a hundred other instances examples of the great power of discerning genius to seize upon the secrets of the human heart, and to reveal the inner meanings of the events which history records upon its surface, but which we do not feel that we really understand till some finer mind has clothed the dry bones with flesh and blood, and presented them to us in appropriate raiment.†

* "The Choice of Books," pp. 72, 73. † "Desultory Reading," p. 47.

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We here part company with Lord Iddesleigh, and recur to Mr. Harrison. In the outset of his essay we utter—to borrow a phrase of David Deans—this "cry of a howl in the desert":

How shall we choose our books? Which are the best, the eternal, indispensable books? To all to whom reading is something more than a refined idleness these questions recur, bringing with them the sense of bewilderment; and a still, small voice within us is for ever crying out for some guide across the Slough of Despond of an illimitable and ever-swelling literature. How many a man stands beside it, as uncertain of his pathway as the Pilgrim when he who dreamed the immortal dream heard him "break out with a lamentable cry, saying, 'What shall I do?'"*

The following passage is only too accurate a description of much of our modern literature:

Who now reads the ancient writers? Who systematically reads the great writers, be they ancient or modern, whom the consent of ages has marked out as classics—typical, immortal, peculiar teachers of our race? Alas! the "Paradise Lost" is lost again to us beneath an inundation of graceful academic verse, sugary stanzas of ladylike prettiness, and ceaseless explanations in more or less readable prose of what John Milton meant or did not mean, or what he saw or did not see, who married his great-aunt, and why Adam or Satan is like that, or unlike the other. We read a perfect library about the "Paradise Lost," but the "Paradise Lost" itself we do not read.†

With regard to the nature and extent of our reading Mr. Harrison substantially agrees with Lord Iddesleigh:

A wise education and so judicious reading should leave no great type of thought, no dominant phase of human nature, wholly a blank. Whether our reading be great or small, so far as it goes it should be general. If our lives admit of but a short space for reading, all the more reason that, so far as may be, it should remind us of the vast expanse of human thought, and the wonderful variety of human nature. To read, and yet so to read that we see nothing but a corner of literature, the loose fringe, or flats and wastes of letters, and by reading only deepen our natural belief that this island is the hub of the universe, and the nineteenth century the only age worth notice—all this is really to call in the aid of books to thicken and harden our untaught prejudices. Be it imagination, memory, or reflection that we address—that is, in poetry, history, science, or philosophy—our first duty is to aim at knowing something at least of the best, at getting some definite idea of the mighty realm whose outer rim we are permitted to approach.‡

Mr. Harrison is as great an admirer of Homer as was Lord Macaulay:

* "Choice of Books," p. 4. † *Ibid.* p. 14. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 22.

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One knows [says Mr. Harrison]—at least every schoolboy has known—that a passage of Homer, rolling along in the hexameter, or trumpeted out by Pope, will give one a hot glow of pleasure and raise a finer throb in the pulse; one knows that Homer is the easiest, most artless, most diverting of all poets; that the fiftieth reading rouses the spirit even more than the first; and yet we find ourselves (we are all alike) painfully pshawing over some new and uncut barley-sugar in rhyme, which a man in the street asked us if we had read, or it may be some learned lucubration about the site of Troy by some one we chanced to meet at dinner. . . . . To ask a man or woman who spends half a lifetime in sucking magazines and new poems to read a book of Homer would be like asking a butcher's boy to whistle "Adelaida." The noises and sights and talk, the whirl and volatility of life around us, are too strong for us. A society which is for ever gossiping in a sort of perpetual "drum" loses the very faculty of caring for anything but "early copies" and the last tale out. Thus, like the tares in the noble parable of the Sower, a perpetual chatter about books chokes the seed which is sown in the greatest books of the world.*

Macaulay, in his journal for 1851, notes:

I walked far, and read while walking the last five books of the "Iliad" with deep interest and many tears. I was afraid to be seen crying by the parties of walkers that met me, so I came back crying for Achilles cutting off his hair; crying for Priam rolling on the ground in the courtyard of his house—mere imaginary beings, creatures of an old ballad-maker who died near three thousand years ago.†

Lord Macaulay and Mr. Harrison concur in their judgments on two other poets.

I speak [says Mr. Harrison] of Homer, but fifty other great poets and creators of eternal beauty would serve my argument. What Homer is to epic, that is Æschylus to the tragic art—the first immortal type. In majesty and mass of pathos the "Agamemnon" remains still without a rival in tragedy. The universality and inexhaustible versatility of our own Shakespeare are unique in all literature. But the very richness of his qualities detracts from the symmetry and directness of the dramatic impression. For this reason neither is "Lear," nor "Othello," nor "Macbeth," nor "Hamlet" (each supreme as an imaginative creation) so typically perfect a tragedy as the "Agamemnon."

In each of the four there are slight incidents which we could spare without any evident loss. The "Agamemnon" alone of tragedies has the absolute perfection of a statue by Pheidias. The intense crescendo of the catastrophe, the absolute concentration of interest, the statuesque unity of the grouping, the mysterious halo of religion with which the ancient legend sanctifies the drama, are qualities denied to any modern.‡

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* "Choice of Books," p. 29.

† Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 296, note.

‡ "Choice of Books," p. 30.

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The "Agamemnon" [notes Macaulay on his copy of the tragedy] is indeed very fine. From the king's entrance into the house to the appearance on the stage of Algistheus, it is beyond praise. I shall turn it over again next week.*

Elsewhere he speaks of the "supreme and universal excellence of Shakespeare."

We have left ourselves space for only one other extract from Mr. Harrison's essay. It contains his judgment on modern writers of fiction:

Genius, industry, subtlety, and ingenuity have (it must yet be acknowledged) thrown their best into the fiction of to-day, and not a few works of undeniable brilliancy and vigour have been produced. Of course everybody reads and everyone enjoys Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer, the Brontës, Trollope, George Eliot. Far be it from any man, even the severest student, to eschew them. There are no doubt typical works of theirs which will ultimately be recognized as within the immortal cycle of English literature, in the nobler sense of this term. He would be a bold man who should say that "Pickwick" and "Vanity Fair," "The Last Days of Pompeii" and "Jane Eyre," "The Last Chronicle of Barset" and "Silas Warner," will never take rank in the roll which opens with "Tom Jones" and "Clarissa," the "Vicar" and "Tristram Shandy." It may be that the future will find in them insight into nature and beauty of creative form such as belongs to the order of all high imaginative art. But as yet we are too near and too little dispassionate to decide this matter to-day. And in the meantime the indiscriminate zest for these delightful writers of our age too often dulls our taste for the undoubted masters of the world. Certain it is that much, very much, of these fascinating moderns has neither the stamp of abiding beauty nor the saving grace of moral truth. Dickens, alas! soon passed into a mannerism of artificial whimsicalities alternating with shallow melodrama. Thackeray wearies his best lovers by a cynical monotony of meanness. By grace a very rare genius, the best works of the Brontës is saved, as by fire, out of the repulsive sensationalism they started, destined to perish in shilling dreadfuls. Trollope only now and then rises, as by a miracle, out of his craft as an industrious recorder of pleasant commonplace. And even George Eliot, conscientious artist as she is, too often wrote as if she were sinking under the effort to live up to her early reputation. On all of these the special evils of their time weigh more or less. They write too often as if it were their publishers, and not their genius, which prompted the work; or as if their task were to provide a new set of puzzles in rare psychological problems.

We regret we cannot transcribe the passage in which Mr. Harrison pronounces a just condemnation of modern French works of fiction.†

* "Life," vol. i. p. 474.

† "Choice of Books," pp. 67–9.

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"The Pleasures of a Bookworm" is an illustration of the lines from Sherman which form its motto :

> "For him delicious flavours dwell
> In books, as in old muscatel."

It is the production of a collector and lover of books.

Book-collecting is held up to scorn and contempt by Mr. Harrison, who describes it as "perhaps of all the collecting manias the most foolish in our day.* Mr. Rogers Rees, on the other hand, maintains that, "carefully and judiciously pursued, the collecting of books is not expensive, and is likely to ruin no one," and he supports his position by this quotation from Mr. Ruskin's "Sesame and Lilies": "If a man spends lavishly on his library, you call him mad—a bibliomaniac. But you never call one a horse-maniac, though men ruin themselves every day by their horses, and you do not hear of people ruining themselves by their books." †

Mr. Rogers Rees loves books for themselves. We can fancy him, as he describes Charles Lamb, "greeting his best-loved books with a careful kiss," or like Southey, who was found by Wordsworth "patting with both hands his books affectionately, like a child." ‡

Mr. Rogers Rees is not a severe student. "The very sight of a *Locke* or *Adam Smith* compels one to draw his hand across his head from sheer weariness; the insinuating grace, however, and tenderness and imaginative humour which we know to be in our possession when we have our grasp upon a Lamb or an honest Isaac Walton serve at once to refresh our tired powers." § He has a great knowledge of writers and of particular editions, and even particular copies of books, and his little volume may be read with interest and amusement.

We turn from the question, what the people ought to read? to the question, what the people do read? As to this, the *Pall Mall Gazette* gives some interesting information. In nearly all the free public libraries "prose fiction" is in most demand, "religion" in least. We take Manchester as an illustration. There Homer's "Iliad" is much read through Pope's and Lord Derby's translations, and the "Æneid" of Virgil through that of Conington. Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" is read to a greater extent than many would think, though most readers seem to tire before they have got half-way through. Grote's "Greece" is

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* "Choice of Books," p. 87.
† "The Pleasures of a Bookworm," p. 2 and note.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 34. § *Ibid.* p. 48.

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often begun, but rarely finished. Macaulay's "History" is read through more frequently than any other. His Essays also are much read; and so are those of Emerson, Montaigne, Lamb, and Addison. Green's "History" and his "Short History," and the Histories of Froude, Freeman, and Stubbs, are much studied. Kinglake's "Crimean War" and Kaye's "Sepoy War" are still in great demand. Prescott's "Mexico," D'Aubigne's "Reformation," and Ranke's "Popes" are also much read. All Smiles's books are in great demand, particularly his "Lives of the Engineers" and "Self Help." Southey's "Nelson" and the various Lives of Napoleon and Wellington have always numerous readers. All Carlyle's works are read, though not to the extent they were a few years ago. His "French Revolution" and "Frederick the Great" are the most popular. After them, "Past and Present" and "Sartor Resartus." Boswell's "Johnson" is still read a good deal in part. The works of Huxley and Tyndall are much read by working men, as well as by those more educated. Darwin's "Origin of Species" circulates almost like a popular novel. Ruskin has a host of readers amongst people of all grades. Works of modern travel are always in demand, particularly those on the Colonies. The politico-economical works of Fawcett and Mill are much read. Smith's "Wealth of Nations" is often referred to, but little read. The philosophical works of Mill and Herbert Spencer have many readers. The number of readers of Shakspeare is satisfactory, the volumes containing "Hamlet," "Othello," "Merchant of Venice," and "Richard III." being those most asked for. Of other English dramatists, Sheridan and Lord Lytton have considerable popularity. The poets most read are Tennyson, Longfellow, Burns, Moore, Scott, Byron, Milton, and Wordsworth. Dante and Goethe's "Faust" are much read, through translations. Hood continues to be a great favourite. Books on drawing and painting are increasingly consulted, and musical collections are liberally drawn upon. But the fact remains, that of all classes of readers that of the readers of prose fiction is the most numerous. It is the same at Birmingham. There, at any rate, Dickens retains his popularity. The twelve works most often borrowed during last year were:

Pickwick	389	Mill on the Floss	217
Bleak House	361	The Arabian Nights	211
David Copperfield	303	Ivanhoe	200
Robinson Crusoe	294	Vanity Fair	195
Oliver Twist	278	East Lynne	188
Martin Chuzzlewit	224	Adam Bede	181

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We fear that librarians of all free libraries will agree with the remark of the Manchester librarian, who justifies the warning of Lord Iddesleigh and the statements of Mr. Harrison: "There is much eagerness on the part of the readers at all our libraries to see the most recently published books, and I fear that the great classics in ancient and modern literature are on this account largely taken as read." *

Art. VII.—The Basis of Individualism.

THE chain of economic reasoning, of which the first few links were wrought a hundred years ago by Adam Smith, leads us irresistibly to two main conclusions from which there seems to be no appeal. The first of these is the law of wages, as formulated by Ricardo, and which in the hands of Ferdinand Lassalle becomes the "iron law of wages" (a phrase of ominous connotation). The second is the doctrine of "laissez-faire," as taught by Bastiat and the Manchester School—a doctrine which in practice involves the minimization of State interference.

Between these two issues there is theoretically no antagonism whatever; but it is more than difficult to realize the existence of a democracy based on the eternal serfdom of the great majority of the citizens—the so-called working classes. Hence it is necessary to subject both these doctrines to a searching re-examination. The immediate object of the present article is to dissect the arguments underlying the doctrine of absolute individualism as set forth by its ablest exponents, and notably by Mr. Herbert Spencer, who in his recently published "The Man *v.* the State" has gathered into a focus all that is to be found scattered throughout his works bearing on the subject. The principles of personal liberty therein enunciated have been carried to their extreme expression by certain of Mr. Spencer's disciples with a thoroughness and a temerity equalled only by that of the English successors of Lassalle and Marx in their exposition of the creed of Socialism. If Mr. Auberon Herbert is the *reductio ad absurdum* of "let-be," surely Mr. Hyndman is the *reductio ad absurdum* of State interference. And it

* "The Best Hundred Books," pp. 24, 25.

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must be admitted by the friends of both these doughty champions that in the engagement which took place between them not so very long ago in the field of the *Newcastle Chronicle* they fairly emulated the celebrated performance of the Kilkenny cats.

But Mr. Spencer himself does not descend to details, and in meeting him it is not sufficient to point to the results of applying his principles to the concrete: it is necessary to meet him on ground which he has himself chosen, and to test his own conclusions by his own methods.

Mr. Spencer begins with the dogmatic assertion that "the great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings." He continues: "The great political superstition of the present is the divine right of Parliaments. The oil of anointing seems unawares to have dripped from the head of the one on to the heads of the many, and given sacredness to them also and to their decrees." Whatever interpretation our fathers may have placed on the earlier doctrine, otherwise expressed in the maxim, "The king can do no wrong," it is certain that there is no general acceptance of the later doctrine in the literal sense. Indeed Mr. Spencer himself admits this by re-defining the political superstition, in a form less open to misconstruction, as the belief that Government power is subject to no restraint.

Now, in one sense this is not a superstition, but a solid truth. That the group—society regarded as an organism—can through the effective majority (not necessarily the greatest number) do whatever it chooses, so far as the resistance of the minority is concerned, is a stubborn fact: whether it attains its ends through the medium of a despotism or through that of a representative Parliament elected by universal or any other suffrage. In another sense it is not true; but then neither is it a superstition, for no one believes it. That the group cannot act incompatibly with its own welfare is of course untrue. So says Austin; the writings of Bentham imply it; so do those of Hobbes. No one disputes it to-day—not even the most extreme Socialist.

The question at issue between Mr. Spencer and his opponents is simply this—Have minorities, in the sense of the weaker party, any rights which are valid against the community? The answer depends upon the definition of the term "rights." If we accept the practical and intelligible definition of Austin, the question stands thus—Are there are any claims for the defence of which the minority can successfully appeal to the group or State against the superior force of the effective majority? Con-

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sidering that the will of the group is known only through the act of the effective majority, the question resolves into an absurdity. And if the "rights" of the minority means the power to appeal successfully to a higher tribunal than the group itself, the answer must again be in the negative, for to admit the existence of such superior authority is to deny the existence of the group itself as an independent State.

But does Mr. Spencer mean to say that the opinion of the larger number should sometimes give way to that of the smaller —that even the effective majority should sometimes defer to the wishes of the weaker party, and that this not only conduces to the welfare of the group, but is constantly done? In that case no one denies the proposition. Every party-compromise testifies to the fact. To say that there is a moral law or a code of indefinite moral laws by which groups regulate their conduct, is simply to say that the conduct of societies is not arbitrary; which is obvious. But to contend that the State, when it has once made up its mind rightly or wrongly to act in such or such a way, is subject to restraints, is to say that which has no meaning. The group-will, once made up, necessarily manifests itself in action, and it is no more subject to restraints from within than is the will of a single human being. So that the proposition which Mr. Spencer regards as the great political superstition turns out to be a great undeniable truth, or an absurdity believed by none. In neither case can it be called a superstition.

What is the element of untruth contained in the theory of a social pact as the foundation and justification of government? It is not the mere fact that no such gathering and agreement ever took place, for even Rousseau only regarded it as a tacit contract; and writers of a very different school have based the duty of obedience to the law on the ground that all members of a community have tacitly and virtually agreed to be bound by the laws. This, then, is not the element of error contained in the hypothesis, or rather formula. It is that the formula does not represent the fact. The group-will is not the sum of the wills of the individuals composing it; the two are incommensurable. Supposing that we knew the wish of every man living at the imaginary date of the "contrat social," we should be utterly unable to predict the will of the group. It is not even the resultant of the wills of the units, but the resultant of those and many other forces acting in many other directions. It is the neglect of this fact, or rather ignorance of it, which vitiates all the social philosophy of those who build upon the foundation of a real or hypothetical social compact. Hobbes, Rousseau, and Bentham, and after them Mr. Spencer, commit the error of con-

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founding the group-will with the sum of the wills of the units—an error pardonable enough in the first three. The following startling passage furnishes the key to the chain of strange sophistry which goes to make up the essay entitled "The great Political Superstition," and which is happily so unfamiliar to readers of Mr. Spencer's works. After admitting the indefensibility of the assumption that, in order to escape the evil of chronic conflict, the members of a community enter into a pact or covenant by which they all bind themselves to surrender their primitive freedom of action, and subordinate themselves to the will of a ruling power agreed upon—after deriding the hypothesis and its authors in language neither generous nor just, Mr. Spencer proceeds to present his own alternative hypothesis:

> Further consideration reveals a solution of the difficulty; for, if dismissing all thought of any hypothetical agreement to co-operate, heretofore made, we ask what would be the agreement into which citizens would now enter with practical unanimity, we get a sufficiently clear answer; and with it a sufficiently clear justification for the rule of the majority inside a certain sphere, but not outside that sphere.

So that, after all, the outcome of Mr. Spencer's criticism of Hobbes and Austin results in the substitution of a hypothetical social compact made to-day for a hypothetical social compact made a long time ago. Of the two, that of Hobbes is preferable. His supposition is considerably more intelligible than Mr. Spencer's solution. That at an indefinitely remote period wild people, hitherto living in a state of anarchy, came together, hit upon the plan of co-operation, and there and then agreed to conform to the will of the effective majority, may not be a historical fact; but nevertheless it is a fact that somehow men formerly in a state of anarchy did come little by little to subordinate their wills to that of the effective majority, consciously or unconsciously; in other words, the supremacy of the State came to be recognized as a fact. What men come to do, they may be said in a sense to agree to do. And if Hobbes had expressed his pact in terms to the effect that men agreed to abide by the decision of the effective majority—the State-will—he would have been very near the mark. The social compact and the divine right of kings or of parliaments are after all merely two ways of expressing a stubborn fact—namely the fact that right is transfigured might.

But Mr. Spencer's social compact is a sort of chronic plebiscitum. The justification for each new Act of Parliament is to be found by the process of wondering what would be the result if the people were polled. This is of course the "referendum." Carried out in practice instead of imagination, its effect is to

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make every citizen a legislator in spite of the admitted fact that "there can be no fitness for legislative functions without wide knowledge of those legislative experiences which the past has bequeathed."

But perhaps Mr. Spencer would not go the length of taking a poll of the people in order to justify each new piece of proposed legislation. He would rather work the question out on paper; he would ask himself—not the people—whether they would "agree to co-operate for the teaching of religion?" and he would answer himself with "a very emphatic No." "In like manner, if (to take an actual question of the day) people were polled to ascertain whether, in respect of the beverages they drank, they would accept the decision of the greater number, certainly half, and probably more than half, would be unwilling." Now this is just what local-optionists deny. It is just what many others want to know. Mr. Spencer settles it offhand by intuition. But why should the majority be unwilling to abide by the decision of the majority? Is it that the majority has no confidence in its own judgment or rectitude? The self-regard of majorities is usually considered unimpeachable. But the strangest feature in this intuition is its marvellous precision. "Certainly half," he says, "and probably more than half," would be unwilling. Surely, if we may be certain of fifteen millions out of thirty, we might venture to be certain of fifteen millions and one. This recalls the scrupulousness of the American gentleman who, having solemnly sworn to bringing down ninety-nine pigeons at a shot, refused to imperil his immortal soul by setting the figure at a hundred.

> Manifestly, then [says Mr. Spencer], had social co-operation to be commenced by ourselves, and had its purposes to be specified before consent to co-operate could be obtained, there would be large parts of human conduct in respect of which co-operation would be declined; and in respect of which, consequently, no authority by the majority over the minority could be rightfully exercised.

This extraordinary passage, and the superstructure built upon it, are so unpractical, so unreal, and so visionary, that the conclusion can hardly be resisted that the whole essay containing it and developing it has been exhumed from a half-forgotten heap of the author's early writings, and published without re-examination. It must be obvious to Mr. Spencer and to everybody else that in the main those would agree to co-operate who believed their own views on the question at issue to be in a majority. Others would of course decline.

Nor does the prospect brighten when we come to the converse

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question—For what ends would men agree to co-operate? To which the ready answer is, "None will deny that for resisting invasion the agreement would be practically unanimous." Indeed! Many will deny it most emphatically. Besides, supposing that only one person held aloof, would the rest be justified in coercing that one to co-operate? If so, on what principle? Mr. Spencer himself excepts the Quakers, whom, however, he dismisses with a compliment and annihilation. "Excepting the Quakers only, who having done highly useful work in their time, are now dying out, all would unite for defensive war—not however for offensive war." This must be another of those intuitions which only a poll of the people can verify or disprove. It is at least as probable that a majority would vote the other way. Much would depend on the definition given to "invasion" and "defensive." Nearly every civilized nation that has gone to war in the present century has believed itself to be acting on the defensive. Onlookers might be able to inform the belligerents in the Franco-German war of 1870 as to which of them was waging a defensive war, but both sides distinctly claimed that justification. More recently, M. Ferry justified the operations in Ton-king on the ground that the French were acting on the defensive! Again, as to rebellions, were the English on the defensive when they ineffectually endeavoured to suppress the Boer rising? Were they on the defensive a century ago, when they successfully suppressed the Irish rising? Were the British the other day defending Egypt against the threatened invasion of the Mahdi, or were the Soudanese fighting in defence of hearth and home? Then, again, as to the term "invasion," those modern Englishmen (or rather dwellers in England) who are smitten with the insular craze, may define "invasion," so far as they themselves are concerned, as the entry of a foreign force *vi et armis* upon the soil of England, Scotland and Wales—and perhaps Ireland. Whether a German occupation of Heligoland, a Spanish seizure of Gibraltar, or an Italian attack on Malta would fall within the definition, only the late lamented Anti-Aggression League can say. It would be even more interesting to know whether a Russian advance upon India would fall within the category of invasions which Mr. Spencer would himself co-operate to repel, and at what point in the onward march the invasion might be said to begin. Putting aside the question of British frontiers, as exceptionally simple or exceptionally complicated according as we take an insular or an imperial view of them, let us ask whether a French occupation of Alsace would be an invasion of Germany in the above sense?

But why should "invasion" be construed as territorial invasion only? May not British interests and rights be invaded

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which are not territorial? Was not the tearing up of the Treaty of Paris by Russia in 1870 an invasion of England in the wider sense of the term? England, at great cost of blood and treasure, had obtained a certain negative right in the Black Sea—a certain safeguard against a definite danger. May not the German occupation of Angra Pequeña similarly be described as an invasion of British interests? The district had for many years been treated as the property of Englishmen, and under the protection of England; it is contiguous to regions in which Englishmen almost alone are interested; and the conflict of jurisdiction in those regions is calculated to injure trade to the detriment of the English people. Is it an invasion?

Further, we are not told whether there would be any limit to the subordination of individuals to the State in those matters in which they, "with practical unanimity," "almost unanimously," "omitting criminals," "excepting Quakers," agreed to co-operate. Take the agreement to co-operate for defensive war, and suppose that means something definite. Would the citizens thereby bind themselves to conform to the will of the majority in respect of measures directed to that end—all measures? Might not a citizen be willing to contribute money towards the expenses of the war without being willing to submit to conscription? Might he not accept conscription with power of substitution without being willing to serve? Or, assuming in the face of a growing party of sincere socialists that, "omitting criminals, all must wish to have person and property adequately protected," is it equally certain that all would be willing to accept the decision of the majority in respect of the measures needful for that end? And what is "property?" Mr. Spencer glides over this as a phantom ship might glide over sunken rocks. Surely people will not agree to protect property until they know what it is they are pledging themselves to protect. A thief steals a watch, and sells it to a *bonâ-fide* purchaser for its full value. Whose property is it that the State has to protect? A journeyman tailor agrees to make a quantity of army clothing out of cloth supplied to him by a cloth merchant, who before delivery fails for ten times the amount of his assets. Whose property is the clothing? Of course it is not difficult to say what would be a fair way of treating the claims of the different parties, or what is the existing law here and elsewhere; but the question is, Whose is the property? Whose is the property in a row of houses built by a lessee under a ninety-nine years' lease? Or in the case of emphyteusis under the Roman law? Or in a chest of gold coins dug up by a labourer in a field occupied by one man, owned by another, mortgaged to a third, and sold to a fourth under the Settled Estates Act—and before completion of conveyance?

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It is when we come to the land question that we find ourselves involved in the most inextricable maze. "In one other co-operation all are interested—use of the territory they inhabit." What territory does any individual inhabit, or any determinate number of individuals? Or, if indeterminate, do the English people inhabit Ireland or India? Do Londoners inhabit Yorkshire? In what sense is it true that one is more *interested* in one's neighbour's field than in his cattle? The one supplies corn, the other beef. "But," it is urged, "we must have some security for the food of the people. If landowners conspired to grow no corn, the people would starve, and such a state of things cannot be tolerated even as a bare possibility." Likewise if the owners of cattle conspired to destroy them, the people would have no beef. If capitalists conspired to smash up all machinery, rails, ships, tools, furnaces, and mills in the country, the nation would be ruined and the people destroyed. In short, if the race went mad, it would possibly commit suicide. Practically landowners, like capitalists in general, having interests coincident with those of the whole people, refrain as a class from exercising their rights to the detriment of society, and they are never likely to do so. "But we must have room to move about; in this respect land is *sui generis;* man is material, and space is essential to his existence, and if all space in sea and earth and air is appropriated (*cujus est solum, ejus est usque ad cœlum*), those who own no space are in danger of being elbowed out of existence." Quite so: then would it not be as well to find out what kind of "use" it is which the public are vitally interested in, and whether it is correctly described as a "use" at all? What kind of power the State does as a fact tend to reserve to itself, while recognizing the proprietary rights of individuals, is ascertained more readily by a reference to the land laws and customs of all countries, than by a guess as to what a majority of the people in its wisdom would in this or any other country agree to do. In all civilized countries we find that as a fact the State dispossesses the proprietor whenever such dispossession is expedient in the general interest. We have railway concessions, new roads are made and new streets cut through congested districts, without any more concern for intervening proprietary claims than is involved in allowing full compensation—that is, such compensation as satisfies the national conscience. But what is Mr. Spencer's practical conclusion from the premises that all are interested in the use of the territory they inhabit? "The implication is," says he, "that the will of the majority is valid respecting the modes in which, and conditions under which, parts of the surface or sub-surface may be utilized, involving certain agreements made on behalf of the public with private

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persons and companies." It would take too long in this place to analyze in nomological terms this remarkably opaque utterance. To some it might seem to have been drafted in order to fit in with whatever view of the land question should eventually turn out to be correct. Others might be pardoned for regarding it as a pillar of cloud created for the purpose of veiling the transition from the writer's doctrine of land-nationalization as set forth in "Social Statics" (and since repudiated), to the later doctrine of Individualism as advocated in "Political Institutions." To us it appears as an arrangement of words neither having any particular meaning nor intended to have any.

At this point, in order to disarm criticism apparently, we are reminded that "details are not needful here." Why not? In other places Mr. Spencer is most painstaking himself, and most exacting in his demands upon others, as to attention to details. "Nor is it needful," he continues, "to discuss that border region lying between these classes of cases"—that border region which, as Mill pointed out, is of all regions the most fruitful in supplying crucial tests and essential differences.

> It is sufficient [we are told] to recognize the undeniable truth that there are numerous kinds of actions in respect of which men would not, if they were asked, agree with anything like unanimity to be bound by the will of the majority; while there are some kinds of actions in respect of which they would almost unanimously agree to be thus bound. Here, then, we find a definite warrant for enforcing the will of the majority within certain limits, and a definite warrant for denying the authority of its will beyond those limits.

To which the reply is that, if it is sufficient for the philosopher to recognize the said "undeniable truth," it is certainly not sufficient for the statesman, who wants to know not only that there are numerous kinds of such actions, but also what those kinds of actions are; and he will not (if he be wise) rest content with the *ipse dixit* of any one who evolves the answer out of his own inner consciousness; and furthermore, he may not feel satisfied that the mere process of counting noses, even in imagination, will solve the question as to the morality of such actions.

From the position here taken up by Mr. Spencer it is but a short and easy step to "abstract rights." After a brief and, as it will seem to most, in every way unsatisfactory analysis of the "untenable" opinion of Bentham and his disciples, we are led straight back to what modern jurists fondly hoped was the exploded doctrine of natural rights; "for sundry groups of social phenomena unite to prove that this doctrine is well warranted, and the doctrine they set against it unwarranted." We are then told

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that various savage races are controlled by "long-acknowledged customs," by "ancient usages," by "primordial usages or tacit conventions," by "universally recognized customs." "So sacred are immemorial customs with the primitive man, that he never dreams of questioning their authority, and when government arises, its power is limited by them." Now, premising that no one denies, or ever did deny, that State laws grew out of customs (they must have grown out of something), what are we to infer from this long string of social phenomena, many of which, being gleanings from travellers' tales, are open to doubt, while others are false on the face of them? Are we seriously asked to believe that the quaint and often ludicrous customs of savages are themselves the germs of the laws by which natural rights are sanctioned? Are we to understand that when government arises its power is limited by them in any other sense than that in which the will of a man is limited by his own desires and habits? If so, how?

The truth is, Mr. Spencer is confounding three distinct classes of so-called rights: the rights which he himself would sanction if he were the arbitrator, the rights which the claimant's fellow-citizens would individually recognize as morally just, and the rights which are as a matter of fact actually sanctioned by the law of the land. The first may be called "natural rights," or rights as they ought to be in the opinion of their advocate; the second may be called moral rights, or rights as they would be under a code of laws deduced from the morals of the day; and the third may be called legal rights, or rights which are as a fact recognized by the State, and which are a natural development.

It is perfectly true that, as the leaders of the German school of jurists assert, the State laws which are actually carried out are not in all cases and in all respects identical with the State laws as they are expressed, whether embodied in a code or in a heterogeneous heap of statutes, or in authorized or received commentaries on the law. The invariable sequences which actually tend to hold good at any given time in any country, may be called the statical laws or internal group-morals of that particular State at that stage of its development. The laws as expressed are necessarily but imperfect and often distorted reflections of these true laws, the distortion being due not only to imperfect expression and inadequacy of language, but more especially to the false generalizations of legislators or law-makers of one sort or another. Now, it is approximately the former class—the statical laws, which the German school style "natur-recht." There is another sense in which the term may

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be used, and that is, to denote the law as it tends to be but for disturbing causes; or, assuming those disturbing causes to be more or less evanescent, the laws as they tend to become. In neither of these senses is there any resemblance to the natural rights championed by Mr. Spencer, who is, of course, aware that although "recht" may be translated by "droit" or "jus," it cannot be translated into English by the term "right" or "rights," or any other single word; and furthermore, that although "recht" and "droit" are fairly synonymous, "naturrecht," on the other hand, cannot be rendered into French as "droit naturel." Mr. Spencer's "natural rights" are the "droit naturel" of Rousseau, the "jus naturale" of Ulpian, the "inalienable right of every man born into the world" of Mr. Henry George; but not the "naturrecht" of Savigny. So that the appeal to the "root-idea of German jurisprudence" (which is, above all, historical in method) to shore up the justly discredited card-castle of "natural rights," is, to say the least of it, unfortunate.

Mr. Spencer does not usually allow himself to be a slave to words, but his singular criticism of Hobbes' explanation of the origin of justice seems to show that for once he has fallen into this condition. "The definition of injustice," says Hobbes, "is none other than the not performing of covenants" (including the tacit compact entered into by the members of a society, upon which Government, according to him, is based); "therefore, before the names of just and unjust can have place, there must be some coercive power to compel men equally to the performance of their covenants."

Hence it is clear that by "injustice" Hobbes meant to denote the breach of legal duties. Ignoring this definition, Mr. Spencer substitutes his own, and naïvely remarks that among his own friends he could name half a dozen over whom the requirements of justice would be as imperative in the absence of a coercive power as in its presence. Possibly! The majority of Mr. Spencer's friends will hardly feel flattered by the limitation. But the question is: Could Mr. Spencer find half a dozen friends so law-abiding that they would obey the law even against their conscience without the terror of some punishment?

The truth is, Mr. Spencer is himself under the blinding influence of a great superstition—a superstition he has outlived in other departments of thought. He still believes in abstract justice, as something anterior to society or even to man—something immutable and absolute. He still holds, as he held in 1851, that the elimination of the mentally and morally inferior is in accordance with "the decrees of a large far-seeing benevolence." He has since emancipated himself from the anthropo-

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morphic belief involved, and declines to be held "committed to such teleological implications" as the passage cited contains; but, to use his own illustration, just as "Carlyle, who, in his student days, giving up, as he thought, the creed of his fathers, rejected its shell only, keeping the contents;" so his own mind is still under the sway of the metaphysical abstraction Justice. The laws, to have any validity (whatever that means), must conform to this test. He regards the laws solely as a means to an end, rather than as the products of evolution, the resultant of diverse forces acting in various directions through countless ages. His standpoint in viewing State laws is precisely that of Dr. Paley viewing the marvellous adaptations of organic forms to their surroundings. A giraffe with a short neck, argued Paley, would assuredly perish of starvation; hence his long neck is evidence of the far-seeing benevolence of his Creator. Honesty is the best policy, argues Mr. Spencer; the just tend to survive and the unjust to perish; hence the sufficient cause of good laws is Justice. Is it not remarkable that Hobbes, writing more than two centuries ago, should have examined nomological phenomena in a more positivist spirit than the great philosopher of the nineteenth century? Hobbes argued, there are certain classes of actions which tend to conduce to the well-being of society. Experience has taught us what in the concrete these are; they are detailed in the expressed laws. We find by induction they may be classified under certain heads in accordance with certain practical middle principles; there is no general principle under which they can all be subsumed; but their common trait appears to be conformity with the group-welfare. Let us denote them by the term just. The connotation of the term we cannot tell. This is not the language of Hobbes' day, but it describes with fairness the method he adopted. He then inquired what it could be which counteracted the antagonistic efforts of individuals actuated, not by group-welfare, but by self-welfare; and he saw that it was none other than the power of the State. He did not attempt to resolve that force into its elements in terms of individual force; there it was as a fact. That was sufficient. He might have asked himself how far the State force represented the will of the greater number of men, women and children in the society; whether the will of a strong man went for more than that of a weak man; of a rich than of a poor man; of a clever than of a weak-minded man; whether the wills of half a dozen children contributed as much to the State will as the will of one man or two women. But he was neither curious nor dogmatic on these points. The fact was there, and he accepted it as a *datum*. In his day he found that the channel through which this State force operated was that of monarchical government, and he lived

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to see the so-called republic develop into a monarchy in all but the name, and later still to see the old monarchy restored. It is absolutely misleading to say that "Hobbes argued in the interests of absolute monarchy;" such an assertion is as unjust and as unfounded as would be the more plausible one, that Mr. Spencer argues in the interests of the Liberal party. Hobbes was, and Mr. Spencer is, far above arguing in any interests. Hobbes was unquestionably the profoundest thinker of his age—the age of Shakespeare and Bacon; and many Englishmen who cherish his reputation will bitterly resent this imputation. We have already referred to Mr. Spencer's sneer at Carlyle. Here is what he has to say of the founder of the English school of jurisprudence, probably the acutest logician of the century: "Austin was originally in the army, and it has been truly remarked that the permanent traces left may be seen in his 'Province of Jurisprudence.' When undeterred by the exasperating pedantries—the endless distinctions and definitions and repetitions—which serve but to hide his essential doctrines, we ascertain what these are, it becomes manifest that he assimilates civil authority to military authority." It is difficult to deal patiently with this passage. It is useful as showing up in a strong light the fundamental error which underlies and vitiates the whole of Mr. Spencer's political doctrines; an error he unconsciously adopted from his precursor Comte. That Austin was once in the army we know, but beyond this statement of fact, this criticism of the great jurist is as untrue as it is ungenerous. Those who attended Austin's lectures testify that, so far from having anything of the drill-sergeant about him, he was exceptionally modest and conversational in his method of teaching; he would listen attentively to all doubts, and ask the opinions of his hearers on points where he felt himself weak. But if we are to look for the traces of his army discipline in his conclusions, it is only necessary to repeat that it is Mr. Spencer himself, who, after Comte, mistakes for a difference in kind what Austin clearly saw to be merely a difference in degree; the difference, namely, between the "military and industrial régimes." As to exasperating pedantries, Austin himself attributes his own peculiarities of diction to a scrupulous anxiety to express each idea by a suitable word, and to use invariably that word to express the idea. His aim was to be not an elegant but a precise writer. From the expression "endless" distinctions, it may be inferred that the complainant has never got to the end of them; those who have, only regret that poor Austin did not possess the health and strength to add to them, containing as they do some of the finest masterpieces of logical analysis. The repetitions which are a blemish on the published editions of his

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works are, as Mr. Spencer might have ascertained, the necessary result of delivering several lectures on the same subject to different audiences in different places; and the able editors of his lectures and posthumous papers have probably acted wisely in publishing them as they stand. For it is seldom that science can be caught, so to speak, in a state of growth in a great mind, as it is presented to us in Austin's wrestling writings. While, as for the definitions that glitter like crystals throughout his works, and which so vex the soul of his critic, it is enough to say that an accurate acquaintance with even one of them (the wonderful definition of property) would have saved the author of "The Man *v.* the State" pages of useless writing, the whole of the fifteenth chapter of "Political Institutions," and hours and days of anxious thought. There is nothing in the whole range of juristic literature comparable with Austin's final definition of property and the chain of masterly analysis which leads up to it. Mr. Spencer writes in complete ignorance of it.

Austin and all his works having been thus contemptuously thrust aside the search is continued for a justification of the supremacy assumed by the sovereign body, or, as it has been styled, the effective majority. "The true question is—Whence the sovereignty? What is the assignable warrant for this unqualified supremacy assumed by one, or by a small number, or by a large number over the rest?" Does any one really believe that any community is or ever was subject to the arbitrary caprice of one or of any determinate number of its members? Does Mr. Spencer believe that this country is governed in accordance with the will of a numerical majority, or that any such government is even conceivable? Is it not clear that the forms of individual force which go to make up the group force are of very various kinds? Possibly brute force or muscular force contributes the least to the result. Force in the form of wealth, intellectual force, moral force, and many other and derivative and combined forms, pour into the common stream, all operating in countless directions, like the sensations and ideas and emotions in the mind of a man, and the resultant of these and other forces is the group-will. To ask for any higher warrant for the authority of the group over its units, is to rake up in a fresh place the threadbare controversy about free-will. "How comes it," asks the befogged controversialist, "that a man often refrains from doing what he wills to do? that something within him at the last moment whispers 'Don't do it,' with the effect of dissuading him?" Mr. Spencer would answer him, "My dear sir, go home and learn the meaning of the words you use." He certainly would not set about to think why the body does not move in the direction of least resistance, or why the lesser force should over-

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come the greater; or if not, by what peculiar virtue, or authority, or warrant, or justification, the greater overcomes the less. And yet when the subject of the inquiry is not the organism a human being, but the organism a society, he searches everywhere for "an assignable warrant," and bitterly complains that Austin, while admitting that a government is actuated by group morality, furnishes none. "What we have to seek is some higher warrant for the subordination of the minority to the majority than that arising from inability to resist physical coercion." "We have to find, not a physical justification, but a moral justification for the supposed absolute power of the majority." But what is meant by the majority? Does any one suppose that the numerical majority, as such, either exercises absolute power, or ought to exercise it? All that Hobbes and Austin contend is that what the group wills it does, and that those members of the community who happen to be in line with the group-act may be called the effective majority. No one pretends that any determinate person, or number of persons, ever did have, or could have the making of the group-will.

If Mr. Spencer will re-cast his question, and ask, "What is the test of the goodness or badness of group-acts?" we can cordially join in the quest. Bentham's answer was simple: "The greatest happiness of the greatest number;" but it was not true, and it was not definite. The greatest number of whom? Of living persons? or of the countless millions to come? If of the former, it is far from certain that a socialistic redistribution of wealth, accompanied by wholesale infanticide, would not be the readiest path. If of the latter (assuming that the two interests may be antagonistic), then we have to ask, "Why should the living sacrifice themselves for the sake of the unborn?" Sympathy with the unborn? A frail motor! Though Mr. Spencer evidently has faith in it. "If," says he, "we adopt the meliorist view" (not the optimist), "that life is on the way to become such that it will yield more pleasure than pain, then those actions by which life is maintained are justified." Not at all; no act is morally justified which does not conduce to the ultimate welfare of the agent. This is what Mr. Sidgwick would call Egoistic Hedonism, but it is also common sense. Evidently Bentham's answer is unsatisfactory in theory and utterly unworkable in practice. To expect the legislator to measure the million and one near effects of a proposed law with his "hedonometer," to say nothing of the remote effects, is preposterous. What, then, is the test of which we are in search? To any one who has once grasped the conception of the group as an organism—as a whole not to be expressed in terms of its component parts, any more than a man can be expressed in

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terms of the cells of which he is composed—the answer is clear enough: the welfare of the group. This is the warrant, this the justification.

The group-welfare is not of course the origin of the laws, but it is the cause of their survival—of their present existence. The strong man who first deferred to the wish of a weak man was not actuated by solicitude for the well-being of his race; but it was the compatibility of acts of the kind with the well-being of his race which enabled tribes practising them to predominate; and by elbowing other tribes out of existence, to perpetuate the race of men actuated as a rule by like promptings with himself. What those feelings were—why one of superior strength should form a habit of giving way in certain classes of cases to one who could not otherwise prevail against him, is a question the answer to which will bring us face to face with the origin of justice—justice as it is—justice in the sense of that which is common to all actions called just actions; not the *justice* of the transcendental moralist. In searching for the connotation of "just," we shall find ourselves compelled to examine the concrete relations commonly alleged to embody the principle. Every attempt to lay down the principle first and then to fit it on to the rights and duties which are as a fact recognized, has hitherto ended in failure. A just action is one which deals to each his due; but this is merely a translation into other words. What is any one's due, whether pleasant or painful? We must avoid the circular fallacy of defining rights and dues in terms of justice. We sometimes hear of a right to be hanged, but usually the term is used in a restricted sense to denote a pleasant relation. The word "dues" covers both classes. The first thing that strikes the inquirer is that "rights" covers two distinct classes of pleasant relations, both of which seem to involve the foregoing of the full fruits of superior power by one individual for the benefit of another individual, who but for his "rights" would be in a position of disadvantage. And the two classes of rights are distinguished according to that which intervenes between the stronger individual and the fruits of his superior strength. In the one class it is the perception of indirect advantage resulting from abstention, which operates as a motive on the individual himself; in the other class it is the interference of the group as a whole in favour of the weaker party. The first class of rights may be called moral rights, and the second class legal rights. Let us examine them in turn.

Those who have watched the behaviour of dogs will have observed that a strong dog will seldom attempt to deprive a weak dog of a bone he is carrying. Though stronger, he hesitates to attack the dog in possession. *A fortiori*, a little dog will not

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dare to attack a big dog in possession, though he will put on all his best military airs before yielding up his own bone. Now, in this instance there are two minds to dissect. There is the mental attitude of the little dog, and there is the mental attitude of the big dog. Action is the end of will, or, in other words, the resultant of motives. The strongest motive actuating the little dog is the idea of enjoying the bone in the very near future; this future is so near, and the associations engendered by the smell and feel of the bone so intensify this idea, that it borders on realization, and we have what is called an intense expectation. Hence, so far as the idea of gnawing a bone is capable of stimulating to action, we have it in its strongest form. And what is the mental attitude of the stronger dog? First, he also pictures to himself the pleasure of gnawing the bone which he sees before him; but the idea is far less intense than that of the possessor: he neither feels nor smells the bone, and the contemplated time of enjoyment is more remote. Moreover, experience has taught him (or instinct, the experience of his forefathers) that the little dog will most probably make a fight of it, in which case, though victory will be with the strong, it will not be unalloyed with pain and trouble. In short, his intensity of expectation will not be anything like so great and so urgent as that of the possessor. It is unnecessary to go further into the psychology of the position; it is enough to show that a custom will tend to develop of respect for possession. But it will be based upon fear, and among lower animals, inherited habit, rather than upon any sense of possessory right.

Here is no recognition of the expediency of proportioning satisfaction to effort, but a recognition of the inexpediency of attaining a certain good at an expense in pain or risk which more than counterbalances the probable gain; the resulting habit is called a spirit of compromise. A boy with an apple in his hand has a better chance of eating it than a man a hundred yards off. The latter must first give chase, he must then struggle for the apple, and may, even though successful, get a blow or kick; and moreover, the apple may be eaten or thrown away before he can get it. On the whole, the game is not worth the candle. The boy's *right*, his well-justified expectation of enjoyment, is recognized without any interference by third parties or the State. Again, here is a weary hunter sitting alongside a stag he has captured. One who is fresh, and perhaps stronger, comes up, impelled by hunger. Here are the elements of a fierce conflict. Both expect pleasure, and both expect pain as the result of the fight. Now, both parties argue thus: A little with peace is better than the chance of much with the certainty of bruised limbs; why not share the prize in some proportion?

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The question, What proportion? is not settled by any reference to the efforts of the hunter, but by a rough calculation as to the least amount of blackmail which will be sufficient to induce the stronger man to keep the peace. Compromise is the germ of moral rights.

And now as to legal rights. Remembering that the source of all legal conceptions must be sought for in the patriarchal stage of social development, we shall find that the conception of legal rights has its origin in parental love. We need go no deeper. Further analysis would take us into the region of psychology. Parental love is a fact which nomologists must accept as a datum. A parent, perhaps without being able to assign a better reason for it than sympathy, will not permit an elder child always to take advantage of his superior strength in his dealings with a younger. An arbitrary State interference takes place. And here is the beginning of the elimination among men of brute-force. Why it is not just, parents do not trouble to inquire, but for some reason or other, based on sympathy with weakness, the possessor of superior muscular force is arbitrarily debarred from reaping the natural advantages of that superiority. It would take too long in this place to show how, one by one, other forms of superior force were eliminated—were barred in the competition. Stealth was long tolerated when violence was deprecated. Later on, when stealth ceased to be sanctioned, low cunning was admired, just as nowadays sharp practice is winked at by many who would recoil from fraud; while even among those who are accounted high-minded among us, it is regarded as a laudable exercise of intellectual superiority to buy cheap from one who is ignorant of the true value of the article, and to sell dear to another who is also ignorant of it. Where the line will eventually be drawn it is impossible to say. The Romans allowed one who had sold a thing far below its true value to come upon the purchaser for an account: we do not. Which is right?

Such, then, is in brief an outline of the history of legal rights; we find, first, sympathy for the muscularly weaker; then with the mentally inferior; then with those whom the event shows to have been temporarily overmatched owing to unavoidable ignorance or unfavourable situation; and lastly, in the case of what is called "undue influence," sympathy with those exposed to unusual temptations. And concomitantly with these we find antipathy for those who take unfair (whatever that may mean) advantage of their superior strength, cunning, knowledge, or situation.

Take as an illustration the greatest problem which modern civilization presents to us. Two men club their resources together to convert that which is valuable into something more valuable.

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Let us assume that they contribute equal value. Would it not seem right or just that the new increment of value should belong to them in equal shares? And yet so unfavourably are the manual workers among us situated, that they are not in a position to make those apparently fair terms; and the consequence is that the employer of labour pockets the whole of the increment of value, leaving to the labourers only what they had to start with—viz., their own bodies, plus the cost of their maintenance during the process, and a small allowance for wear and tear. It is as if (the situation of the partners being reversed) the workers kept the whole of the profits, and handed over to the capitalist the engine he had contributed, plus the cost of the fuel with which he had supplied it, and a small sum to cover the wear and tear, sufficient to form a sinking fund wherewith to provide a new engine when the old one was worn out. Such is the modern system of wagedom. The wage-receiver gets just enough to keep himself alive for the use of his employers, plus that which is barely sufficient to rear up children to take his place when he is worn out. This is the result of free contract. True, but how are the parties situated? Is it not the free contract of the drowning man who voluntarily agrees to give up all his fortune to one who will drag him out on no other terms? Is it just?

But to return to the evolution of legal rights. When the "gens" takes the place of the family as the political unit (a change which effects a remarkable complication in judicial procedure) the head of the house is no longer swayed by quite such immediate sympathy with the weaker members. In the meantime his decisions have come to be based on principles more or less general. Again, as these compound groups are re-compounded, and the gens gives place to the tribe, personal sympathies are still further weakened, and judicial decisions are based on still wider generalizations, all of them, be it remembered, the outcome of experience, and not severally deduced from any high moral principle of abstract goodness. When at last we reach the stage in which we see nations, each containing many separate tribes all welded together into an organic State, with its *corpus juris civilis*, the ruler can have but little if any personal knowledge of the citizens, and he, or those to whom the judicial function is delegated, must be guided in his or their decisions by rules of high generality which are popularly believed to be based on what is termed justice; though what that is, not even the shrewdest of ancient jurists has been able to furnish us with the faintest notion. What is connoted we do not know; but we are now in a position to define "just" as denoting those group interferences between individual citizens which aim at more or

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less equalizing the conditions of the competition, in certain undefined respects, by eliminating the exercise of certain faculties, which in a state of anarchy (or nature as some wrongly call it) would give a decided advantage to one of the competing parties. More than this can hardly be said, and even this is saying too much; for the exercise of the said faculties is not altogether prohibited, but only in certain classes of actions. For even now a strong man is permitted to take advantage of a weak man by reason of his superior muscular force—*e.g.*, a porter will snatch a situation at a railway station from one of weaker build. So a powerful navvy at piecework will earn a higher wage than one who is weaker, and what is more, will force the weaker man by competition in the labour market to accept a lower wage than he could otherwise have commanded. And so with all the other kinds of superiority. It is in only certain classes of actions that their exercise is prohibited. And he who would precisely define those classes must have recourse to induction, or be prepared to give up the problem as insoluble.

It now remains for us to decide whether by the term "rights" we mean moral rights or legal rights. The definition is optional. Usage justifies either. But having chosen, let us beware of employing the word in one sense in the major premiss, and in the other sense in the minor premiss, or the conclusion. Austin chose to define rights as legal rights: he was quite justified in doing this; and having done it, he never swerved to the right hand nor to the left. Mr. Spencer chooses to put the other interpretation on the term as used by Austin, and thus makes him appear to say that which is ridiculous. Austin knew perfectly well that usage precedes law, but he also knew that rights could not precede government in the sense in which he employed the terms; which is obvious.

It is clear from arguments based on economy of force that the State would tend in many classes of cases to sanction pre-existing moral rights; but the "justification" or "warrant" for this course would be not the moral rights themselves, but the gain to the group. Hundreds of instances will readily occur to the mind wherein the State has, so to speak, ridden roughshod over moral rights, and wisely so too. Lazarus at the gate of the rich man had a moral right (in the opinion of the narrator's countrymen) to some part of the other's wealth; but the State did not sanction that claim, and it is currently admitted that it would be inexpedient for any State to sanction such a claim. Here we have a moral right which does not tend to grow into a legal right. It is unnecessary to ascertain the basis of the moral right; it is enough to show that if law is to be based, as Mr. Spencer thinks, on "natural rights," by which he seems to mean some kind of

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moral rights, then we shall have group morality (law) which is not based on group-welfare; which is absurd.

Let us turn to the evolution of law. What is a law in the nomological sense? It is the statement of an invariable sequence of which the antecedent is the act of an individual citizen or individual citizens, and the consequent is the act of the group or State. No amount of enacting or legislating makes a law; it is the carrying out of the enactment, or an invariable tendency to carry it out, in the absence of disturbing causes, such as ignorance, false evidence, escape of wrongdoer, &c., which justifies the statement and verifies the law. Of course there are many so-called State laws (statutes, &c.) which are not as a fact carried out in practice. Some are obsolete, others unworkable, and others uncongenial to the conscience of the age. All such are but distorted reflections or mendacious misstatements of the true law (Naturrecht), which as a fact obtains. Such so-called State laws, statutes, decrees, edicts, &c., must continue to be called laws out of deference to popular usage; but the true laws in the scientific sense—statical laws—are the statements of invariable sequences, by whomsoever promulged. It is the province of the legislator to discover these laws; and more—to divine, by a study of history and his own time, the changes which are in course of being worked out; to discover by some process not only the law as it is, but the law as it tends to become. The laws of the change and development of statical laws may in Comtist phraseology be termed dynamical nomological laws. And the first question for the nomologist to decide is as to the method to be adopted in the search. Transcendental jurists, it is needless to observe, adopt the method which, oddly enough, Mr. Spencer has followed and defended. The laws as they ought to be, must, they say, be deduced, like the propositions of Euclid, from one or a few fundamental principles, of which the chief is "fiat justitia."

The empirical school of jurists, on the other hand, contend that there are no known truths of the highest generality, and that each law must be tested on its merits by its fitness to conduce to the well-being of the people, or some of them. And they proceed to find this out in each case by observation, experiment, or calculation—an heroic task, which does more credit to their patience than to their appreciation of the vastness of the subject. All seem alike to overlook the suitability of the method adopted in the other inductive sciences—that of making inductions from the minor social rules which have stood the test of time; of casting the conclusion into the form of a more general rule; of extracting, when possible, that which is common to this rule, and other general rules arrived at by a similar process, and so of arriving at a rule of higher generality. As in other departments of

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science, the inquirer is then in possession of many laws of various degrees of generality, which he must verify by applying them to new or unconsidered or hypothetical cases. This process of exhaustive subsumption will either strengthen the probability of his original conclusion, or show up the weak point in it; in which latter case he will be in a position to qualify it in accordance with his widened experience. The third part of the process which is conveniently carried on concurrently with the others, is that of making deductions from the general laws reached by induction. As in other branches of inquiry, some of the greatest and most valuable truths will be brought to light by this process; but it need hardly be said that the value of a deduction depends not only on the correctness of the logic, but on the truth of the premiss. Hence it is that most of the deductions hitherto contributed to ethics and jurisprudence being deductions not from generalizations based on the actual sequences observed in the actions of men and of groups of men, but on meaningless dogmas as to Duty, Justice, Virtue, Right, and the like, have little or no value whatsoever.

The historical source of law has already been indicated; and it is evident that State laws are not, and never have been, deductions from the highest moral truths, or supposed truths. They took their rise from the generalizations which were of necessity made when questions became too numerous and too complicated to be decided, each, from beginning to end, on its merits. Precedents were cited; the *ratio decidendi* was extracted, correctly or erroneously, and the result was a State law.

In making these generalizations, either consciously or unconsciously, the law-makers or judges of old naturally made imperfect inductions, just as our lawyers do now. They seized upon some accidental feature common to a number of cases which seemed similar, instead of upon the essential feature. This accidental feature they took as the basis of the new generalization or State law. To take a modern instance of this fallacy. Of thousands of partnership cases tried in this country, community of profit and loss seems to be a common feature. Hence lawyers of high repute (see Lindley on "Partnership") have seized upon this trait as the distinctive mark of partnership; thus confounding the accidental with the essential, and entailing great injustice and hardship. The essential element in partnership is not community of profit and loss, but reciprocal guaranty. It may be said that nearly all bad State laws which are not the result of erroneous beliefs are due to false generalizations. Nearly all the confusions, the complications, and the injustice of the English laws relating to liens, to mortgages, to debts of priority,

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to consideration, to bankruptcy, &c. &c., are due to blundering generalizations. Lien, for example, has never yet been correctly defined in any legal authority, simple and beautiful as the connotation is. Consequently, many true liens are unrecognized by law, whilst others are sanctioned which have no proper existence, to the great injury of the actual owner. Like remarks apply to such elementary legal conceptions as debt and security. In many cases the false generalization is too wide; it covers cases which bear only a superficial resemblance; but in others it frequently fails to cover cases to which the correct *ratio decidendi* applies.

Some State laws are repealed, or cease to be operative; others persist through centuries of social development. What is the reason for the survival of some laws and the extinction of others? Tribes whose laws conduce to the well-being of the race necessarily outlive and thrust out of existence those tribes whose laws, however apparently reasonable or just, do not conduce to the group-welfare. This becomes more obvious when we reflect that in some times and places laws are operative and conducive to group-welfare, which in other countries or in other ages would clearly lead to disintegration. No one pretends that monogamy for example, would be a desirable institution in a poultry-yard. Few would condemn polygamy among nomad tribes in a thinly-populated area. Is there a hint as to its immorality or inexpediency in the Old Testament? Again, infanticide was legally practised by Greeks and Romans, and to-day it is recognized in China. Even stealing is said to have been lawful in Sparta; and duelling is allowed and encouraged in several European countries to-day. We have only to refer to Montesquieu for numerous instances of laws and customs in vogue among peoples separated from us by space and time, which, if introduced into nineteenth-century England, would probably ruin the country. We shall easily satisfy ourselves that the fitness of a law is not to be tested by any reference to a supposed standard of justice or virtue, but by its effect on the eventual welfare of the race adopting it. If it is not conducive to the group-welfare, one of two things will happen: either the law will be dropped, or the group will perish. Thus the just and the unjust laws (regarded from any arbitrary standpoint) will survive together where they are conducive to the welfare of the group; they will perish together where they are not conducive. And so it befalls that many good laws are not just, if judged by the common-sense of a so-called just man. (For that justice has a connotation, though undiscovered, there can be little doubt; and that, in the absence of a true definition, there is no better clue to the connotation of the term than the instinctive feeling of the multitude

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in applying it to the concrete, is also tenable.) Indeed, since the widest-ranging laws are but generalizations from laws of less generality, and since every step of the process opens the door to fallacies which may become ingrained in the law, it follows that in a highly civilized and complex society hardly any of the laws, whether written or unwritten, can be regarded as just. The most that can be shown in their favour is that any alternative laws which might be proposed would probably result in even *greater* injustice—in a larger number of cases of hardship than *the* existing laws; which in many cases is not saying much. But such is the force of habit that we seem to see justice in a law of undoubted expediency in which there is not a tittle, in any sense of the term which has ever been suggested. This habit blinds us to the immense differentiation which has taken place in morals and laws. He who would deduce laws as they ought to be (*i.e.*, as they tend to be) from morals, must be capable of calculating the present position of the geological strata from a knowledge of the antecedent physical conditions of the globe.

From a very early stage we find the moral and the legal rights in collision. For instance, how came it that when the weaker child tried to take possession of a thing which the elder and stronger was using, the parent refrained from equalizing the conditions? Brute force was allowed to predominate. Here the sympathy with intensity of expectation—possession overpowered the sympathy with physical weakness. And so at the present day proprietory right prevails over sympathy with the hardships and disadvantageous position of the poor. It is in accordance with the group-welfare. It is only when man enters upon the scene that sympathy with intense disappointment after intense expectation, and antipathy for the cause of the disappointment, are manifested. From the moment when the family as a whole, through the patriarch, interferes on behalf of the holder or possessor of a thing and against the would-be despoiler, from that moment we have the recognition of possessory right.

Let us follow up the development of this recognized right. We have seen how it would come about that one who had gathered a cocoa-nut would be left in undisputed enjoyment, or that otherwise the State would interfere to ensure that result. Now suppose he had captured a stag, and could not eat the whole of it at one meal. Four courses would lie open to him: he could carry about with him as much of the carcase as he could lift, and relinquish the rest; or he could sit down alongside of it until he was again hungry; or he might hand over to a friend as much as he could not eat; or lastly, he could inform

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all and sundry that the carcase was his own, that he claimed it, that he could, if he chose, remain with it, and so get his claim respected, and that to compel him to do so was a restriction on his liberty. Probably this fourth course would be the last to be adopted, but it would necessarily come into use, for the simple reason that it would be a saving of the common time—an economy of group-force. And not until the recognition of this right over a thing not in actual possession came to be assured, could the right of property in its fullest sense be said to have reached maturity. From the third course, which would be based on the possessory right of intensity of expectation, would of course spring the right of gift, transfer, or alienation.

The right to things within the grip or within the power of immediate resumption has widened into a right to things not within the grip; this presently and necessarily extends to prescriptive ownership. The claim to ownership, once put forward without dispute, lasts indefinitely. Then the right of gift develops irresistibly into a right to transfer, from donor to donee, a thing out of reach by word of mouth. And since it takes time to obtain possession of a thing at a distance, it clearly comes to pass that a future gift is regarded as valid. Meanwhile mutual gifts or exchanges have become frequent; and gifts in exchange for future services have developed into conditional future gifts, or rather conditional promises to give. It is clear that from this would arise in the most natural manner the recognition of gift contingent on the death of the donor—or, in other words, of testamentary bequest; which is the key-stone of the present system of civilization—property in perpetuity. Temporary rights over things held by others would tend to come into existence without blurring or weakening the proprietory or permanent right of the true owner; and thus the State would come to sanction the rights of hirers and lenders. It is quite needless in this place to trace the gradual growth from the original germ—possessory right—of the innumerable forms of rights over things now sanctioned by the modern State.

Thus from absolute liberty, common to man and the lower animals, tempered by sympathies and antipathies in harmony with group-welfare, spring first possession by tacit understanding, then right of possession sanctioned by patriarchal power, which is the incipient State; this extends to recognized possession of things not within the grip or immediate resumption. (No hard-and-fast line can be drawn between these stages of possessory right.) Then come prescriptive ownership, together with uses to alien property, sub-uses of several degrees; condominium, which tends to split up into property in the narrow sense, and

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lien (not even yet fully differentiated); and finally, property in ideas and other more complex proprietory rights.

To sum up. If "rights" is a term with two meanings, "justice," which is used to connote that unknown principle common to all rights, must also have two meanings. Justice may be that which is common to all moral rights, or that which is common to all legal rights; and if it is the one, it cannot be the other. It is not a case of the greater including the less; the two principles are disparate. Most moderns employ the term in its ethical sense. Hobbes, as we have seen, employed the term in its nomological sense, just as Austin employed the term rights; and (so far as Mr. Spencer's criticism is concerned) with the same result—viz., that of laying himself open to misrepresentation by one who does not take the trouble to ascertain beforehand in what sense the term is used. Common usage hardly justifies Hobbes' use of the word, which, at all events nowadays, is used to express a moral abstraction; and it will be well to confine it to this purpose. To contend that the true laws (those actually carried out as an invariable rule) cannot be unjust, would be paradoxical to modern ears. That they cannot be illegal is a safer proposition, and a truism withal.

We have seen that there was a time when justice was non-existent; and by what process of evolution it was eventually brought about that certain classes of actions came to be regarded as just and others as unjust. Nothing now remains to be done but by a survey of just actions (as generally admitted at any time and place) to extract the essential common peculiarity, and the result is the connotation of justice. The definition will never be reached by laboured arguments on the model of a geometrical theorem, as may be seen from an examination of Mr. Sidgwick's able analysis of the conception in his "Methods of Ethics"—a work of great negative value, but absolutely barren of positive results. With ethics, as a so-called practical science—as a science of that which ought to be in contradistinction from that which is—we have nothing to do; neither, similarly, with jurisprudence as vulgarly defined. It is in all probability the visionary and unpractical conclusions reached by jurists which have rendered that branch of inquiry so unpopular with lawyers—that is to say, with those who may be supposed to be more than other people practically acquainted with the problems contemplated. It is not jurisprudence as hitherto treated which is the necessary preliminary to the fruitful study of politics, but rather what may be termed nomology, or the inductive science of law. Before proceeding farther, it may be as well to restate what has so far been stated only by implication as to the nature and method of this science.

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Nomology, then, is the scientific study of certain of the relations subsisting between the organized group and the units or individuals of which it is composed; or, in other words, of those sequences of which the consequent is a willed act of the group following upon an antecedent act or situation of one or some of its units. This definition of the subject is no doubt technical, and at first sight not very intelligible; but it is accurate, and strictly in harmony with the definitions of other branches ot science. For the scientific study of things (which term rightly includes relations) means an inquiry into their origin, growth, development past and future, and decay; and it is well, before making use of colloquial or slipshod language, to be sure that it truly represents a clear and precise idea. At the same time, a translation of the technical into homely English is also desirable in order to avoid pedantry of diction throughout, and to dispense with circumlocution. Vulgar parlance, in fine, often serves as a short formula, and combines brevity with apparent simplicity—an appearance due, however, rather to use than to logical exactness. In plain language, then, nomology treats of those acts of the State which are voluntary and which are caused by the contemplation of situations or doings of individual members of it. And indeed we may without much danger cut out the term "situations," for by far the greater proportion of State acts are performed in response to the *acts* of individuals; while those due to the contemplation of their unchanged situation are at all times few, and in the case of developed societies almost entirely absent. Thus in this country at the present day the State punishes no man on account of his position—as, for instance, because he is deformed, or dark-complexioned, or unfit for military service, or even leprous or otherwise loathsome. Nor does the State reward or compensate men otherwise than for a change in their position, except in case of extreme poverty, and even the poor laws may be said to be rather a safety-valve against rebellion than a tribute to pity. Be that as it may, it is certain that the enormous majority of State acts follow upon a change: that change is brought about either by so-called natural causes (accident), or by the act of a member or members of the State. Thus, on the one hand, your house may be struck by lightning, or you may be kicked by a horse; or, on the other hand, your watch may be taken by a thief, or your ribs broken by a garotter. In the first of these cases the deplorable change in your situation will not induce the active sympathy of the State; but in the latter cases, where the change is due to the act of another person, then the State is moved to action. So that we may eliminate, as the causes of State action, not only unchanging situations, but also changes

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caused by accident or nature (in which terms are included all causes other than the acts of fellow-members of the State). Again, those acts of members of a State which are virtuous and worthy of approbation do not in a highly developed society entail any regular recognition by the State, such as a reward. Where rewards for virtue or for public service are made, it is not according to law or regular rule, but according to the feeling of the moment. So that we may also eliminate such acts of the citizen as do not so arouse the anger or antipathy of the State as to entail State action. And this leaves us with no cause worth much consideration but the hateful acts of members of the community.

These group-acts being voluntary and following on the contemplation of the acts of members, it is clear that such contemplation must arouse feelings of pleasure and pain sufficient to serve as motives. When produced by regarding the sufferings or pleasures of others, these feelings are called sympathy or antipathy according as they are like or unlike the feelings regarded. Thus we may sympathize with one who is either in pain or in pleasure; so similarly we may antipathize (so to speak) with one in either situation. It is absolutely essential to conceive of the group or State as acting in accordance with motives of sympathy and antipathy; such acts taking the form of charity, compensation, or reward, in the one case; and of spoliation, compulsory restitution, or punishment, in the other. It will be objected that this arrangement leaves no room for the whole important class of legal rights. And this is in fact so. But it will be remembered that we are at present considering the antecedents or causes of State acts, and not the effects of such acts (which may of course be regarded as included in such acts), and it will become apparent that a legal right, as such, cannot rouse the State to action. How should it? A legal right has by implication been defined as a liberty or power which owes its existence to the recognition and guaranty of the State. So long as that right exists, the power is or may be exercised; and as soon as that power ceases to be exercised or exercisable that right is *ipso facto* dead. There no longer is any such power, whether guaranteed by the State or not. Therefore a legal right cannot serve as a cause of State action.

But the change in the situation may arouse the sympathy of the State; and if that change has been caused by the act of a citizen, then such act may arouse the antipathy of the State. Or both sentiments may be aroused simultaneously. Thus the wrong may be an antecedent of State action; and the change in the situation of the injured party may likewise so serve. And, as has already been hinted, it is only, or almost only, when the

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misfortune is regarded as connected with the reprehensible conduct of another, that the State, as a fact, does take action and that probably as much for the sake of hurting the wrong-doer as of benefiting the sufferer.

It is impossible in this brief sketch to enter upon the keenly debated question of the nature of the difference between crime and injury, involving, as it does, the definition of crime. It may therefore be pardonable to express dogmatically the view that crimes are those acts of individual citizens which arouse the antipathy of the State for the wrong-doer, sufficiently to bring about a State act of the nature of punishment; while a civil injury is an act which, without necessarily arousing any State antipathy for the agent, arouses State sympathy with another citizen who is hurt by it. The resulting group-act has for its end, not the punishment of the doer, but the rehabilitation of the sufferer; though for reasons connected with group competition, the restitution or compensation or reparation resulting from the State act does, as a rule, also operate as a punishment on the doer of the injury. For example, if one who carelessly breaks a shop-window is made to pay for a new one, it is not because his act is regarded by the State with positive antipathy, but because sympathy with the owner of the window is sufficient to entail State action on his behalf. At the same time, it is clearly a painful thing (virtually a punishment) for the injurer to be compelled to pay.

A fundamental division in the study of the law is that which is based on this difference between crime and injury. And one of the first dynamical laws which the study of nomology will bring to light, is that which relates to the gradual absorption of the law of crimes into the law of civil injuries.

Seeing that both classes of laws tend to restrain rather than to impel, it is clear that the law as a whole may be regarded as restraint on liberty. In order to understand liberty, we must first understand law. Liberty is the complement of law. When we know the angle, we know its complement.

And now let us reconsider the whole question from the opposite point of view. What is liberty? We are told that in a state of nature we are all free; there is too much liberty. Take the case of the wolf and the lamb. Here we have a "state of nature"—a state of absolute liberty. The wolf is at liberty to devour the lamb; and similarly, the lamb is at liberty to devour the wolf—if it can. The poor Indian, bound to a tree to be shot at by his neighbours, is living in a state of perfect liberty—equal liberty; for he was free to tie his neighbours to the tree, and take shots at them. A state of full liberty, then, is one in which the strong are free to rob the weak, and the weak are free to rob

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the strong. Clearly this is not an enviable state of things for the weak. The strong may call it liberty, but the weak call it anarchy. The two are identical. Then why all this outcry for liberty, and never a word for anarchy? We all know that in order to escape from the evils of liberty, men banded themselves together in groups, not consciously or suddenly, but by a slow process of evolution which can be explained; and virtually agreed to suppress by united action certain forms of force. In short, the actions of individuals were brought more or less under the control of the group—Society, the State. Once created and set in motion, this club or State tended from various causes to encroach more and more on the freedom of the individuals composing it, until the restraints, the exactions, and the meddlings of the governing body at last brought about a reaction in favour of a partial return to anarchy—liberty. Certain matters and things were removed from the domain of State control; and men were no worse, but all the better, for the change. The State, for various reasons connected with the structure of the ruling body, brought itself into disrepute; and each deliverance from its arbitrary interference was hailed as a clear gain to the liberties of the people. In some cases the change was for the better. In others it was again found necessary to revert to the system of State control. The reason why certain matters can safely be left to the free action of individuals, whereas others can not, may be shown in detail; but no general statement has yet been framed by which we can see at a glance beforehand whether a particular matter should be controlled by the State, or may safely be left to the unfettered action of the units. Civil liberty, then, may be accurately defined as the greatest possible freedom of the individual from State interference, compatible with the well-being of the social organism.

But to set up this definition as a practical rule of action is vain. It is like telling one who asks for moral guidance to keep to the path of virtue. What he wants to know is, which is the path of virtue? Similarly, the practical statesman wants to know which are the matters wherein the State must here and now exercise some kind of control, in order to secure the stability of society; and which are the matters to be safely left to individual caprice.

Is it not unphilosophical, without the strongest reason, to contend that what at one time led to the elevation of mankind—viz., the substitution of organized social control for antagonistic and competitive individual free efforts, at another time leads to its deterioration?—that what was once a factor in social integration, is now a factor in social disintegration? And yet this is the position taken up by the worshippers of liberty pure

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and simple, like Mr. Spencer and Mr. Auberon Herbert. Government is the cement which binds the units together into a complex whole. Moreover, the study of history shows us unmistakably that the increasing tendency has been and is in the direction of rendering the Government stronger and stronger in proportion to the individual forces opposed to it. Crime is followed by punishment more speedily and more certainly than it was of old. It is not the weakening, but the strengthening of the State to which we must look for the amelioration of society —the subordination of the will of each to the welfare of all. And this is called Socialism. Yet we do not find that even the most pronounced Socialists aim at supplanting freedom of thought by the religion of the majority, or of any ruling body; nor do they aim at reviving any of the ancient laws by which the dress and food of the various classes of persons were prescribed by government. Just as the extremest individualist would shrink from destroying government altogether, and repealing the whole of the criminal law, so would the extremest socialist shrink from subordinating the will of the units in all matters to State control. Hence we are again driven to the conclusion that "a line must be drawn somewhere." And the question still is, where? Mr. Auberon Herbert draws it at the elimination of brute force, or what he calls "direct compulsion." But on his own showing he is driven to some strange shifts in order to show how certain actions, which he and all men agree should be forbidden and punished by the State, are but forms of brute force. If one pours noxious vapours into the air, he is "constraining the faculties of those who are obliged to breathe the poisoned air against their own consent." If one falsely libels his neighbour, he has "taken his own actions from him, and substituted other actions for them;" and so on. It is fair to say that Mr. Herbert has misgivings as to the soundness of these explanations. What is "direct compulsion" as distinct from indirect? Two monkeys in an apple-tree are apt to fall out—especially if the apples are few. Two hungry hyænas in presence of a fat carcase are apt to fight. Sheep on a barren hillside, on the other hand, eat away as hard as they can, and starve each other to death, indirectly, as it were. They do not seem to have arrived at a perception of the elementary truth, that the simplest way to get the better of a rival is to "remove" him. Perhaps the Carnivora find themselves better armed for the fray; and besides, if successful, they are immediately rewarded with a ready-made repast. Sheep do not care for mutton. But there is another reason for their peaceful behaviour. If the weaker or more cowardly or more peaceable of the two hyænas, glaring at the dead turkey, could see a few lean birds lying about all around, perhaps he would leave

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his bigger rival in undisputed possession of the turkey. But he does not, and he is very hungry. He must fight, or starve a little longer. Now, when a strong sheep finds a weaker one browsing luxuriously on a well-covered hillock, he quietly hustles him out of the way, and takes his place; while the weaker brother retires to some neighbouring spot where the herbage is short and brown. Why the stronger do not pommel the weaker out of existence once for all, is a question of sheep sociology which is not the subject of the present inquiry.

What should be pointed out is that savage man in the hunting stage did rise, and does rise, to the far-seeing standpoint of the tiger, and, consciously or unconsciously, discerns the expedience, as an economy of force, of fighting and killing his rivals at once, rather than putting himself to the trouble of continually outstripping them in the chase day after day and year after year. One of these modes is direct, the other is indirect. In what way is the one more justifiable than the other? At all events, they do fight and eliminate one another to an extent unsurpassed even by the Carnivora; so that, as a fact, few if any of them die of starvation after the manner of their more peaceable descendants. But presently again, without any very clear consciousness of what they are aiming at, they begin to discover that although it is in the main a good thing to decimate their fellow-men, it is just as well to tolerate the competition of a few of them, with a view to co-operation against more distant rivals. There can be little doubt that the germ of co-operation is to be found in the instincts of gregarious animals. Here the instinct of competition comes into conflict with the instinct of co-operation, and thus at this early stage a line has to be drawn in practice, if not in theory, between the one province and the other. During the course of social development, when co-operation becomes conscious, organized, and compulsory, we have the State. Some classes of actions pass in and out of the domain of State control many times in the course of history; and it is only after centuries of experiment that the consensus of society finally settles down (perhaps for no clearly assignable reason) in favour of leaving them permanently in one province or the other. Thus, what may be called the group opinion in this country seems now to be settling down in favour of allowing the expression of religious and scientific beliefs to be left free from State interference. In the matter of the marriage relation, the group opinion seems for the present pretty well settled in the opposite way. Now this group opinion is tolerably clear and steady long before the advent of majorities to direct control of legislation, and it must therefore have a basis, *raison d'être*, though not necessarily a consciously recognized

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one. And that basis is surely the well-being of the group as a whole. So that, although we may not be able to tell beforehand whether any particular class of actions should or should not be brought within the domain of State-control at any particular stage of social development, we can say that, whatever the group will may be on the subject, it is actuated, consciously or unconsciously by a striving after the welfare of that particular society as a whole. The group may be mistaken, just as an individual may err in honestly doing what he believes to be best for himself in the long run; but it is surely better and safer to trust to the group instinct, and to have faith in the forward tendency of society, though its gait be a little zigzag, than to put it into a strait-jacket whenever its action does not seem to fit in with some preconceived theory of group morals.

But though liberty thus turns out to be a word without any positive meaning, it is clear that certain forms of liberty are good and other forms are bad. And the distinction between them at any stage of development is between the individual liberty which is compatible with the group welfare, and that which is not. Names are of little consequence; but the latter may be called licence, and the former civil liberty. It may fairly be doubted whether there has ever been a restraint put upon individuals by even the most despotic of Governments, which may not at one time or another have been a necessary and beneficent conomitant of social evolution. The power of life and death exercised by the old Roman paterfamilias over his children and slaves was probably at one time an unmixed good. And the like power of the King of the Ashantees is or was probably conducive to the group welfare.

Is there, then, no discoverable rule for our practical guidance? Is there no observable tendency, no law of social development, upon which we can build up a practical working maxim of legislation? We believe there is; but it is not embodied in the formula "No Government."

The first requisite for social integration was a strong central power which should effectually suppress all forms of individual activity calculated to injure the group as a whole. Tribes which developed this form of organization waxed strong; while tribes which consisted of undisciplined and *disorderly* numbers were crushed out in the struggle for existence. Thus the tendency to centralize was brought about necessarily, and to a certain extent unconsciously, just as the gregarious habits of sheep and deer have been developed without that clear prevision for group defence which the habits seem to imply.

And just as in getting copper out of the earth we get with it many other things which are worse than useless; so in obtaining

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control of certain of the actions of its component members, the group got control of many other classes of actions which could not at the time be easily distinguished or disentangled. Having got our copper-ore and its surrounding rubbish to the surface, succeeding operations consist of disengaging the useless from the useful. Some of the substances, like sulphur, are very persistent, but in time the metal shines forth pure and bright. So it is with political institutions. The whole history of civilization is one long series of operations for the disentangling of the metal from the dross. That which is good and necessary in the law—State prevention or elimination of certain classes of actions, such as murder and assault, stealing and breach of contract, nuisance and indecence, &c. &c.—becomes more and more marked, stronger and more popular. Good citizens do not chafe under it—it even ceases to be regarded as a restraint upon liberty; while that which is bad and unnecessary is from time to time expelled from the body of the law—or, as the saying is, the people wrest from their rulers one liberty after another. To take a recent instance: it is only a generation ago that the English people wrested from the Government the liberty to buy what they wanted in the cheapest markets. To-day they are struggling to throw off the last remaining fetters in the matter of full religious liberty.

This, then, is the observed fact, that as civilization advances, the State tends to throw off one claim after another to interfere with the free action of its members, while at the same time it becomes stronger, more regular, speedier, and more certain in performing the functions that remain to it. Where it interferes it interferes thoroughly.

At the present time the tendency is one of throwing off certain forms of State control. Therefore when we see an agitation got up for the purpose of adding to the duties of the State, we may reasonably conclude, *primâ facie*, that it is an agitation in the wrong direction. This is one practical rule. And when we see the State interfering in matters having little in common with what is becoming more and more clearly marked out as its normal province, and much in common with what has long ago been relegated to the domain of private enterprise, we are again logically justified in presuming that such matters ought to be removed from the domain of State control. Upon those who maintain a contrary opinion must rest the *onus probandi*, the burden of showing why these matters should be under control, while those are left to individual freedom. This then is the ground upon which individualists can take their stand. If they aim at more they are in danger of drifting into circular arguments about rights and liberty, and the like metaphysical and

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casuistical shallows, where their adversaries will have them at advantage.

But if this is the position to be taken up by those individual thinkers whose study of sociology has led them to perceive that the tendency is in the direction of the widest liberty compatible with social stability, while others have reached the opposite conclusion—namely, that the State is a great machine for doing things better than individual enterprise—what is to be the attitude of the bulk of non-thinkers towards these two parties? It is hardly to be expected that each labourer, before recording his vote for a parliamentary candidate, will make himself acquainted with the principles of sociology, nor is it likely that he will arrive by intuition at a more correct view of political questions than those who, even after some study, have embraced the doctrine of socialism. Even if he entrust his political conscience and his vote to a better-educated man than himself, is there any reason to hope that he will choose an individualist as his mentor rather than a State socialist? Not the least. What, then, is the *form* of government which both parties should concur in regarding as best calculated to lead in the end to that political system which they respectively regard as the best system? Probably every one believes in the one-man form of government, provided he himself is the one man. If individualists could get hold of the tiller, assuming always that they are on the right tack and in advance of the age, no doubt they would realize the ideal of good government more quickly than by trusting to the resultant of conflicting forces in a democratic society. But putting that on one side as out of the question, can they refuse to lend their support to a system of civil equality—a system towards which we are gradually approximating? In the conflict of opposing efforts, that which is fittest will survive. To deny this is to despair of the race. If we have not faith in the ultimate emergence of our struggling fellow-countrymen from darkness into light, then we are trying to bring about by artificial means what will not come by nature. Those who lack faith in the destiny of the race, must do what they can to keep afloat, so long as may be, by a process of patching and tinkering, and of a judicious drawing upon the group capital for the requirements of the present generation. But those who have that faith must learn to look without dread on the temporary aberrations of the people. They must bear in mind that throughout history it has marched steadily forward, not indeed without turnings and backslidings, but still, in the long run, forward on the path of civilization. Those who cling to this faith may look forward, not with fear and doubt, but with confidence, to the indefinite extension of the

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franchise; for whatever may be the temptations held out by place-seekers and dishonest demagogues, there is ingrained in the very nature of Englishmen an inherited love of fairness, and an instinctive belief in the wisdom of proportioning satisfaction to intelligent effort, which will not easily be eradicated. It is this belief which underlies respect for property, and not any sublimated *à priori* "warrant" whatsoever. Thus every man who has faith in the race must ascertain by observation the tendencies in the structural development of the State, and instead of struggling against those tendencies—instead of stemming the advancing tide with his mop—he must welcome such reforms as history points to, in the confident expectation that any temporary concomitant ills will be more than counterbalanced by future gains. If his own ideal conclusions on matters political, scientific, or æsthetic are correct, they will be realized by trusting to the unimpeded advance of the democracy. If they are wrong, he will rejoice to think that his efforts will be cancelled by those of better men. Be he individualist or socialist, he will loyally accept the verdict of the people.

It is for the statesman to decide whether any given society is or is not fit for the ideal condition (as he pictures it), whether it is or is not ripe for newer and freer institutions. If he tries to force on an immature society institutions borrowed from one in a more advanced stage of development, the result will be, not to hasten, but to retard the evolution of that society. Witness the disastrous effect of thrusting the English land system upon the Irish people at a time when they had not yet emerged from the stage of tribal ownership. A like attempt has recently been made to introduce into India free institutions for which her people are not ready. The motive was generous, but the effect mischievous and cruel. Again, the Bengal settlement of a century ago was a premature attempt to supplant cumbrous and apparently unprogressive land laws by the advanced English system of individual ownership. The result is, that after a hundred years of experiment the grievances of both zemindars and ryots are such as to provoke even honest men to trifle with England's honour and credit, and to violate the solemn pledges of the nation, in the vain hope of alleviating some of the attendant ills. No dose of pure theorizing will solve these and the like problems. It is for the statesman to say whether it is better to revert to the old system, or whether the new has taken enough root-hold to render such reversion even more undesirable than the continuance of the effort to adapt the people to the system, instead of adapting the system to the people. It is for the surgeon to decide whether it is better to leave a dislocated

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joint of some standing in the new socket which has been formed, or to re-set the joint in the old socket. It is a question for a surgeon; and here again theory goes for nothing. Personal liberty is the final outcome of social evolution, and not the cause. The wider the area, the greater the number and diversity of conflicting interests, the nigher will be the advent of individualism. As each class and each individual fights for his own hand, he will find that the lowest price at which he can obtain his own greatest freedom is the granting of equal liberty to others, in certain departments of activity which experience, and experience alone, can demarcate.

Whether we regard the question from a positive or a negative point of view—as the science of law or the science of liberty—we shall find that, in order to be of any value, our work must take the form of an inductive science; and it must deal with the facts of social organization, and not with high-sounding sentiments, however sublimely conceived—with the *Naturrecht* of the school of Savigny, not with the *droit naturel* of the school of Rousseau. Until this is conceded, we can have no stable foundation on which to base a sound and progressive individualism.

Since liberty is the complement of law, it is impossible to understand liberty without understanding law. If the actions of individuals were so controlled and subordinated to the group as to leave no liberty whatever, we should have a state of absolute socialism. This is actually the case with the individual cells or groups of cells which together constitute the human body. The cells have, so to speak, "lost their identity." The welfare of the human being, or other highly-developed animal, is alone the end consciously aimed at and unconsciously approached, without reference to the separate interests of the cells of which he is made up. This is absolute socialism, and we must therefore beware of reasoning too much concerning social matters by analogy. If, on the other hand, the welfare of the group as a whole is absolutely ignored, and there is no combined or organized action to interfere with the separate interests of the individuals composing it, then we have absolute anarchy. This is precisely the case with many races of wild animals, especially the Carnivora. The welfare of the race as a group or whole is ignored, and the units alone are considered. Thus we may take a tiger as representing in his person absolute socialism and absolute anarchy—socialism in his internal relations, anarchy in his external relations. If we take tigerkind as the whole, and tigers as the units of which it is made up, we see that there is an anarchic relation between the whole and the parts. If we take a tiger as the whole and the cells (which in the remote past were

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individuals having separate feelings and interests) as the units of which it is made up, we see that there is a socialistic relation between the whole and the parts.

The whole history of civilization is the history of a struggle to establish a relation between society and its units—between the whole and its parts—which is neither absolute socialism nor absolute anarchy; but a state in which, by action and reaction of each upon each, such an adaptation shall take place, that the welfare of the whole and that of the units shall eventually become coincident and not antagonistic. Such is the problem of civilization—of the development of the hyper-organism: integration without impairing the individuality of the component units. The final result to which we shall ever approximate, but never attain, will be perfect civil liberty, or the greatest liberty which is compatible with the utmost well-being of society as a whole; and perfect law, or such subordination of the individual will to that of society as may be compatible with the utmost well-being of the individual.

The outcome of these reflections seems to be, that just as from parental sympathy springs State interference, which when developed casts off every shred of sympathy and antipathy, even to the extent of awarding to Shylock his pound of flesh; so from special interferences, through a long process of generalization and friction, springs law, which in its final development is as incommensurable in terms of justice as is an oak tree in terms of gravitation and molecular repulsion. Growing out of justice, as the living, thinking animal grows (or grew) out of inorganic matter, it cannot be resolved by man into its component elements. And the process is going on around us to-day.

While then we may say that the law is a fairly coherent body of rules prohibiting the exercise of certain kinds of force (superior faculties) in certain classes of cases, it is not possible to say offhand, or to discover on paper, what those kinds of force are, or what are the classes of cases in which their exercise is prohibited. This can only be done by a careful and exhaustive examination of the laws themselves, by subjecting them to a searching analysis, by a scientific instead of a popular and superficial classification of their matter, and, in short, by a process of rigid induction.

Thus are we brought to a position the very opposite of that taken up by those who would test every law by the standard of justice. We have reached the standpoint of Bentham, who cared nothing for vapourings about justice, but who would test every law by its effects on the welfare of society. (It is true he substituted the welfare of the greatest number for the welfare of the group; but this is immaterial here.) We are in the same

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boat with those who, rejecting the appeal to abstract virtue as a test of the goodness or fitness of their actions, substitute the ultimate welfare of the individual. A practical test is as far from view as when we started. Hence the persistence with which the need should be insisted on for the thorough study of law in the concrete, and *the discovery*—not the manufacture—of the true statical laws which are actually operative in societies; of their tendency, and of the dynamical laws of their change and development. It is by the discovery of these laws that we shall find ourselves in possession of true and useful practical guides through the labyrinth of legislation and politics. We shall arrive at rules which are neither so simple as that enjoining an equal deal at cards, nor so vague and inapplicable as that which requires us to follow the effects of an action, down through its million ramifications, to the utmost ends of time.

The art of politics is the application of the science of nomology to the concrete; just as engineering is the application to human wants of the science of mechanics, and as navigation is one of the arts based on the science of astronomy. Until we have mastered the science we shall make but little progress with the corresponding art. Till Adam Smith laid the foundations of modern economics the fiscal policy of the Government was a game of perpetual see-saw between rival crotcheteers. All was rule of thumb. So is it to-day with the great question of liberty and law. Yesterday we were all free traders and advocates of "let be"; to-day we are on the high road to socialism; to-morrow the Fates only know where we shall be. The only cure for this policy of drift is a patient and intelligent study of nomology, whereby middle principles of practical application will be brought to light, and the absurd fallacies of social doctrinaires put to flight for ever.

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Art. VIII.—The Growth of Colonial England: British South Africa.

1. *Our South African Empire.* By William Greswell, M.A., F.R.C.I. In two volumes. London: Chapman and Hall, Limited. 1885.
2. *History, Productions, and Resources of the Cape of Good Hope.* Official Handbook. Edited by John Noble, Clerk of the House of Assembly, Cape Town. Published for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition Committee by Saul Solomon & Co., Government Contractors. 1886.
3. *Her Majesty's Colonies.* A Series of Original Papers issued under the authority of the Royal Commission of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 13 Charing Cross. 1886.
4. *The Statesman's Year-Book for* 1886. Edited by J. Scott Keltie. Twenty-third annual publication. London: Macmillan and Co. 1886.
5. *Africa.* By the late Keith Johnston, F.R.G.S. Third Edition, revised and corrected by E. G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S.; with Ethnological Appendix, by A. H. Keane, M.A.I. London: Edward Stanford, 55 Charing Cross, S.W. 1884.
6. *The Colonial Office List for* 1886. Compiled from Official Records, by the permission of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, by Edward Fairfield, C.M.G., and John Anderson, of the Colonial Office. London: Harrison and Sons, 59 Pall Mall. 1886.

MR. GRESWELL'S two agreeably written volumes may fairly claim to hold the field as the best history of "Our South African Empire" yet presented to English readers. His attempt to give a conspectus of many of the principal events in South African history has been amply justified by the success he has won, alike in showing the dependence of momentous effects upon apparently trifling causes, and in tracing the intricate workings of many an involved policy and the doubtful driftings of a too often confused line of action. Sound in his views, which are comprehensive and exact, he is happy in his expression of them, and has achieved a remarkable success in keeping himself and his idiosyncrasies (if he has any) completely out of sight. While attributing the advent of the British in South Africa to their fear lest the French—in the course of the

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death struggle that was going on in Europe—should seize the Cape peninsula, and thereby command the ocean route to India, he candidly admits that they brought with them the true colonizing instinct, such as they had already displayed in North America; and that South Africa, upon their assuming the direction of affairs, began at once to move forward. Some years previous to the actual occupation of the Cape by the English authorities, Lord North had pointed out its importance as constituting "the physical guarantee of our Indian possessions," but affairs in other parts of the world hindered his taking steps to secure Great Britain in the possession of so invaluable a security.

Nothing is more noticeable in reading a series of books treating of the same historical subject than the disagreement they exhibit in the matter of dates and details. In the present instance one would expect to find the date of the arrival in Table Bay of Van Riebeck and his comrades—the first formal European settlers in South Africa—placed beyond doubt; but in fact it is variously given—as April 5 by Mr. Greswell, April 6 by Mr. Noble, and April 7 by the late Sir Bartle Frere! Each of these three writers admits, however, that Van Riebeck landed in April 1652, and marked out the site of the fort he was instructed to build.

A more difficult instance of reconciling dates is found in the case of the discovery of Natal by Vasco da Gama. Sir Bartle Frere states that he "passed the Cape in November 1497, and subsequently reached India," but does not mention the discovery of Natal. Mr. Noble says da Gama "doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 20th of March 1497, and, after touching at Natal and Mozambique, successfully reached India in the following month of May." "The Colonial Office List," Silver's "Handbook to South Africa," and Mr. Johnston's "Africa" all state that da Gama, after passing the Cape discovered Natal on Christmas Day 1497. But Mr. Noble ought to have an authority equal to that of the three compilations named, and it would be interesting to know how he justifies his dates. The writer of the paper on Cape Colony in "Her Majesty's Colonies" should correct in the later editions of that valuable compilation, which are certain to be needed, the obvious slip of the pen which makes him say that Vasco da Gama touched at the Cape *two* (instead of ten) years later than Dias. But surely Mr. Greswell might have made himself certain as to whether the Albany settlers sent out in 1820 numbered 6000 (Preface xiv. and page 29) or 4000 (page 73). As a matter of fact, we believe the number was *five* thousand, the number given by Mr. Noble. Leaving all further criticism upon "matters of detail," such as the above, we gladly recognize the accurate and

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careful manner in which the works heading this paper have evidently been prepared; and welcoming especially the eloquent preface written by Professor Seeley to "Her Majesty's Colonies," we pass on to the subject immediately concerning us—namely, the growth of British South Africa.

The first event connected with temperate South Africa of which we have undoubted record is the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope in 1486 by Bartholomew Dias, the Portuguese navigator. Towards the close of the summer of that year the King of Portugal, John II., sent out two ships of fifty tons each, and a tender laden with surplus supplies of food, to proceed along the coast of Africa southwards, with the hope of discovering a passage to India. According to Portuguese custom, the navigators were provided with stone pillars, shaped in the form of a cross, to be erected at such capes, bays, and headlands as they discovered; and amongst other points selected for this purpose was the southern point of the Orange River mouth (now the north-western boundary of the Cape Colony), which was named Cape Voltas, from the many "tacks" (*voltas*) needed to be made by the vessels on account of the adverse winds they encountered.

Proceeding seawards, they passed beyond the southernmost extremity of the continent, and, after directing their course eastwards for some days in the hope of reaching land, they turned their vessels' heads northwards, and finally discovered the present Flesh Bay, near Gauritz River, which they named "Los Vaquiros," or the Bay of Cowherds, "on account of the number of cattle they saw on land tended by native herdsmen." Proceeding further along the coast, they arrived in Algoa Bay, and landed on a small island, where one of the stone crosses was set up, and the name "Santa Cruce" given to the place. Mr. Noble, clerk of the Cape House of Assembly, whose recently published "volume on the History, Productions, and Resources of the Cape of Good Hope has been undertaken and prepared at the request of the Committee appointed by the Government for the representation of the Colony at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition," now being held in London, tells us, in the very interesting chapter on the "Discovery and Early History of the Cape," that "there were two springs on the island, which lead some to call it 'Fountain Rock,' and by both names the island is still known. The chief interest in the place is that it was the first land beyond the Cape which was trodden by European feet." Owing to the exhausted condition of his crews, and their unwillingness to voyaging eastwards, Dias was unable to proceed more than twenty-five leagues further; but he had the satisfaction of discovering the estuary now known as the mouth of the Great Fish River.

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We observe that Mr. Noble has adopted the correction offered by Mr. Major,* and accepted by the late Sir Bartle Frere in his paper read before the Royal Historical Society in May 1883, that it was on Dias's *return* voyage that he first sighted the mountain range of the Cape Peninsula, and that it was "in remembrance of the rough seas they had passed through in doubling it, that Dias and his companions named the cape "Cabo de los Tormentos," or Cape of Storms.

Returning home, Dias reached Portugal in December 1487, having been out sixteen months and seventeen days, and announced his discovery to King John. That monarch, perceiving that the long-looked-for passage by sea to India was almost certainly promised by the recent voyage, promptly changed the name of the cape to that of "Cabo de Boâ Esperança"—THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Ten years later, Vasco da Gama was sent out from Portugal in command of a fleet with the object of reaching India. This object was achieved, for, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope in March 1497, and touching at Natal and Mozambique, India was reached in the following month of May. Beyond erecting stone crosses on some of the principal promontories, the Portuguese do not appear to have made any systematic attempt at a permanent occupation of the southern continent of which they were the undoubted discoverers. English and Dutch navigators, however, soon followed their lead; and in 1579 the Rev. Thomas Stevens, a Roman Catholic priest, who was wrecked near Cape Agulhas, gives the first account in English of the Cape recorded by an eye-witness. It is not inviting. To him the country appeared in no enticing aspect, being "full of tigers and savages, who kill all strangers."

The first English expedition, despatched to the East Indies in 1591, touched at the Cape; Captain James Lancaster, the Arctic explorer, being in command, owing to the loss of Admiral Raymond, who went down in his flag-ship. The fleet having sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of April, the crews were very sickly when they anchored in Table Bay on the 1st August, and the opportunity of obtaining a few cattle from the natives was little short of the means of saving the expedition from failure. Ten years later (in 1601), Lancaster, then in command of the first fleet of the English East India Company, comprising five ships, again visited the Cape.

"His crews had so suffered from scurvy that only Lancaster's own ship could drop her anchors, and he had to go in his boat to assist his

* Late Keeper of the Department of Maps and Charts in the British Museum, and Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society.

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consorts in anchoring. Seven weeks ashore restored the survivors to health. Davis, another famous Arctic voyager, who had visited the Cape in the Dutch service in 1598, revisited it in 1607." *

Shortly after the establishment of the East India Company, a similar body was constituted by uniting the various trading companies recently formed at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other towns, under the title of the "Netherlands General East India Company." This powerful body was incorporated by charter from the States General, under the date 20th March 1602. There were appointed six chambers at the principal towns, to whom was entrusted the election of "the seventeen" directors. Very considerable privileges were granted to the Company, which so prospered that for upwards of a century the dividends averaged above twenty per cent. During the sixteenth century the Cape was used as a place of call by the Portuguese, English, and Dutch engaged in the trade with the East. It was not, however, until the year 1619 that any serious intention of occupying the district was declared. In that year the Chamber of Seventeen were in communication with the directors of the English East India Company as to the advisability of founding a fort at the Cape as a joint establishment. Nothing was decided upon; and what at first appeared to be a decisive step was taken by the irresponsible action of two English captains, who, on June 3, 1620, formally took possession of the Cape and the adjoining country in the name of King James I. This bold course of Captain Andrew Shillinge and Captain Humphrey Fitzherbert—worthy predecessors of the Imperial school of the present day—was not recognized by the King nor by the East India Company, whose captains apparently preferred the island of St. Helena as their place of call on their voyages to and from the East Indies. A generation passed away, during which closer attention was given to the claims of the Cape, and positive and practical evidence of its value was afforded on the occasion of the wreck, in Table Bay, in 1648, of the Dutch Indiaman, the *Haarlem*. Five months elapsed before the shipwrecked crew were taken off by the outward-bound fleet from Holland. In that time a quantity of vegetable seeds, which had been saved amongst the ship's stores, had been planted near the site of the present Cape Town, and had grown luxuriantly. Moreover, the sick men rapidly recovered their health, and abundance of game was found in the neighbourhood. Finally, the natives were friendly, and freely supplied cattle; so that a very favourable

* "Historical Sketch of South Africa." A Paper read before the Royal Historical Society, in May 1883, by the late Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

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opinion of the capacity of the district was formed by the crew of the *Haarlem,* and two of them, whose names are deserving of record on the ground of their being directly instrumental in the European occupation of the Cape, Leendert Janssen and Nicholas Proot, drew up "a remonstrance," in which they urged upon the Netherlands East India Company the immediate formation of a garden and the building of a fort at Table Bay. In accordance with the dilatory character of the Dutchman, two years were passed in discussing the project, which had received the approval of a surgeon, Jan Antony van Riebeck, himself a great voyager and having a practical knowledge of the Cape. And now the actual occupation of the Cape was resolved upon; an expedition of three vessels, the *Dromedaris*, the *Reiger*, and the *Goode Hoope*, being equipped and despatched under the command of Van Riebeck. On Sunday, 7th April 1652, after a voyage of 104 days from the Texel, having escaped all dangers of the sea, and the more likely chance of being seized by Prince Rupert (then cruising between St. Helena and Table Bay on the watch for homeward-bound Indiamen), the three ships safely anchored off Freshwater River, and in the evening Van Riebeck landed and selected the site of the fort, and so began the first European settlement in South Africa.

Very considerable hardship and discomfort were at first experienced by the new-comers. They, however, found the natives were of a friendly disposition, and willing to barter cattle with them. As the object of the settlement was to furnish supplies to the outward and homeward bound ships, and as the principal supplies in the shape of sheep and cattle were only to be obtained from the Hottentot tribes, special care was observed in treating them well, and any one found abusing or ill-treating them was punished by flogging in the presence of the natives.

In reply to a suggestion of Van Riebeck, that the original plan of settlement might be extended, and some free men allowed to become resident at the Cape as "boers," or farmers, authority was given by the Company in 1656 to nine soldiers and sailors, who then received their discharge and were granted the privileges of free men and burghers, "to enlarge the cultivation of the lands for the promotion of agriculture and the growth of all kinds of garden produce."

In addition to the discharged soldiers and sailors, some four or five families of the Company's servants were allowed to cultivate gardens for themselves free of rent for three years, and to sell the produce to ships calling in the bay; at the same time the women and children were removed from the list of those receiving "free rations," and a money payment was made to

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the head of each family. On February 21, 1657, the first allotments of land were made to the "free burghers" in the locality now known as the delightful suburb of Rondebosch. When, however, the Kaapman Hottentots returned from their annual excursion inland, and found the white men ploughing the ground where they were wont to dig out roots for their winter food, and where their cattle had been accustomed to graze from time immemorial, they became alarmed, and showed their resentment by sweeping off the colonists' cattle, and murdering one of the Dutchmen acting as herdsmen. Hence arose the first of the wars with the natives, which was carried on for some months, and finally ended in 1560 by the Hottentots suing for peace. The news of the war greatly disconcerted the authorities in Holland, whose hopes of a peaceful occupation of the Cape were thus rudely dispelled. They suggested that arrangements should be made for acquiring lands by purchase, and, according to Mr. Noble,

> a purchase was made in 1672 from two of the Hottentot chiefs, who claimed to be hereditary sovereigns of all the country from the Cape peninsula to Saldanha Bay, "lands, rivers, creeks, forests, and pastures inclusive;" but with the condition that where the colonists did not occupy the arable lands or pastures, the natives might erect their kraals and graze their cattle freely. The purchase-money of this cession was paid for in brandy, tobacco, beads, and merchandize of the value of little more that one hundred florins, or not quite ten pounds sterling.*

While, on the one hand, the Company so far treated the "free burghers" generously as to supply them well (on credit) with cattle, implements, and seed, and even imported slaves for their domestic use, as no servants could be hired from the Hottentots; on the other hand care was taken that the Company should be lords and masters of the settlement in every way. This object was effected by forbidding the inhabitants buying anything except from the Company's store and at the Company's price, and by binding the "free burghers" to deliver all their produce to the Company on terms to be fixed at the discretion of its officers. All trade with natives and foreigners was stringently prohibited, and there were restrictions on the variety of crops to be raised, and on the intercourse they carried on with the crews of ships visiting the port.

After nearly eleven years of service, Van Riebeck was able to show that the main object of his appointment had been accomplished by the conversion of the Cape Settlement from a barren

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* "Official Handbook," by Mr. John Noble, p. 10.

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waste into a desirable place for the refreshment of the fleets of Dutch East Indiamen (there being actually stored in the granaries thirty-two tons of grain, the produce of one harvest, and the Hottentots regularly supplying cattle), and in compliance with his earnest prayer he was promoted to the government of Malacca, afterwards becoming Secretary to the Batavian Council. His son, born in the first year after the settlement at the Cape (1653) rose to the high position of Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies.

In 1680 the number of colonial burghers had largely increased, new men (Germans, Danes, Flemings, and Dutch) taking their discharge year by year, and trying their fortune as colonial proprietors. Including the Company's servants and the burghers and their families, the European population amounted to about six hundred souls. Governor Van der Stell, finding from his excursions into the neighbouring country that there was abundance of excellent land only waiting to be tilled to produce most plenteously, wrote to the Council of Seventeen that, "as our colonists chiefly consist of strong, gallant, and industrious bachelors, who for the solace of their cares and for the managing of domestic concerns, would most gladly be married, and as such bonds would establish the colony on an immovable basis, we request that thirty or forty respectable young women be sent out, all of whom will be well disposed of in this place." The Directors were favourably impressed with the request; and a few years later (in 1687) the Chambers of Amsterdam and Delft informed Van der Stell that, in addition to other freemen, some French and Piedmontese refugees were willing to emigrate to the Cape.

> Among them [says the despatch] are persons who understand the culture of the vine, who will in time be able to benefit the Company and themselves. We consider that, as these people know how to manage with very little, they will without difficulty be able to accommodate themselves to their work at the Cape, also especially as they feel themselves safe under a mild Government, and freed from the persecution which they suffered. It will be your duty, as they are destitute of everything, on their arrival to furnish them with what they may require for their subsistence until they are settled and can earn their own livelihood.

Upon their arrival at the Cape, these Huguenot refugees, numbering about three hundred men, women, and children, were mostly located on the lands along the Berg River Valley, where they became within a few years a self-supporting community. The Government that had boasted of its mildness, was not sufficiently humane to allow the refugees to preserve their

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language; and after discouraging, by order of the Company, the teaching of the French tongue by the Huguenots to their children, the use of French in addressing the Government upon official matters was prohibited in 1709; and in 1724 the reading of the lessons at the church service in the French language took place for the last time. Le Vaillant, the French naturalist, who visited the Cape in 1780, states that he found only one old man who understood French. And Mr. Noble tells us that before the close of last century the language had quite ceased to be spoken.

The state of the country under the rule of the Dutch Company during the eighteenth century is thus concisely sketched by Mr. Noble:—

> There was a continuous but vain struggle on the part of the free burghers to obtain some relaxation of the capricious and oppressive enactments of the Government, which not only excluded them from participation in foreign trade, but hampered them in all their transactions. In 1719, representations were made to the directors that, unless some alteration of the system was conceded, the inhabitants would no longer be able to find subsistence, and would be compelled to ask the Company to take them back again into their service. The concession they prayed for was the liberty of free trade along the coast, and to Sofala, Mozambique, and Madagascar. By means of such trade, it was urged, the poor inhabitants, who were only versed in agriculture, would find a living in the various occupations connected with navigation; the corn, wine, and other produce raised in the colony might, with greater convenience and profit, be sold; and if the coast traffic were to succeed, a good lot of merchandize would be bought from the Company to traffic with, so that the latter would also be greatly benefited. To gain this object, they added that they would be prepared to pay a reasonable import and export duty.*

Foreign trade, however, in any form except in their own hands, was not acceptable to the Company, and the burghers met with no favour. They were assured that the Company would receive all the produce they could deliver so long as there was sufficient consumption, and that the surplus of such articles as the Company did not need might be sold by the owners to foreign ships in Table Bay upon the payment of a small duty in the shape of a fee to the fiscal. This privilege the burghers availed themselves of upon the occasion of the English and French fleets victualling at the Cape; an increased consumption of their produce enabled the residents in and around Cape Town to enlarge their houses and extend their farming operations; but when, in consequence of European wars, foreign fleets no longer touched at Table Bay, the colonists again felt the want

* "Official Handbook," p. 17.

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of a market and were reduced to an impoverished state. Hence arose a disposition on the part of many of the "free burghers," or "boers" as those engaged in agriculture were called, to remove from the neighbourhood of the garrison at Cape Town. "They crossed the mountain ranges and passed into the inland plains, where they obtained a subsistence by imitating the native mode of life, killing game and depasturing cattle." Thus the early Cape "boers" adopted the nomad habit of "trekking," which simply meant enlarging the range of their occupation of new land and a further advance into the interior. The advance may be traced from the various extensions of the boundary of the colony. Thus in 1745 a magistracy and a church were established at Swellendam, the Gamtoos River being then declared the farthest limit of the settlement; and forty years later, in 1786, a magistracy was established at Graaff Reinet, "to prevent hostilities with the natives, and any foreign power settling at Algoa Bay;" and the Great Fish River was proclaimed (exactly 300 years after its discovery by Dias) as the boundary of the Company's possessions.

In their advance through the fertile plains of the interior, the settlers were constantly exposed on the north to the hostility of the "bushmen"—who were widely spread over the country from the Nieuwveldt and Camdeboo mountains to the Orange River—and on the east they came in contact with the more warlike and formidable Kafirs. For the purpose of mutual defence the "boers" of a district assembled in a band called a "commando," which comprised all the adult males, and was placed under the control of a "field commandant" in each district, and a "field-cornet" in each subdivision of a district. How desperately the "commandoes" dealt with the bushmen may be estimated from the statement of Mr. Noble, that "the official records of Graaf-Reinet show that between 1786 and 1794 upwards of two hundred persons were murdered (?) by the bushmen, and that the number of the latter killed by "commandoes" was not far short of two thousand five hundred!"

The long-continued prosperity of the Dutch East India Company declined with the close of the eighteenth century; there were complaints of misgovernment from all its settlements and colonies; and in Cape Colony the long-growing discontent developed into "revolution," and on the 6th of February 1795 the inhabitants of Swellendam and Graaf-Reinet assembled in arms and expelled their magistrates, declaring they would no longer obey the Dutch East India Company, but would be independent. Alas, for their sighing for independence! A power, stronger than the Dutch Company ever had been, was

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even then on the point of annexing their possessions: for the occupation of Holland by the French revolutionists had driven the Prince of Orange as a refugee to England; and, with his concurrence, an English fleet with troops, under Admiral Elphinstone and Generals Clarke and Craig, forcibly took possession of the colony in the name of the King of Great Britain on September 16, 1795.

An effort was made in the following year by the Dutch for the recapture of the Cape, but the result raises a smile as we read that "the Dutch squadron which was fitted out for the purpose, numbering nine vessels of war, with 342 guns and 2000 troops, under command of Rear-Admiral Lucas, was captured by Admiral Elphinstone, *without any resistance,* in the harbour of Saldanha Bay, in August 1796."

By the peace of Amiens in 1803 the Cape was restored to the Dutch; but on the war being renewed, General Sir David Baird, after a brief but honourable struggle, captured the colony, which, in consideration of a payment of two or three millions sterling to the King of the Netherlands, was finally ceded in 1815 in perpetuity to the British Crown.

During the temporary occupation of the Cape by the English, from 1795 to 1803, great good was done to the colony itself. Its importance as a military possession and the "key to the East," involved the construction of defensive works, and the maintenance of a considerable armed force at Cape Town. No less than a million and a half of English money is estimated to have been spent in the colony, whose exports at that time were less than £15,000 a year, and whose European population was not above 25,000 in number.

It was, however, by the wise government of Admiral Elphinstone and of General Craig that the material welfare of the people was most advanced. Every measure was adopted best calculated to promote the general prosperity. The monopolies and restrictions upon the internal trade of the colony were declared at an end; and every person might sell his produce to whom and in what manner he pleased. All inhabitants were at liberty to exercise any trade or profession they chose. The coast navigation was entirely free to all, and there was no longer any restraint upon the possession of boats or vessels by which the colonists might convey their produce to a market.

As was only to be expected, matters in the country districts were not immediately settled. The transfer of power was not at once understood as meaning a rigid obedience to the authorities at Cape Town, and for some years disturbances prevailed, though as a rule there was very little bloodshed.

From the date of the surrender, in 1806, to General Sir David

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Baird, a new era was entered upon by the colony. At that time the total population was 73,663 souls, of whom 26,720 were of European descent. The lands in occupation consisted of 96 places, located in the districts of Cape Town, Cape District, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, and Tulbagh.

The first event of importance after the colony became a British possession was the expulsion of certain Kafir tribes from the eastern districts, where they had become very troublesome neighbours, and their being driven across the Great Fish River. This was accomplished in 1811, but great difficulty was experienced in preventing their return; and in 1817, upon the district being visited by Lord Charles Somerset, who had become governor in 1814, he advised the Home Government to send out some thousands of British settlers to occupy the country, and to form an impassable barrier to the Kafirs.

Although Lord Somerset clearly set forth the dangers the new settlers would experience from the neighbourhood of the hostile Kafirs, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when asking for a vote of £50,000 for the encouragement of emigration to the Cape, made no reference to this disadvantage, and the glowing account of the country, as being unrivalled in the world for its climate, natural beauty, and fertility, so provoked the eagerness of individuals to proceed to South Africa, that no fewer than 90,000 made application to be sent over, while only some 5000 could be accepted and provided for. The emigrants were required to be of good character, and no one was accepted who was not able to deposit with the Government at the rate of £10 for every family going out under his leadership.

Free passages were provided by the Government, and a free grant of land at the rate of 100 acres for every family or adult person taken out was made to the leaders.* The first transport ships, the *Nautilus*, *Ocean*, and *Chapman*, arrived in Algoa bay in April 1820, and were shortly followed by twenty-

* Extract from an official circular, issued from Downing Street, London, 1819, addressed to "Colonists to the Cape of Good Hope":—"The Government have determined to confine the application of the money recently voted by Address in the House of Commons to those persons who, possessing the means, will engage to carry out, at the least, ten able-bodied individuals above 18 years of age, with or without families . . . . Every person engaging to take out the above-mentioned number of persons or families shall deposit at the rate of £10 (to be repaid as hereinafter mentioned) for every family so taken out, provided that the family does not consist of more than one man, one woman, and two children under 14 years of age. All children above the number of two will be required to be paid for, in addition to the deposit above-mentioned, £5 for every two children under 14 years, and £5 for every person between 14 and 18 years of age."—*Annual Register* for 1819, p. 314.

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three other vessels, bringing out the remainder of the emigrants. The landing-place was then unnamed; it was "a mere wave-washed beach;" but the Acting-Governor, Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, anticipating that British enterprise and energy would convert it into an important commercial port, named it after his wife, Lady Elizabeth Donkin, and "Port Elizabeth" thus started into being, and became famous as the landing-place of the first body of English settlers on the shores of South Africa.

Some few detached parties of the settlers * were distributed in the western parts of the colony; the Scotch settlers, under the lead of Mr. Pringle, were located in the Somerset district; but the main body, numbering nearly 4000 souls, were allotted lands between the Fish River and Bushman's River—on the extreme eastern border of the colony, and in the neighbourhood of Graham's Town, then a mere military post on the frontier, named after Colonel Graham, who had commanded in the Kafir war of 1811, but which soon sprang up into a place of importance as the chief town of the new district of Albany.

Considerable and unlooked-for hardships at first attended the young settlement. Wheat was at once and extensively sown in all parts of the settlement, and the crops promised well in their early stage. Just as the grains formed in the ear, the blight known as "rust" attacked them, and the whole crop became worthless. The same misfortune happened in the two or three succeeding seasons; but a worse calamity followed in the long-continued and heavy floods which damaged seriously houses, gardens, and stock. Relief was generously afforded to the almost despairing settlers, both from England and India, and the commissariat of the frontier army, by continuing to supply rations, kept off absolute want. Still, there were some inquiries as to the advisability of leaving the country and emigrating to Brazil. Fortunately, however, the innate British pluck prevailed, and the settlers bravely faced and overcame each fresh disaster with renewed courage and undiminished energy.

The establishment, in 1821, of a fair at Fort Wilshire, on the banks of the Keiskamma river (some thirty miles beyond the boundary of the colony), encouraged barter with the natives who brought elephants' tusks, corn, gum, mats, baskets, skins of wild animals, &c., and exchanged them for such stock as the English traders had, and which mostly consisted of beads, buttons, blankets, pots, brass and tinware. Thus commenced a

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* Among the "heads of parties" were gentlemen of high acquirements and good family connections, retired military and naval officers, and other persons of the greatest respectability; while the parties themselves comprised all kinds of handicraftsmen and husbandmen."—*Official Handbook*, p 53.

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commerce which the settlers rapidly pushed, both with the natives and amongst the Dutch colonists; and many large and successful mercantile establishments owe their present prosperity to the foundations based upon the trifling transactions which took place at the fort.

The close of 1821 brought back Lord Charles Somerset, who showed great dissatisfaction with all that Sir Rufane Donkin had done in his absence:*

A settlement, named Fredericksburg, on the river Beka, formed of the half-pay officers and discharged soldiers of the African corps, was ordered to be abandoned; the fair at Fort Wilshire was abolished, and traffic with the natives was forbidden; a line of posts along the Fish River, which had previously effectually protected the settlers, was withdrawn; the seat of magistracy was removed from Bathurst to Graham's Town, and the magistrate appointed by Sir Rufane Donkin superseded. These acts created a general distrust in the stability of the measures of the Government; and a number of the principal settlers made arrangements for holding a meeting at Graham's Town to express their opinion, in true British manner, on the state of public affairs. Lord Somerset being informed of their intention, immediately issued a high-handed proclamation, notifying that public meetings for the discussion of public matters and political subjects were contrary to the ancient laws and usages of the colony, and any one attempting any assemblage of such nature without his sanction, or that of the local magistrate in distant districts, was guilty of a high misdemeanour, severely punishable.†

The settlers, thus baffled, addressed a memorial to the Secretary of State in 1823, and prefaced their complaints by stating that they did not complain of the natural disadvantages of the country to which they had been sent, and that they had ever been actuated by one undivided feeling of respect and gratitude for the liberal assistance of the British Government, "a feeling which future reverses can never efface." Chief among the grievances set forth were the insecurity of the border and the depredations of the Kafirs, which, they asserted, were in a great measure due to the vacillating policy of the Colonial Government.

Within a few years the Albany settlers experienced the result of one of the periodical descents of the tribes of the interior, who, from a variety of causes, were constantly pouring down from central Africa, and driving before them the tribes dwelling near the coast. The frontier Kafirs were thrown into a state

* It is stated by Mr. Noble (p. 55) that Sir R. Donkin had reprimanded Captain Somerset for some infraction of military discipline, and that Lord Somerset, siding with his son, refused to meet Sir R. Donkin on his arrival at Government House.

† "Official Handbook," pp. 55, 56.

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of panic by the irruption in their midst of hordes of "Fetcani," who proved to be a tribe of Zulus known as Amangwane, themselves flying from the wrath of the renowned Chaka. The Kafirs of the border (known as Tembus and Gcalekas) being threatened by the new comers, Governor Bourke resolved to assist them, and called upon some of the young Albany settlers to join the burgher "commando," and aid in repelling the invaders. The marauders were defeated near the river Umtata * in 1828, and many of them after their defeat were admitted within the borders of the colony to serve as free labourers.

About this time the Kafir chiefs, Gaika and his uncle T'Slambie, died, and the removal of their authority allowed younger chiefs to come to the front, with the result that they broke the peace by attacking another tribe, driving them within the borders of the colony, and there slaying them. For this outrage, Macomo, a son of Gaika, and his people were expelled from the territory they had been allowed to occupy during good behaviour, and as they persisted in returning, the military patrol, charged with the duty of removing them, destroyed their kraals and seized some of their cattle; a skirmish ensued, blood was shed, and the Kafir war of 1834 broke out. On the morning of December 23, 1834, ten thousand † Kafirs crossed the border, slew fifty farmers within a week, burned hundreds of homesteads, and returned into Kafirland laden with spoil. The fears expressed in the memorial of the Albany settlers in 1823 were sadly fulfilled, and the evil result may be laid at the door of those whose supineness had left the border without an efficient defence.

Colonel Smith (better known as Sir Harry) mustered all the available forces of the colony, himself rode from Cape Town to Graham's Town, a distance of six hundred miles, and was at the frontier within six days of the news reaching him. Several months' fighting followed before the Kafirs were subdued. Sir Benjamin Durban, as an indemnity for the past and a security for the future, proclaimed the British sovereignty to be extended over the territory of the tribes as far as the Kei River. The natives were to be left on their lands, and between them and the Albany district a number of the Fetcani refugees, named Fingoes, who had been kept as slaves by the Gcalekas, and had taken no part in the war, were placed in the district now known as Peddie. Lord Glenelg, probably the most incapable of a long line of incompetent colonial secretaries, reversed the pro-

* Now forming the boundary between Tembuland and Pondoland.

† The "Colonial Office List," says 20,000; Mr. Greswell says "no fewer than 30,000 of the Gaika tribes."

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clamation of Sir B. Durban, whose expostulations brought about the close of his services in the colony. "His retirement from office, however, called forth a universal expression of regret, as well as substantial tokens of affection and gratitude on the part of the colonists."

By this time a series of causes had so prejudicially affected the Dutch colonists of the western districts, who considered the Government had broken their pledge to redeem the colonial paper currency, and who were especially aggrieved, first by the promulgation of the law, in 1826, for ameliorating the condition of their slaves, and then by their actual emancipation in 1833, that they had begun to "trek," or move away into the interior, in order to escape from the rule of those whose nationality differed from their own, and whose care for their interests and safety seemed to them so indifferent. During 1835 and the following years the exodus continued, until it was estimated that nearly ten thousand men, women, and children had crossed the Orange River into the wilderness beyond. Upon the subject of the great "trek" Mr. Greswell very sensibly remarks:

> Upon this act of voluntary expatriation too much sentiment need not be expended, when it is considered that the uprooting of house and home does not mean the same thing to men of a roving spirit, in love with a pastoral life, as it does to those who have lived for generations, perhaps centuries, in valleys and among hills endeared by countless associations, and sanctified by the records and reminiscences of their forefathers. The veldt of South Africa is broad and alluring, the air is free and pleasant, and even in the days of the Dutch East India Company the voertrekkers were always roaming onwards, overstepping boundaries and expatiating in a peculiar liberty of their own, changing their pasture and their homes every summer and winter.*

At first the emigrant Boers met with little serious opposition from the tribes through whom they passed; but continuing along the uplands of the interior eastwards, they reached the wooded ridges of the Drakensburg. Here they sighted the rolling plains of the country, now the colony of Natal, and they hastened onwards to possess themselves of so promising a land. Over this district, however, and in fact from the Limpopo River, to the borders of Kaffraria, there ruled the fierce Zulu chief Dingaan, the brother and successor of Chaka. With the object of persuading this potentate to cede to them the tract of country between the Tugela River on the north and the Umzimvubu River on the south, the Boer leader Retief and about seventy followers visited Dingaan. This chieftain was more than their match in his rude statecraft; they, hoping to possess themselves

* "Our South African Empire," by William Greswell, vol. i. p 143.

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of some of his most fertile lands, were deceived by the apparent friendliness of his reception of them, and having obtained his signature (?) to the treaty they had drawn up, were persuaded to attend a national war-dance to be given for their amusement. Upon a signal the Zulus rushed upon their unarmed guests, and assegaied them to the last man. The Boer "laager" was surprised; and the township Weenen stands on the spot where the most gross act of treachery ever recorded in Kafir history was ruthlessly consummated.

The advent of a fresh leader in Pretorius, who stimulated his community as Cromwell did his followers, served to encourage the Boers to revenge themselves on Dingaan; and in December 1838, being attacked by the Zulus while they were protected by their "laager" of interlocked waggons, they exacted a bloody punishment in the slaughter, it is said, of more than three thousand Zulus. Dingaan's kraal was captured, and many of the skeletons of the massacred Boers recovered, amongst which was that of Retief, with his hunting bag still strapped to it, and in the bag was found the document ceding the country between the Tugela and the Umzimvubu.

Panda, a brother of Dingaan, revolted against him, and accepted the alliance offered by the Boers, who crowned him as King of the Zulus on February 10, 1839, and were confirmed by him in their occupation of Natal.

Upon the news of the Boer settlement in Natal reaching the Cape, the Governor, Sir George Napier, deeming it inexpedient that a rival colony should be set up on the flank of the Cape, declared that the emigrants were regarded as British subjects who had left the colony against the wish of the Government, and, having set up an independent Volksraad (at Pietermaritzburg) must be looked upon as rebels. Being confirmed in their position by the promises of the captain and supercargo of a Dutch vessel (which happened to be anchored off Port Durban), who assured them of the help and sympathy of the King of the Netherlands, the emigrant Boers addressed a memorial to Sir George Napier, praying "the honoured Government of her Majesty the Queen to recognise this settlement as a free and independent State under the name of the Republic of Natal and adjoining countries." Being pressed by the merchants interested in Cape Colony, and by the representatives of the Aborigines Protection Society, the British Government—though themselves averse to the extension of the Cape territories—ordered the English forces to take possession of the coast of Natal. The Boers attacked the English troops, and being successful, proclaimed Natalia an independent republic under the protection of the King of Holland, who had just stated in a despatch, dated 4th November 1842, to the Foreign

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Secretary, "that the disloyal communications of the emigrant farmers had been repelled with indignation, and that the King of Holland had taken every possible step to mark his disapproval of the unjustifiable use made of his name." For a short time the British commander was hemmed in by the Boers, and reduced to great straits. The plucky conduct of a Mr. King, who rode many hundred miles through the heart of Kafirland, and carried the news to Graham's Town,* resulted in succour being speedily sent to the garrison, the consequent dispersal of the Boers and hauling down of their flag, and a formal submission being tendered by the Volksraad held in July 1842.

As a result of the above-narrated events, Natal was declared (May 12, 1843) to be a British colony, "for the sake of the peace, protection, and salutary control of all men settled at or surrounding this important position of South Africa." So little to their liking did some of the Boers find this "salutary control" that they "trekked" north again, and crossing the Vaal River, founded a community, under the leadership of a voertrekker named Potgieter, in the neighbourhood of the present town of Potchefstroom. The British Government hereupon proclaimed that all offences committed by British subjects up to 25° south could be punished in a court of law, and the Boers replied by "trekking" beyond the boundary named, to Lydenburg (just beyond the line) and Zoutspansburg, still farther north. Here they were for some years uninterfered with by the Government of Great Britain; but in 1852 all doubt was set at rest by the conclusion of the Sand River Convention between the English and Boer plenipotentiaries, by which the Vaal River was fixed as the northern boundary of the Cape Colony, and the independence of the Boers dwelling north of the Vaal fully recognized.

But to return to the affairs of the Cape itself. After the exodus of the emigrant Boers little happened of interest until 1846, when a Kafir, who was being sent to Graham's Town on the charge of stealing an axe, was rescued by some of his tribesmen, and a fresh Kafir war was originated. Again all the available forces of the colony were called upon to take the field; the Kafirs were routed out of their strongholds in the Amotola Mountains; and British sovereignty was proclaimed in 1847 by Sir Harry Smith to be extended as far as the River Kei. His proclamation was respected by the Home Government, who twelve years before had reversed that of Sir B. Durban when he annexed

* Mr. Statham says that "an English resident of Durban had, when the siege began, swam across the mouth of the harbour, and, taking horse on the southern side, ridden alone through hundreds of miles of the wildest country, arriving at Graham's Town in nine days—a performance still spoken of by colonists as "Dick King's ride."—*Blacks, Boers, and British*, p. 108.

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the very same district. Peace, however, was of very short duration, for at the close of 1850 the Kafirs attacked a military force in the Boomah Pass, and on the next day massacred a number of military settlers in the Chumie Valley, who were preparing to celebrate their Christmas festivities.

For three years the war dragged on, proving ruinous to all classes of the inhabitants, and hindering the development of the resources of the colony. Sir Harry Smith was recalled, and General Sir George Cathcart appointed, and by him, in 1853, hostilities were brought to a close. The Fingoes, who had shown themselves loyal during the war, had a settlement assigned them on the lands of the turbulent Gaika tribe, the latter being removed to the east of the Thomas River. A new district, called Queen's Town, was erected out of the lands of the Ama-Tembus, and was occupied by an armed burgher population.

Just previous to the outbreak of the last-mentioned war the colonists had been seriously alarmed by the announcement that Earl Grey had ordered a batch of three hundred convicts to be removed from Bermuda to Cape Town. The greatest excitement was occasioned amongst all classes, and it was unanimously determined to resist the attempt to make the Cape a penal settlement. The arrival of the *Neptune* in Simon's Bay with the convicts on board roused the people to fever heat. A solemn league was entered into by the community, suspending all business transactions with the Government. For six months the struggle was continued; then the Government gave way; the ship sailed for Van Diemen's Land, and an Order in Council was issued in February 1850, revoking the former one in which the Cape had been named as a penal settlement.

Considerable agitation had for some time been on foot for securing representative government to the colonists; and in May 1850 the Governor and Legislative Council were empowered by letters patent to enact ordinances for the establishment of two elective chambers. It was not, however, until after the close of the war that the first Parliament was chosen; and on 1st July 1854 representative government came fully into operation by the formal opening of Parliament by Lieutenant-Governor Darling.

The arrival of Sir George Grey as Governor gave the colony what it had so long and so sorely needed—an able administrator and a far-seeing statesman. With the prestige attaching to his name as the successful Governor of South Australia, and afterwards of New Zealand, Sir George Grey received a more attentive hearing from the Home Government than might otherwise have been accorded to him. He at once advocated extensive public works, the maintenance of educational and benevolent institutions,

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and the subsidizing of certain native chiefs, whose followers were to be largely employed in the construction of roads—thus accustoming the Kafirs to hitherto unknown habits of labour, and providing the means of better communication between the widely scattered settlements throughout the colony. The Imperial Parliament voted £40,000 for the furtherance of Sir G. Grey's policy, and the Cape Parliament about £50,000 for the equipment and maintenance of a police force to defend the dwellers on the frontier.

In the year 1857 a most remarkable instance of the blind faith reposed by the Kafirs in their "sacred prophets" was witnessed in the conduct of the Gaika and Gcaleka tribes. A Kafir seer, Umhlagaza by name,* professed to have held converse with the spirits of the dead Kafirs; and he preached to the Kafirs that if they would destroy all their cattle, burn all their corn, and refrain from cultivating the ground, they should be assisted by the departed chiefs and heroes in a great war which should sweep from the face of the earth the hated white men and the despised Fingoes. These predictions were believed by the Kafirs; and it is computed that nearly a quarter of a million cattle were slaughtered, and such vast quantities of grain destroyed, that over twenty thousand people perished, and ten times that number dispersed themselves beyond the bounds of Kaffraria in their despairing search for food. Large tracts of the country thus depopulated were at once occupied by white settlers from the Cape Colony, who held their lands on a system of military tenure. The Anglo-German Legion, upon being disbanded at the close of the Crimean war, were also settled on the vacant lands at the expense of the Cape Colony; and the Governor was also instrumental in the bringing out, and settling on the banks of the Buffalo River, of a body of agricultural labourers from North Germany, numbering, with their wives and children, about 2000 souls.

The internal resources of the colony were so wisely looked after and developed by Sir G. Grey—who obtained the sanction of Parliament to a scheme for the purpose of assisting European immigration to the Cape, turned the first sod of the Cape Town and Wellington line of railway on the 31st of March 1859, vigorously pushed the construction of roads and bridges, and strenuously urged on the formation of a harbour of refuge in Table Bay—that within ten years of his landing at the Cape a most gratifying advance was evident in the prosperity of the

* We are quite at a loss to know why Mr. Greswell speaks of a "prophetess" (vol. i. p. 132).

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colony. The exports, valued in 1854 at £764,000, had increased in value to £2,594,000. The produce of wool had risen during the same period from eight and a half million pounds weight to thirty-six and a quarter million pounds. The imports had risen in value from £1,508,000 to £2,471,000.

The limits of the colony continued to be enlarged; British Kaffraria being incorporated in the year 1865, upon the advice of Sir P. E. Wodehouse, but against the general wish of the colonists both within the settlement and throughout the colony. In 1866 the Fingoes and Tembus, who were increasing very rapidly on the frontier settlements, were allotted lands in the district now known as the Transkei, and formed a living barrier between the colonists and the Gcalekas.

Between the years 1867 and 1869 a marked decline in the finances of the colony led the Government to draw up a large scheme of taxation, which was rejected by the House of Assembly in favour of a plan for a considerable retrenchment in the expenditure. The Parliament was dissolved, and upon an appeal to the electorate a new Parliament was returned strongly in favour of an amendment in the Constitution which should allow of the administration of the Colony being placed in the hands of a Cabinet possessing the confidence of the Legislature. Sir Henry Barkly was thereupon sent out as successor to Sir P. Wodehouse, and in 1872 introduced a measure—which was carried in the House of Assembly by ten votes, and in the Legislative Council by a bare majority of one —which conferred upon the colony "responsible government." Coincident with the change in the form of government came the influx of capital and population, attracted by the successful working of the diamond mines in West Griqualand. Both causes combined with favourable seasons, and the consequent prosperity of those engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, to benefit the colony materially, and for some years there was a succession of surpluses of revenue over expenditure.

A Commission appointed to consider the question of frontier defence reported in 1876 that "the colony was living upon a mine that might at any moment be sprung beneath its feet." The warning came none too soon; for scarcely had additional defensive preparations been undertaken than "the accident of a fight at a wedding-feast in the Transkei set the tribes on the border in commotion." The Gcalekas swarmed into Fingoland, and the customary scenes of savage warfare were enacted. Under the direction of Sir Bartle Frere energetic steps were taken, with the result of speedily driving the invaders beyond the borders and over the Bashee River—the eastern boundary of Gcaleka land. But the Kafirs were not at once beaten, and

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shortly reappeared, and, crossing the River Kei, induced Sandilli, the chief of the Gaikas, to join them with many of his tribe. After a few months' fighting, Sandilli and many of the lesser chiefs were killed, and the Kafirs were again dispersed. Kreli was outlawed, and the Gaika country was declared forfeited, the Gaikas themselves being moved across the Kei and into the land from which the Gcalekas had been driven.

The Cape Parliament having voted its thanks to all who had been engaged in suppressing the outbreak, and having sanctioned the increase of Cape Mounted Police, took the further step of empowering the Government to proclaim areas within which it would not be lawful for any person to carry arms or weapons without a licence. Under the Peace Preservation Act the disarmament of the Fingoes and Kafirs on the frontier and in the Transkei was effected, and it was announced that the same law would be enforced against the Basutos. This tribe—occupying a territory to the north-east of the Cape Colony, with an area of about 10,000 square miles, well-watered, enjoying a delicious climate, and by some reputed to be "the finest grain-producing country in South Africa"—had made great progress since it had come under the protection of the Crown in 1869, and in 1871 had been handed over to the care and administration of the Cape Government. The attempt at enforcing the disarmament in 1880, and the consequent resistance on the part of the majority of the tribe, are probably too well remembered to need recapitulation. Suffice it to say that in 1881, the Cape forces having shown themselves incapable so far of carrying the decree into effect, both parties welcomed the offer of Sir Hercules Robinson to arbitrate. His award was that the Basutos should surrender their guns and receive them back on the payment of a small licence fee; there was further to be a complete amnesty, and no confiscation of territory. After the lapse of a year, as there was no sign of the award being complied with, it was cancelled, as was also the decree for disarmament. In the meantime, the feeling was growing very strong throughout the colony, that it would be well quit of its responsibility in connection with the country; and Mr. Merriman, then Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, was deputed to visit England, and to lay the whole matter before the Imperial Government. The Basutos themselves expressing their desire of coming under the direct government of the Queen, it was decided to disannex Basutoland from the Cape Colony on two conditions—first, that the colony paid towards the cost of government the amount received as customs dues on goods imported into Basutoland; and the other, that the Basutos should show a loyal adherence to the new administration. Sub-

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sequently, in 1883, an Act disannexing Basutoland was passed, and provision was made for the Cape Government contributing a sum not exceeding £20,000 towards making good any deficiency arising in the administration of the territory by the Resident Commissioner, who is under the direction of her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa.

In 1884 the first step towards annexation in South Africa on the part of the Germans was taken by a German man-of-war proclaiming a protectorate over the west coast from the Orange River up to 16° S., and shortly afterwards a German gunboat formally took possession of the coast (Walwich Bay and certain islands about which negotiations were proceeding with the British Government being excepted), in the name of the German Emperor. This proceeding, showing that other Powers were alive to the importance of the possession of the coast of South Africa, quickened the action of the Cape Government, and Walwich Bay was proclaimed British territory, and at the same time the port of St. John, at the mouth of the Umzimvubu River, on the east coast, was formally annexed. The long-pending incorporation of the whole of the Transkei territories was completed (the districts of Griqualand East, Idutywa, and Fingoland had been annexed in 1877); and in 1885 the territories of Tembuland, Emigrant Tembuland, Gcalekaland, and Bomvanaland were proclaimed integral portions of the Cape Colony. Thus the whole of the southern coast of South Africa, from the Orange River on the west to the Bay of St. Lucia on the east, has become "part and parcel" of the British Empire; for Pondoland is virtually British territory, a British officer being resident with its chief, and the sole port of the district, at the mouth of the St. John's River, having been purchased and proclaimed.

The boundaries of the Cape Colony, however, comprise inland districts of which no mention has as yet been made in this paper—namely, Griqualand East, which lies between Pondoland on the south-east, Natal on the north-east, Basutoland on the west, and Tembuland on the south-west; and Griqualand West, separated from Griqualand East by Basutoland, the Orange Free State, and a portion of the Cape Colony itself.

At the time of the "great trek" the Griquas, or Baastards, a mixed race sprung from the intercourse of the Boers with their Hottentot servants, also migrated from Cape Colony, and formed a settlement under the two chiefs, Waterboer and Adam Kok, in the country north of the confluence of the Orange and Vaal rivers, known now as Griqualand West. A later migration of a section under Adam Kok, in 1852, to the district then known as No Man's Land, between Kaffraria and Natal, led to the settlement of East Griqualand. In consequence of the discovery

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of diamonds in Waterboer's country in 1867, and the rush of Europeans from all parts of the world, the Government annexed the region in 1871 to the Cape Colony as Griqualand West, a proceeding which almost led to a war with the Orange Free State, and which ultimately ended in a sum amounting to £90,000 being awarded to the Free State as compensation.

The Orange Free State, which lies almost surrounded by British territory, was founded by the emigrant Boers who entered the district from Natal when that colony was proclaimed British territory. They very soon became embroiled with the Cape authorities, and the usual result followed—that the district was declared to be annexed to the parent colony. In 1851, however, by letters patent it was declared to be a distinct and separate colony. Then came the Kafir war of 1851–52, and the British resident at Bloemfontein became involved in a dispute with the Basutos. As happened later in 1880, the Basutos proved too difficult to be dealt with as were the Gaikas and Gcalekas; and it was determined by the Home Government to "cut the painter" that attached them to the Orange River sovereignty. Much dissatisfaction was expressed by those who had invested capital in the colony, and by those who had settled therein, on the strength of its being British territory; but the end was achieved by the execution of the Orange River Convention, dated February 1854, declaring the country a free State; and of this dissevered district Sir George Grey wrote to the Secretary of State in 1855: "The territory forms one of the finest pastoral countries I have ever seen. There is no district of Australia which I have visited which throughout so great an extent of territory affords so uniformly good a pastoral country."

The statistics of the Cape Colony are not as complete as are those of the Canadian Dominion, or those of the Australasian Colonies; but in Mr. Noble's "Official Handbook" a computation has been made of the area and population of the colony, including Griqualand West, the Transkeian territories, and Griqualand East. The total area is given as 213,636 square miles, and the population as 1,252,000 persons, of whom 340,000 are European or white, and the remainder coloured or native races. Chief and most numerous among the native races are the Kafirs, who may be roughly divided into *coast Kafirs* and *Kafirs of the plateau*. Among the former are the Ama-Zulus, Amatonga, Matabele, &c., who have gradually advanced from the north-east; among the latter are the more peaceful and agricultural Basutos, Ba-rolongs, Ba-kwana, and other Bechuana tribes. Then come the half-breeds (Griquas); and finally, the dwindling Bushmen and Hottentots. The following table shows the recent growth of the colony:—

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Year.	Population.	Imports.	Exports.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Public Debt.
		£	£	£	£	£
1854	265,000	1,548,000	764,000	300,000		
1864	580,000	2,571,000	2,594,000	587,000	633,000	1,000,000*
1874	720,000	5,558,000	4,433,000	1,538,000	1,357,000	2,399,000
1884	1,250,000	5,260,000	7,031,000	3,318,000†	3,375,000†	20,804,000

It is interesting to observe in what manner the public debt has been expended, and from a table published under the authority of the Controller and Auditor-General of the colony we learn that up to June 30, 1885, the disbursements were as follows: — Railways, £13,746,000; East London harbour, Buffalo River mouth, £502,000; Kowie harbour, Port Alfred, £290,000; bridges, 416,000; buildings, £213; telegraphs, £165,000; irrigation works, £33,000; immigration, £85,000; native rebellion, £4,794,000; Griqualand West liabilities, £310,000; loans for local works and irrigation, £219,000.

The railways, of which 1,600 miles are open, and telegraphs, with 8,663 miles of wire, are already reproductive works; and with the exception of the item for the native war (Basuto rebellion), the whole expenditure may fairly be said to have been incurred for works that, either directly or indirectly, must prove of a reproductive or remunerative character.

The colony itself, having no rivers available for internal navigation, absolutely demands a liberal expenditure upon the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges; and it is to be hoped that the Legislature may see its way clear to a considerable further outlay in this direction; it being a certainty that increased means of communication will most readily develop the resources of the country.

Irrigation especially appears to need an increased expenditure. Until 1876 no Government irrigation works had been constructed; in that year a small reservoir was sanctioned at Brand Vley, and since its completion (at a cost of £835) it has been the means of saving the lives of thousands of animals,

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* (About.) The debt dates from 1859, when it was £101,250. In 1869 it was £1,178,150,

† These figures agree with those in the "Official Handbook" (p. 318). The "Statesman's Year Book" for 1886 (in agreement with the "Statistical Abstract for the Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom," 1885), gives the figures as—Revenue, £7,532,983; expenditure, £5,374,982; the former including loans, the latter including expenditure, under Act of Parliament.

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whose value must have many times exceeded the cost of the work. Other irrigation works have been shown to be equally beneficial, and beyond doubt justify a very considerable extension of the system.

Every kind of pastoral and agricultural occupation can be followed in the colony. Sheep, goats, cattle, and horses feed entirely on the natural plants and grasses. Wheat and other corn crops yield excellent returns; and most of the products of the temperate and semi-tropical zones may be successfully cultivated.

Although the greater portion of the country is settled, and belongs to private individuals, there still remains a considerable extent of Crown lands, which are from time to time surveyed and offered for sale to the highest bidder at an annual rental. Owing to the excellent character of the land in Kaffraria, where small holdings have been so successfully worked by immigrants, allotments are now being made to applicants; and so recently as June 8 last, a body of emigrants, numbering 91 men, women, and children, were publicly bidden Godspeed by Princess Louise (after whom the district they are to inhabit is to be named), Cardinal Manning, Lord Wolseley, and others, in the Conference Room of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.

Wool of excellent quality can be grown, and has been grown, throughout the colony. But in many parts injudicious and indiscriminate breeding, and careless farming of stock, have resulted in a deterioration of the staple. In 1830 the Cape exported only 33,000 lbs. of wool; in 1850 the amount was nearly six million pounds, valued at £285,000; and in 1872 the *maximum* of 48,822,000 lbs., valued at £3,275,000, was exported. Since that year the quantity has fluctuated, amounting last year only to 34½ million pounds, valued at £1,426,000.

Although mohair only began to figure in the exports from the Cape in 1862, it has since steadily advanced in quantity and improved in quality, and last year (1885) the export was 5,251,301 lbs., valued at £204,018.

Ostrich farming dates from 1865, when 17,522 lbs. weight of feathers, valued at £65,736, was exported. The successful introduction of artificial hatching by means of the "Incubator," perfected by Mr. A. Douglas, of Heatherton, Albany, gave an impetus to the industry; and in the following year (1870) the export of feathers rose to 28,786 lbs., valued at £91,229. In 1882 the maximum export was reached, 253,954 lbs. weight being exported at a value of £1,093,000. Owing to drought and a virulent fever, a decrease has taken place during the last two or three years. It is estimated that there are at least 150,000

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domesticated ostriches living in the colony, in connection with which eight millions of capital is employed.*

The first vine-sticks were brought into the colony in 1653, from the borders of the Rhine. Six years later a vintage is recorded; and in 1681 the first brandy was made. For two hundred years viticulture has occupied the most prominent position amongst the various branches of agriculture at the Cape. The last returns of the vineyards of the colony, in 1880, showed there were about sixty million vines on twenty thousand acres of land. The number of vines is now believed to exceed seventy millions. Owing to climatic conditions most of the wine districts are within the Western Province. The productive power of the vineyards of the Cape greatly exceeds that of any other "wine-country" in the world. It is also contended that the quality of the juice of the Cape grapes is superior to that of the European grapes, but the making of the wine is admitted to be, on the whole, of a primitive character; to this is due the fact of its comparatively limited consumption in Europe. Still, the wine industry is a source of revenue to a very large part of the population of the western district.

The Diamond Fields are situated in Griqualand West, and are said to have surpassed in richness and extent all other diamondiferous districts in the world. The first diamond, found by a Mr. O'Reilly in the possession of a Bushman boy in Hopetown district, was tried at Cape Town in 1867, and valued at £500. Upon being approved by Messrs. Hunt & Roskell in London, to whom it was sent for inspection, it was purchased by Sir Philip Wodehouse, and by him exhibited in the Paris Exhibition of 1867. Two years later the famous "Star of South Africa," weighing 83½ carats in the rough, was purchased from a native by a Boer, who gave £400 (or live stock to that value) for the gem, and immediately succeeded in selling it at Cape Town for £10,000. In June 1870 it was valued in Cape Town at £25,000: and "the rush" to the fields soon led to the most extravagant expectations being realized. In those days the journey from Cape Town took six weeks, and cost £50; now Kimberley is the inland terminus of the railway system, and can be reached in about thirty hours from Cape Town. The total value of diamonds exported from the colony up to 1884 is put at £29,772,576; the exports in 1884 being valued at £2,800,000.

Among the minor exports from the Colony are copper ore, of

* In 1883 the Cape Parliament, becoming alarmed at several shipments of ostriches being made to South Australia, the Argentine Republic, and California, imposed an export tax of £100 on every ostrich, and £5 on every egg exported.

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which 20,000 tons, valued at £395,000, were exported in 1885; and skins and hides, valued at £731,489 in 1884.

The commercial intercourse of the colony is mainly with Great Britain—the imports of British produce comprising mainly apparel and haberdashery (£618,786 in 1884), cotton manufactures (£378,000), iron, wrought and unwrought (£306,000), and leather and saddlery (£288,872).

Period from 1880 to 1885.	United Kingdom.	British Possessions.	Foreign Countries.
	£	£	£
Imports from	34,336,000	5,696,000	3,444,000
Exports to	43,292,000	821,000	1,738,000
Total value of trade .	77,628,000	6,517,000	5,182,000

The whole white population of the colony being no more than that of any one of half a dozen of the chief London boroughs, it is not surprising to find there are no large cities or towns in South Africa. Cape Town, the metropolis of the Cape Colony, is by far the most populous; and its position as the seat of government and as an important commercial *entrepôt* has secured for it a comparatively wealthy resident community. Its inhabitants number about 60,000, including the coloured races. Port Elizabeth, next to Cape Town, is the most important seaport in the colony, but its population only numbers about 18,000, of whom, however, the greater portion are Europeans. Graham's Town, about 106 miles by rail from Port Elizabeth, ranks as the metropolis of the eastern and frontier districts, and has a population of 7,000 Europeans and 3,000 coloured natives. King William's Town, from its position on the highway from East London to the interior, and from the eastern districts to the Transkei, is regarded as an important commercial centre. Graaf-Reinet, the oldest and largest of the towns in the midland districts, has a few thousand inhabitants; but Kimberley, owing to its origin, is the one town that has really sprung up with a growth at all approaching that of Australasian and Canadian towns. In Kimberley half the population of 30,000 are white; and many substantial buildings have already been erected. The streets and roads, which extend over a distance of twenty miles, are well laid out and kept in good order; and the town is lighted by thirty-two electric Brush lights of 2,000 candle-power each.

The Constitution of the Colony vests the executive in the Governor (who is appointed by the Crown) and his Cabinet, who are chosen by him from among those possessing the con-

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fidence of the majority of the elected representatives. The legislative power rests with a Legislative Council of twenty-two members elected for seven years, and a House of Assembly of seventy-four members, elected for five years, representing the country districts and towns of the colony. By a law passed in 1882, speeches may be made both in English and in Dutch in the Cape Parliament. Both Houses are elected by the same voters, who in 1885 were registered to the number of 86,206.

The defence of the colony is provided for by permanent and volunteer forces, consisting of the Cape Mounted Riflemen (including the Cape Field Artillery), numbering 700 officers and men; the Cape Infantry Regiment, numbering 520; and volunteer corps numbering 3,223. In addition, every able-bodied man in the colony between eighteen and fifty years of age is liable to be called upon for active service. The outlay of the Imperial Government (mainly for military and naval purposes) in connection with Cape Colony and Natal was, in 1883–4, £303,595; and was estimated for 1884–5 at £293,635; the total number of troops comprising the British garrisons in 1885–6 is given at 3,387.

A very brief reference to Natal will complete our sketch of the growth of British South Africa. Natal was erected into a separate colony in 1856, and since 1882 has been administered by a Governor, aided by an Executive and a Legislative Council. The latter consists of thirty members, seven of whom are nominated by the Crown, and the others elected by the counties and boroughs. With an area of 21,150 square miles, about three-fourths the size of Scotland, Natal has a population of about 430,000, of whom under 40,000 are Europeans. Since 1879, however, the white population has increased by 50 per cent., and the colony presents a very favourable field for the efforts of the State-directed Emigration Society. But the words of the late Sir Bartle Frere, spoken before the meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on January 24, 1882, should be remembered:

> That in Natal the colonists are, as a rule, men very superior in position and education to the average Englishman, for this very simple reason: there is hardly any labouring class in Natal of white men. Owing to the large numbers of natives and of Indian coolies, almost all manual labour is done by others than European colonists. There is no field there for the uneducated Englishman, who has nothing but his own hands to trust to; unless he has some quality which will enable him to ascend into the position of an employer of labour, he had much better go to some other colony.

The population of Durban is about 20,000; that of Pietermaritzburg about 15,000. The imports in 1884 amounted to

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£1,675,000, and the exports to £957,000. About 80 per cent. of the imports are from Great Britain, and about 75 per cent. of the exports are to Great Britain. European capital and intelligence are greatly needed to develop the very extensive coal-fields in the northern part of the colony; and, to our mind, no greater boon to British South Africa could be conferred than a considerable emigration of intelligent and energetic men from Great Britain to Natal, who, while complying with the requirements indicated by the late Sir Bartle Frere, and advancing alike the welfare of the colony and of themselves, would be in the best position for furthering the growth of the English power in South Africa by effectually checking that of the only opposing force with which we have to reckon.

The climate of Natal is unsurpassed by that of any portion of British South Africa, and probably no country of its size can boast so wide a range of resources. Amongst her exports are sugar, coffee, cotton, tobacco and arrowroot, as well as wool, barley, oats, beans and pease, butter, bacon, fruit, potatoes, soap, tallow, spirits, hides and skins, and ostrich feathers and ivory from the interior. Until the destruction of the Zulu power, the colony was too isolated to attract immigration; now, however, it is to be hoped its population will gain considerable accessions from the mother country; and should that fortunately happen, we do not doubt that—taken in conjunction with the growing favour with which the Cape Colony is now regarded as a field of emigration and as a health resort—the resources of British South Africa will speedily be developed, with the result of placing her in line with the others of England's mighty colonies hitherto denied her.

There is, however, a vast district to the north of, and almost equalling in size, the Cape Colony, and hither, probably, emigrants will flock. Bechuanaland, at present administered by Mr. Justice Shippard aided by two Engineer officers, and "policed" by Colonel Carrington and his corps of 500 mounted men, is as yet best known "at home" in connection with the famous expedition of Sir Charles Warren. It extends from lat. 29 north of the Cape Colony to lat. 22, and from long. 20 east to the borders of the Transvaal Republic, comprising about 170,000 square miles, and is all under the protection of her Majesty; that portion to the south and east of the River Molopo having recently been declared a Crown colony under the name of British Bechuanaland. The country is an elevated plateau, averaging from 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, and though containing a variety of climates, of soils, and of inhabitants, there is scarcely any land that is not suitable for farming purposes, and everywhere it is well adapted for the

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habitation of the Anglo-Saxon race. The railway at Kimberley reaches to within ninety miles of British Bechuanaland; and we have the authority of Mr. Edward Maund (who while serving with Sir C. Warren surveyed and sketched the country through which the trade route runs to its northern limit at Inyati) for stating that there are no physical or engineering difficulties to prevent a line being run quickly over the Bechuanaland plains, where there would be only a few culverts to build.

Objection has been taken to Bechuanaland as being composed largely of "a waterless desert." But the vast herds of cattle which fatten and do well on the grass prove that water must be stored not far beneath the surface. Mr. Maund speaks of innumerable fountains welling up through the ground, and mentions one "recently discovered thirty miles west of Vryburg, between Motito and Takoon, where at a depth of twenty feet below the surface there is a stream of running water, fifty-seven feet deep, which must run away as a subterranean river without doing any good to the surface soil, simply because it requires man, aided by science, to prevent it thus running to waste."*

Sir Charles Warren states that Bechuanaland is, from a commercial point of view, more highly cultivated than many parts of Cape Colony, and has supported for years a very large number of cattle; whilst the fact that the Boers are so anxious to migrate into the country is a test of its value as a farming district. Moreover, Sir Charles actually received, while he was in the country, 3,000 applications for farms from English and Dutch farmers resident in the Cape Colony and Orange Free State; and he says:

> The fact is, that certain Cape politicians are well aware of the great value of the territory, and appear to be endeavouring to depreciate it in order to induce the British Government to hand it over to the Cape Colony. The British Government has already spent millions on wars in South Africa, which have only resulted in the waste lands being occupied by Boers: why should not the million recently expended in the pacification of South Africa have as its result, the colonization of the territory by English-speaking farmers?

When we remember that the power of opening up the vast interior trade is the vision upon which Great Britain has for the past fifty years feasted her eyes when called upon to contribute vast sums from her exchequer; and when we also recognize that as yet we only occupy posts on the road to the interior; there can be no doubt that our hold upon the trade route must be maintained at all hazards and at any cost, while it appears

* Speech made by Mr. Maund at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on November 20, 1885.

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equally imperative to convert Bechuanaland from being British in name only into a territory mainly occupied and developed by British settlers.

"Plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs their own way, seem to be the two great causes of the prosperity of all new colonies."* So wrote Adam Smith, and the soundness of his conclusion has been amply borne out by the progress made during the last generation by the colonists of British North America and Australasia. Within the brief space of a century an unbroken record of prosperity has advanced these two great central homes of the British race into a position in which they equal in population and surpass in wealth the lesser countries of Europe. It is natural, therefore, to inquire why the British settlers in South Africa should not have made their adopted home advance in material prosperity with strides equal to those taken by their more prosperous brethren. Many and varied reasons are forthcoming to explain this undoubted fact. That South African colonists have enjoyed an abundance of "good land" is evident from the sparse population which even now occupies the territory under the sway of the Queen in that quarter of the globe. That the land is equally good to that of the Australasian colonies no one disputes; and "liberty to manage their own affairs their own way" has been enjoyed by South Africans at least as long as it has been by Australasians. Perhaps the main reason why South Africa has lagged behind in the race is to be found in the fact that the "plenty of good land" has not been enjoyed by those in whose possession it would have been best utilized to the general welfare of the country. Whilst, on the one hand, Australia and New Zealand have a homogeneous and British population, and quickly absorb such foreign elements as may come to their shores, and Canada has had its original French element more than neutralized by the influx of British immigrants; South Africa, on the other hand, has received no great stream of immigration from Britain, and the soil remains now, as at the time when the Cape Colony came under the sovereignty of Great Britain, very largely in the occupation of the Dutch and of the descendants of those Frenchmen who, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1687, left their country, and were granted a refuge at the Cape by the Dutch East India Company. Upon this subject the Hon. J. X. Merriman says:

Broadly stated, in South Africa, while all trade, all handicraft, and all commercial enterprise of every kind is in the hands of English

* "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," by Adam Smith, book iv. chap. vii. part ii.

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or Germans, by far the greatest portion of the land is in the hands of colonists of Dutch extraction, who show no sort of leaning to a town life. To this rule there are of course many exceptions. You will find English farmers and Dutch townsmen; but from one end of South Africa to the other this is the broad dividing line which regulates the occupations of the populations, and which has also a controlling effect on the political leanings and aspirations. There is no record—and for very obvious reasons no official record can be taken—of the relative numbers of colonists of Dutch and of those of English or any other European descent. Estimates only can be framed, and from the best of those with which I am acquainted I am inclined to think that for the whole of South Africa, including the independent republics, colonists of Dutch descent might be put down at 330,000, and those of British or other European descent at 162,000, or slightly more than two to one; while in Cape Colony, including Griqualand proper, the numbers would be 220,000 Dutch to 120,000 English or other Europeans, or in the proportion of rather less than two to one.*

Mr. Merriman's authority is beyond dispute upon a subject such as formed the theme of the valuable paper from which we have quoted. That paper, together with the discussion that ensued upon its reading, accurately and adequately sets forth the financial development of South Africa of late years; and very slight additional statistics are needed to represent the present position of the colony.

The character of the Cape Dutchman is admirably and temperately drawn by Mr. Merriman, and his remarks are deserving the careful consideration of all who are anxious to master the complex features (in which the race element so largely figures) attaching to the question of the future of the colony. He says:

To their qualities rather than their numbers the Dutch owe their political preponderance. In the first place, they are the chief landholders, and I believe that it is an axiom that whoever holds the land holds the balance of political power, and they have all the virtues as well as the defects of a community of landholding yeomen. They recognize no superior, but they are willing to accept every one as an equal, provided he is white. They have a disinclination for sudden change, and a tenacity of purpose which give them in any political contest a tremendous advantage over British colonists, who, in an atmosphere of colonial freedom, are in political matters, something like the Athenians of old, always ready to hear and believe some new thing. If I might coin a name for our Dutch fellow-colonists, I would

* "The Commercial Resources and the Financial Position of South Africa." A Paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute on November 11, 1884, by the Hon. J. X. Merriman.

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say they are not "Democratic Tories," of whom I believe there are some specimens in this country, but "Conservative Republicans." I wish I had the ability to make you recognize how very like an old-fashioned English farmer this same much-abused Dutch Boer is, and how it is no more right to accept as the type of the race the agitators in and about Cape Town, who trade upon the prejudices by abusing England, or the marauding ruffians who are giving us so much trouble in Bechuanaland, than it would be to take the drunken blackguards who are pursuing the same career as fair types of English colonists. A sober, temperate, God-fearing man, the double isolation arising out of the nature of his pursuits and the absence of a common language strengthens the prejudices of the Boer, and makes him suspicious of English ideas, which he associates with the smart tricks from which he or his friends have on some occasions suffered. But I make bold to say that no Englishman has ever settled at the Cape as a farmer—that is, as one exposed to the same vicissitudes and temptations as his Dutch neighbours—who has not imbibed a respect and liking for that rugged, obstinate race, even if he does not become, in his way of looking at things colonial, more Boer than the Boers themselves.

But, estimable as men of this sort are, who in Cape Colony and the Orange Free State as a rule treat their native dependents with kindness and moderation, and differ so widely from "those wilder and more turbulent spirits who, located on the confines of civilization in the Transvaal and elsewhere, act as men of strong and masterful European nationalities always do act under such circumstances," nevertheless, it is not among their virtues so to advance with the impetuous rush of this nineteenth century's closing decades as to keep the land of their birth even abreast of other civilized communities. The "apathetic and unenterprising" character of the Boers remains unaltered, and the following incident, recorded by Mr. Noble as having befallen him on the banks of the Oliphant River, still affords too true an illustration of that lack of energy on the part of its landowning population which retards the development of the resources of the colony:—

Scarcely any rain had fallen for some time past, and the river had not overflowed its banks for more than a year. The stocks of grain and vegetables were getting very low. The farmer was complaining much about the long-protracted drought, and when he had finished I took the liberty of pointing out how he could, by leading out the stream for the purposes of irrigation, or by fixing a pump to be propelled by the wind on the river-bank, secure an abundant supply independent of the weather. He seemed to listen with some interest to the development of my plans, and I began to hope that he had decided upon doing something to relieve himself of the difficulty; but eventually, after turning round and scrutinizing the whole horizon in the direction of the river's source, as if in search of some favourable

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symptom, he yawned heavily, and merely observed, "Ach wat! dat zal een dag regen" ("Oh! it will rain some day").*

Mr. G. Baden Powell, who also speaks from considerable personal experience, and uses the term Boer as applicable to all those whose families occupied the land when the English took over the country, says:

The chief fault that I have to find with the Boer is that he does not succeed in making himself prosperous, and is, in addition, a drag on the prosperity of his neighbours. He is the firm enemy of all co-operation; he has that fantastic religious bias that has led him on occasion to declare it impious to make dams where God has seen fit to provide but little water; . . . . these peculiarities of character make the Boer little able to make the best use for himself of his surroundings. There are of course exceptions; but as a rule the Boer is slow to act, averse from change, greedy of land, disdainfully ignorant. . . . . Their one ambition is to buy up large areas of soil, but they refuse to cultivate except as a last resort. Only the other day a Boer farmer in the west suddenly gave up a large area of cultivation. His neighbours asked him why, and the reply came, "Because now I have paid off all my debts."†

That South Africa is not making due progress, having regard to her physical characteristics, is too commonly known to need much demonstration. It is, however, noteworthy that the one weekly London paper which devotes itself to colonial and Indian affairs—namely, *The Colonies and India*—in its issue dated May 28 has two striking paragraphs, the one indicative of the prevailing feeling of those Englishmen who recognize with regret the slow progress of the colony, and the other purporting to be an "echo" from the newspapers latest to hand from the Cape itself, plainly showing at least the spirit of the colonists to which retrogression rather than progress is due.

In the first paragraph referred to it is pointed out that the advantages of the Cape Colony are certainly not inferior to those of the Argentine Republic; and yet, while South Africa has been standing still in the matter of the introduction of immigrants, the South American State has been importing labour to the amount of 6000 or 7000 souls a month, and has so improved her wool products that she is now able to compete with some of the best brands from Australia. It is evident that it is not the climate of the Cape that is to blame. That is genial enough, and a proper husbanding of the rainfall would secure ample

* "Africa," by the late Keith Johnston, F.R.G.S., p. 401. London: Edward Stanford, 55 Charing Cross, S.W. 1884.

† *The Contemporary Review*, October 1885: "English Money in South Africa," by G. Baden Powell, C.M.G.

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moisture for its agricultural and pastoral holdings. A new departure on the part of the Cape colonists is advised in the direction of an infusion of new blood, and in the cultivation of those large areas which it is a positive reproach to the country to allow to lie waste and unproductive. Labour could readily be obtained from any of half a dozen congested centres in the "old country," and capital is so abundant "at home" that it would be advanced (the credit of the colony being so good) with the utmost willingness for any enterprise of a reproductive character. But in the "echo" we have alluded to we are informed that the Cape Government intend to abolish their hydraulic engineer's department, on the ground that the colony is not suited to irrigation works on a large scale! How is such a decision to be reconciled to the experience of India and of Egypt? It is an old joke, but a true one, that South Africa can never be truly blessed until she has been well "dammed." We can only hope to learn that the "echo" has been a false one, and that irrigation and immigration are to be tried in the way they would be were the wisdom and experience of their friends "at home" to be adopted.

But just as our great home difficulty has been for many generations how best to deal with the masses of the poor in this country, so South Africa has found herself for ever face to face with her great "native difficulty." From the north—the great negro reservoir in the interior of Africa—vast successive hordes of savages have constantly overflowed in the past, and poured down, driving out their predecessors from the lands in which they had temporarily settled. The tide has been ceaseless, and can be easily traced in the history of the South African tribes since they have been known to Europeans. At length the advance of civilization from the sea-coast—which has only been effected at the expense of a succession of costly and bloody wars—has in some degree put a check upon the descent from the interior, though it is admitted that the Kafir and the Fingo were never more numerous, and are actually driving back and dispossessing from their conquered lands the Europeans, "who find it more profitable to sublet their land to native tenants than to try and farm in black man's country."

We have Mr. Merriman's authority for this statement, and he adds:

> It is a very curious problem whether in Kaffraria and in Natal the experiences of Central America may not be repeated, and Europeans have to give way to the peaceful reconquest of the inferior race. However this may be settled, there can be no doubt of the great value of the natives as customers and labourers. All they want is the *pax Britannica* and a firm government, and they surprisingly soon learn to

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wear European clothing, and to buy and pay for European manufactures. The Diamond Fields taught a useful lesson in this respect, for the native labourers came hundreds of miles from the interior to labour in the mines, and returned, or rather used to return (for the Transvaal Customs regulations, which seemed to include confiscation of native property, has sadly interfered with this trade) loaded with European manufactures. There are millions of black men in Africa, who, if they can be got to wear clothes and buy our goods, are just as valuable customers as any one else. . . . . One great value of the native population in South Africa is that it is the natural door to this immensely valuable trade, which lies ready to our hand, and in the development of which we shall find much more profit than in shooting down our customers. *

And Mr. Merriman sufficiently proves his case by quoting the instance of Basutoland. In 1869, as a result of their war with the newly established Orange Free State, the Basutos were reduced to the utmost straits, and petitioned Sir P. Wodehouse to extend them the protection of the British Government.

They were then [says Mr. Merriman] utterly beggared, homeless, and starving. In ten years' time, under the *pax Britannica* and the wise care of the Imperial and Colonial Governments, the trade of Basutoland had grown, according to the most competent judges, to the annual value of half-a-million sterling, and the Basutos themselves were the most industrious people and the largest producers, whether white or black, in South Africa. I saw the tribe in 1869, when Sir Philip Wodehouse proclaimed the sovereignty. They were starving savages, and there was not a trader's shop in the territory. In 1879, ten years later, the country was filled with traders, several of whom had stocks of manufactured goods from £20,000 to £50,000 in value; white clothes, saddles, ploughs, and other articles of European manufacture found ready sale. The Basutos were only 150,000 in number, a mere handful compared with the millions in South Africa. †

And we unreservedly agree with Mr. Merriman, Sir Charles Warren, Mr. George Baden Powell, and others who, having a practical experience of the indigenous peoples of South Africa, justly appreciate the enormous trade value which the native races may yet become to the industrial population of the mother country; and we point to the instance of Basutoland as affording a lesson which deserves the study of those who yet wonder whether any good thing can come out of South Africa.

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* Hon. J. X. Merriman: "The Commercial Resources and the Financial Position of South Africa."

† *Ibid.*

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INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[*Under the above title a limited portion of* THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW *is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.*]

ART. IX.—MR. GLADSTONE'S IRISH POLICY.

THOSE members of the Liberal party who have taken part in the opposition to Mr. Gladstone's latest Irish policy have endured many things at the hands of their friends. Traitorous, pedantic, unpractical, anti-democratic—such are the epithets bestowed on us in generous abundance. I do not complain of the treatment we have received. It is natural enough that excited partisans should have none but hard words for those who do not happen to share their belief in the leaders and the policy of the moment. We must hold on, and hope for better times; and we must lose no opportunity of promoting the sober and rational discussion of the great question now before the country. By the kindness of the Editors of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW I am permitted to state some of the reasons which govern my own individual judgment in this matter.

If it be treason to doubt the wisdom of our illustrious leader, I must avow myself a traitor of some standing. I have followed Mr. Gladstone loyally, as a party man is bound to do, but always with a considerable measure of mistrust. He is undoubtedly a man of political genius; and he seems to me to be animated by a sincere desire to do what is just and benevolent. But his mind, capacious and powerful as it is, seems to retain no consistent hold either on principles or on facts. He has indeed a wonderful command of principles and facts, when he requires them for purposes of advocacy; but when they have served his purpose, they seem to pass from his mind altogether, leaving it open to receive the new principles and facts which he may require for some other occasion.

I venture to think that this estimate of Mr. Gladstone's statesmanship is strongly confirmed by his treatment of the Irish land question. He set to work in 1870 with a sincere desire to avoid revolutionary methods. He recognized the landlord as the sole owner of the soil; he repudiated the tenant's claim to joint ownership; but he introduced certain new terms into the contract

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of tenancy. The contract, thus re-drawn and amended by the State, was to be the basis of better relations between the parties, and the sources of agrarian strife were to be "sealed and closed up for ever." This prediction having been falsified by events, Mr. Gladstone came forward in 1881 as a strenuous advocate of joint ownership. A substantial right of property in the soil was secured to the tenant; the landlord was reduced to the position of a rent-charger; and Mr. Gladstone succeeded in persuading himself and his supporters that the process could be carried out without injury to the landlord. Once more he assured us that the law which he proposed would put an end to strife and make the position of the landowning classes more secure; and once more his predictions were not borne out by the event. Now he tells us that the position of the landlord has become untenable; that the rent-chargers must be bought out; and that the strife between classes in Ireland is so bitter that we cannot permit an Irish Legislature to settle the conditions of sale.

The agrarian revolution thus unintentionally brought about is due to two causes. First, Mr. Gladstone has not been guided by legal and economic principle in his dealings with Irish land. He is neither a State Socialist nor an orthodox economist; he borrows a principle, now from one school, now from the other, and employs it with masterly skill in support of some temporary compromise. In the second place, Mr. Gladstone has not kept a firm hold on the facts of the case. If he had known the Irish tenant, he never could have persuaded himself that the Act of 1870 would be accepted as a final settlement. He would have seen, what some of his critics saw plainly enough, that the Act would be regarded as a partial recognition of the Irish idea—the idea that land belongs to the cultivating occupier. I do not wish to lay an ungenerous stress on a mistake which was made in good faith; I do wish to bring out the fact that a mistake was made. For Mr. Gladstone is now proposing to deal with the government of Ireland very much as he dealt with the landlords in 1870. He is sincerely anxious to avoid revolution; he is faithful to the unity of the Empire; he refuses the claim of complete legislative independence. He proposes merely to re-draft the Act of Union, in the hope that the amended contract may be the basis of better relations between the two countries, and that the sources of political strife may be "sealed and closed up for ever." Is it treason to suggest that this Bill, if it should ever pass, will be accepted as a partial recognition of the Irish idea—the idea that Ireland is a country within which the British Crown has no rights whatever?

To the admirers of Mr. Gladstone his changes of opinion are so many proofs of his superior wisdom. They apply to his

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utterances that theory of development which has done good service to a certain school of theology. They labour to persuade us that the Irish Government Bill was only a further revelation of truths which had long been cherished and expounded by its author. We are even asked to believe that the party and the country expressed their approval of the general policy of the Bill at the General Election of 1885. Mr. Beesly assures us that when Mr. Gladstone became a Home Ruler he "went straight to the people." Lord Granville, speaking at Manchester on May 7 last, asked triumphantly whether the Bill went an inch beyond the Midlothian speeches of last November. Lord Granville must have been experimenting on his audience when he asked this absurd question; but as the experiment seems to have been quite successful, it may be well to set out a brief itinerary of the way by which our party has been led.

On September 26, 1871, speaking at Aberdeen, Mr. Gladstone took note of the formation of a Home Rule party in Ireland. He did not exactly know what was meant by Home Rule, but he thought the demand for a separate legislature unreasonable, unless it could be shown that Ireland had made just demands, which England and Scotland had united to refuse. He contended that Ireland had in fact been treated with special favour by Parliament. Scotland and Wales had as good a title to separate representation; and to break up the United Kingdom in this way would be "to disintegrate the capital institutions of the country, for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind."

On March 20, 1874, Mr. Butt moved a Home Rule amendment to the address in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone once more declared that Parliament had done justice to Ireland, and he pointed out the extreme difficulty of defining what was meant by "exclusively Irish affairs."

On November 7, 1877, Mr. Gladstone received the freedom of the city of Dublin. In the course of a speech delivered on that occasion, he adverted to the fact, that the Home Rule party had recently increased its strength by capturing seven seats from the Conservatives, and no less than forty-three seats from the Liberals. He regretted the formation of an exclusively Irish party, and he reminded his hearers that O'Connell had stood shoulder to shoulder with English Liberals in the struggle for Irish rights. On March 20, 1880, Mr. Gladstone referred to this Dublin speech as a conclusive proof that he and his party had been faithful to the principle, "One Queen, one Parliament, one Empire." He also taunted the Conservatives with having encouraged the Home Rule movement by appointing Mr. King-Harman to the Lord Lieutenancy of county Roscommon.

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I pass over the speeches made by Mr. Gladstone during the period when Mr. Parnell was actively hostile to the British Government. It may not be quite fair to found an argument on the highly rhetorical phrases in which the objects and methods of the Parnellite party were then described. But it is important to note the line taken by Mr. Gladstone in the debates on the Franchise Act of 1884. He scouted the notion that the loyal minority in Ireland would be exposed to danger by an extension of the franchise. "There is," he said, "some security for the loyal minority in the composition of this House;" and he went on to argue that eighty Parnellite members could never obtain absolute control of Irish legislation. Is it possible to suppose that when the Prime Minister used this argument he thought that the return of eighty Parnellite members would render it necessary to give Ireland a separate legislature, and that the protection of the minority was an "exclusively Irish affair?"

During the long electoral campaign of 1885, Mr. Parnell was careful to let us know clearly what he and his friends meant to demand in the coming Parliament. He cast aside Mr. Butt's federal scheme, and declared for an Irish Parliament as independent as that of 1782; and while he admitted that under the British Constitution he could ask no more, he said he could place no barrier to the march of a nation. He did not actually advocate separation from Great Britain; but he plainly implied that it was for Ireland to decide whether separation should take place or not.

Mr. Gladstone made no explicit answer to this demand. He asked the country to give him a majority large enough to make him independent of the Parnellite vote. And what was the Irish policy of the Liberal majority to be? "To maintain the supremacy of the Crown, the unity of the Empire, and all the authority of Parliament necessary for the conservation of that unity; and, subject to this governing principle, to grant to portions of the country enlarged powers for the management of their own affairs." There is nothing very definite in these phrases; but, even if we suppose that Mr. Gladstone's mind was already tending towards Home Rule, he could not afford to be definite. The watchword of his Midlothian campaign was the unity of the Liberal party. If at that time he had said in so many words, "I am in favour of giving Ireland a separate legislature, and of removing the Irish members from the House of Commons," the Liberal party would have been rent in pieces, and no man can say what the result of the election would have been. The unity of the party was successfully maintained; and the new House of Commons was composed of 333 Liberals, 251 Conservatives, and 86 Parnellites. Of the 333 Liberals not more than twenty

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had expressed a distinct opinion in favour of Home Rule for Ireland.

Almost as soon as the result of the election was known, it was announced that Mr. Gladstone had become a convert to the principle of Home Rule, and the announcement was met with nothing more than the customary official contradiction. It may be contended that circumstances justified, or even compelled, this change of opinion; but how shall we account for the sudden abandonment of so many pledges, given and repeated with the most serious emphasis? Mr. Gladstone had done his best to convince us that the Imperial Parliament was in every way competent to make good laws for Ireland. He had protested against "condescending to the prejudices of the Home Rulers." He had warned the Nationalists that they must themselves present an intelligible scheme before their claim could be considered; and if the claim should prove to be unreasonable, he held that "there was a higher law than the law of conciliation." All these opinions have passed out of Mr. Gladstone's mind. He appears to be honestly unconscious of having ever held them. He now thinks that Parliament cannot make laws which will command the obedience of the Irish people. If there be a higher law than the law of conciliation, it is not for us to apply it. We must give the Nationalists, not exactly what they want, but at least what we can regard as a fair answer to the substance of their demand. We must make this concession in a spirit of confidence and hope; and our previous failures need not cause us the least misgiving.

These new views must have been clearly defined in Mr. Gladstone's mind before Parliament met in January; but they were revealed to the public only by slow degrees. First, there was a Conservative Government to be turned out of office; and here no difficulty was encountered. Then came the formation of a Cabinet of anxious inquirers; and the ingenuous intimation that if anybody had anything to say about Ireland, his views should receive the respectful attention of Her Majesty's advisers. The result of this invitation may be seen in the Blue-book, from which we learned that the Town Councils of Ireland are all in favour of Home Rule, and that the Grand Juries are against it, together with other facts of equal novelty and importance. While this valuable information was being collected, the Liberal party was undergoing a process of education, in the Disraelian sense of the word. Ministers were "finding salvation," and passing at once from the inquirers' bench to the platform, like so many converts at a Salvation Army meeting. Gentlemen on their promotion were sliding gently down an inclined plane of phrases, until at last they went over the edge and discovered that they

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had always been Home Rulers. As for the lighter heads of the party, they were delighted with every detail of Mr. Gladstone's plan, and determined to force it on their friends and neighbours, long before they knew what the plan was to be. Meantime, the Cabinet considered, disputed, got rid of two intractable colleagues, and swallowed a vast quantity of formulæ. Mr. Gladstone's original proposals were cut down to the water's edge, but they were floated at last, and the Irish Government Bill was introduced in a remarkable speech.

I need not dwell on the history of the two months which elapsed between the oratorical triumph of April 8 and the political defeat of June 7. Let one remark suffice. By common consent, Mr. Gladstone is a master of the arts of party government; even his enemies say that if he is no statesman he is at least a great tactician. Since December last he has devoted all his skill and energy to this question, and with what result? The first Household Suffrage Parliament has been dissolved before its work was well begun; and it is by no means unlikely that a succession of Parliaments will be dissolved in like manner. The Liberal party is so seriously divided that we cannot be sure that it will ever be restored to its former strength. Wild hopes and fears have been excited in Ireland and among the Irish in Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone himself has lost his freedom of action by committing himself to all the details of a crude and ill-considered scheme. If this be tactical genius, we have had enough of tactics for some time to come.

But, it is said, whatever confusion Mr. Gladstone has caused, he has at least done something to advance the great principle of Home Rule. His Bill may never be carried, but in the end the principle must prevail. But what in the name of common-sense is this principle of Home Rule? Reduced to plain terms, it amounts to this: That Ireland is to have some kind of legislature, exercising some powers, subject to some restrictions, raising (or not raising) some revenue, and related in some way to the Imperial Parliament. As soon as we attempt to give precision to any part of this description, some good Gladstonian is sure to protest against the introduction of what he calls questions of detail. There are people who think that the federalization of the United Kingdom is a question of detail, and some of these people are members of the House of Commons. That a popularly elected legislature is a good thing—this is a matter of principle. Whether a proposed new legislature is required or not; whether it is likely to make good laws or bad laws—these are questions of detail. That we must do something to get rid of the Irish difficulty—this is a matter of principle. Whether Mr. Gladstone's scheme would destroy the roots of the Irish difficulty or leave them

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in the ground—that is a question of detail. It only remains to carry the argument one step farther. That social order should be maintained in Ireland—this is a matter of principle. Whether it is maintained by concession or coercion—that is a question of detail. The distinction may be found useful the next time a Liberal Government has to pass a Crimes Act.

Hitherto I have been dealing with Mr. Gladstone as the leader of a party. I have tried to show that he carefully taught his party to take a certain view of the question of Home Rule; that he changed his own view suddenly, and without assignable reason; and that a considerable number of Liberals changed along with him. These facts throw a somewhat unpleasant light on the state of political parties. For some time past we have been drifting towards a state of parties not unlike what we see in the United States. We have two great parties, not divided by any clear difference of principle, each of which is only too ready to take up any proposal if it seems likely to become popular. Each party is provided with a machine; and as soon as some new proposal is added to the programme, the machine is set to work in support of it. The first few turns of the machine produce a great effect on persons of undecided opinions. We must all remember, about the middle of April last, how many good Liberals there were who shook their heads over the Bill, but at the same time thought that something of this kind was inevitable; we must, at least, be ready to take it up, lest perchance the Conservatives should outrun us and get the credit of settling the question.

But the weaknesses of party government in general, or of our own party in particular, do not affect the merits of Mr. Gladstone's Bill. If it had been a good Bill, we should have been bound to support it, while reserving our liberty to criticize the manner in which and the persons by whom it was introduced. But so far from thinking it a good Bill, I make bold to say that it was about the worst kind of Bill that could have been presented to Parliament under existing circumstances. It was obscure where it ought to have been clear; it left open and unsettled several questions of cardinal importance. These defects might have been wholly or partly removed in Committee; but no committee could have removed the radical weakness of the measure. The truth is that Mr. Gladstone committed himself to the hopeless policy of attempting to combine two conflicting and contradictory principles—the principle that Ireland ought to be made a self-governing country, and the principle that Ireland ought to be retained as an integral part of the United Kingdom. The same remark applies to all the schemes of Home Rule which have yet been put forward. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain differ widely on points of minor importance, but they are spending their

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strength on the same insoluble problem—How to give Ireland a separate legislature and a separate Government without repealing the Act of Union. To the demand for national independence they both make the same answer: "You wish to have power to make your own laws. You shall have that power, on condition that you continue to respect the principle of free trade, as we understand it; the principle of religious equality, as we understand it; the unity of the Empire, as we understand it." To use a legal phrase, I would submit that the condition is repugnant to the nature of the gift.

It is supposed that the defects of Mr. Gladstone's Bill may be disregarded, because the Irish members have accepted it, and undertaken to work it. On this point I do not wish to raise any merely personal objection. I am disposed to think that Mr. Parnell and his friends do mean to work Mr. Gladstone's scheme loyally, if they can. But no eighty-six gentlemen can bind the Irish people to persevere in an irksome and thankless undertaking. If the restrictions imposed on a native legislature are in themselves illogical and irritating, attempts will be made to get rid of them. Suppose, for example (not a very extreme supposition), that there should be a genuine Irish movement in favour of the protection of native industry. Mr. Parnell might take the constitutional course of opposing the movement; but if the leader of the Opposition in the Irish Parliament were to take the question up, and confront Mr. Parnell with his Wicklow speech, what then? A strong Irish party would demand an enlargement of the powers of the Legislature, and nothing would be easier than to force on England the choice between conceding the demand and withdrawing the statutory Constitution. "Well," says the British Home Ruler, "then we should withdraw the Constitution." I do not believe that we should, or that we could. If we set up a Parliament in Dublin new parties will come into existence, new forces will begin to operate; Ireland will pass beyond our control for good or for evil. It is not likely that the Irish people will desire to put off the character of British subjects. They know that we are their best customers; and that one fact is worth more than all the rhetoric about "inextinguishable hatred." But if we give them a Constitution mainly composed of restrictive clauses, it is more than probable that our boasted safeguards will go down one by one, until at last the British Government will allow itself to be bought out at a very moderate valuation; while Ireland will go its way, a self-governing and disagreeably independent colony.

All these suggested safeguards are simply so many proofs that our statesmen have not yet realized the true nature of the issue before them. We may permit Ireland to govern herself as a

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country separate from England, or we may refuse her that permission. We must choose between the two principles—Separation and Union—and when we have made our choice we must act on it, logically and courageously. At present we are merely wasting our time in illogical, unpractical, half-hearted attempts to combine two utterly inconsistent policies.

I do not myself hold the principle of separation; but I admit that there is much to be said for it. We have never been on very good terms with the Irish, and we are separated from them by sixty miles of uncomfortable sea. We are slow, unsympathetic, and businesslike; they are quick, emotional, and slovenly. We like a conventional and expensive kind of Government; they like to be led by individuals, and they are too poor to pay for what we call efficiency. We do not dislike them, but we disapprove of their characteristic habits. They do not hate us, whatever Mr. Sexton may say in his tragic moods; but they resent our intolerable airs of superiority. Perhaps we should be better friends if we were to part, as Ontario parted from Quebec. But if we separate, we must completely disentangle our own affairs from those of Ireland; we must leave ourselves no excuse for interfering with their management of their own concerns; we must offer them no more of our well-meant advice; and we must expect from them no assistance or contribution whatever.

To give the new Irish Government a fair start, Great Britain must take over the Army, the Navy, and the National Debt. No poor country can be expected to begin life with forty millions of debt slung round its neck. Nor can Ireland well afford to let any portion of its public revenue pass into the British exchequer. The sacrifices demanded of us will be considerable; but, on the other hand, we shall make no more advances for Irish purposes, and we shall not have to undertake the expense or the risk of any scheme of compensation. If Ireland is going to govern herself, it is quite clear that we are in no way bound to provide for the landlords, or the judges, or the civil servants of the Crown. We hand the country over as a going concern, and the new managers must meet their liabilities as they arise. Why interfere between a responsible Government and any class of its subjects? Why should an Irishman be exempted from the authority of the Government under which he lives because he happens to own land or to draw an official salary? If the new legislature treats the landlords harshly, we shall be very sorry for them; but they will have no claim on the British taxpayer. If the judges' pensions are taken away by law, that will be a gross breach of the conditions on which they were appointed. But we shall not be responsible. If a like injustice were perpe-

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trated by the Government of Cape Colony, nobody would think of advising the victims to appeal to the Imperial Parliament. To avoid misconception, let me say that I do not believe the Irish Parliament would commit the acts which I have described. But if it is to be a genuine legislative authority it ought to have power to commit them. Either the Irish nation is of age, or it is not. If it is, we must learn to show some confidence in its discretion, instead of keeping it tied to England's apron-string.

If we asked Mr. Gladstone to vote for the kind of Home Rule I have described, he would reject the proposal with indignation, just as he would have rejected the Land Purchase Bill if it had been brought forward in 1870. Mr. Gladstone's method is to take a ticket for York, by way of proving his firm determination never, never to go to Edinburgh. It is only when his train has carried him "inadvertently" as far as Berwick that he begins to feel he can no longer fence or skirmish with the question of crossing the border. His followers cultivate the same habit of mind. They will give self-government to Ireland, but they will not hear of separation. They cling to the Act of Union, and many of them wish to keep the Irish members at Westminster. In the interest of Ireland I protest against the irrational endeavour to grant freedom, and at the same time to retain ascendency. No good thing can come out of a party which says to the Irish people, "We fully admit your right to make your own laws; only you must allow us to appropriate three-fifths of your revenue, and to restrain you from meddling with religion, customs, excise, currency, and trade."

If the people of this country decide in favour of Home Rule, we must accept their decision loyally and make the best of it. But before the irrevocable judgment goes forth, let us anxiously consider whether the step which we are invited to take be indeed inevitable. Is it not possible to solve the problem of Irish government without encountering the risks which must attend any fundamental change in the Constitution of the United Kingdom? I venture to say that it is possible; and my judgment is confirmed by all that I can learn of Irish opinion. It is clear that the Irish people have not formed any distinct notion of the form of government they desire. They supported the federal scheme of Mr. Butt; they supported the separatist scheme of Mr. Parnell; they accept the compromise offered by Mr. Gladstone. They have never been taught to realize what is implied in Home Rule, when the principle is logically carried out. The substance of their demand may be reduced to two simple propositions. First, Ireland is an independent nation, and she ought not to be joined in political union with the

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English and Scottish nations, unless with her own consent. Second, Ireland ought to be governed by popular methods. The men who make her laws must be men who trust the people and are trusted by them. Both these propositions I am prepared to subscribe *ex animo*, without mental reservation. But I hold that we may accept and give effect to both, within the limits of the Union, without adopting any form of Home Rule.

Ireland is a nation, and not a province of England. Being myself a Scotchman, proud of my nationality and desiring to preserve it, I sympathize with the national sentiment which pervades Irish politics and literature. But if Mr. Chamberlain or any other Englishman proposes to set up a Scotch Parliament in Edinburgh, I shall oppose him strenuously, and that for several reasons. First, because a local Parliament would require new and expensive official machinery. Second, because it would be the cause of over-legislation, and of all those evils which result from the maintenance of two systems of law within the same country. Third, because it would narrow the range of Scotch politics and give undue importance to local and sectarian differences. Fourth, because it would diminish the influence of Scotland in the Imperial Parliament, by keeping her political leaders at home instead of sending them to Westminster. Every one of these reasons applies to Ireland as directly and forcibly as to Scotland.

Scotch legislation gives Parliament no trouble, because Englishmen have the sense to see that they do not understand it, and to let the Scotch members alone. We must let the Irish members alone; we must banish once for all the idea that Irish legislation should be used as a means for increasing the popularity of British statesmen. Downing Street never understood and never will understand any Irish question. Of course, if the Irish members bring in and discuss their own Bills, they must be kept as short of public money as the Scotch members are. It may be said that the Irish members will make unjust laws. Very likely they will; but the worst they can do will be no worse than the injustice we have ourselves committed in our well-meant efforts to legislate for them. Again, it may be said that Parliament will not have time to pass all the measures which Irishmen desire. There is a curious belief, very prevalent at the present time, that we ought to be always legislating on a large scale and at a great pace. As a Radical of what may now be called the Old School—the school of Mill and Fawcett—I hold that this belief is entirely mistaken. Our Parliament turns out, in an ordinary session, as many new laws as the three kingdoms can understand and apply to advantage. Changes in legislative

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forms are required, not to increase the quantity, but to improve the quality of our legislation.

The Home Rule movement is only a phase of that questionable latter-day Radicalism—borrowed from the authoritative democrats of continental countries—which assumes that every kind of evil, social and political, can be cured by compulsion of law. This false belief has already cost Ireland dear. We have laid the land system of the country in ruins; but Parliament has only succeeded in proving that the agrarian problem will not be solved by any number of Land Acts. We are told now that the difficulties attending the maintenance of social order may be removed by changing the form of the government. I admit that the concession of an Irish Legislature would to some extent remove the prejudice against the law which now exists. But the question remains, whether that prejudice may not be removed by other means—by means which will produce a greater ultimate benefit to the people. This, of course, is a question which Mr. Gladstone and his friends will not allow us to consider. They have determined to try Home Rule, and they assume in their irrational haste that there is no alternative remedy.

I have never been able to see that the form of government we have provided for Ireland is materially worse than the form we have provided for ourselves. The spirit of centralization reigns in Dublin Castle, just as it reigns in Whitehall. The Grand Jury is not an ideal authority; but neither is Quarter Sessions. Even the anomalies of the Irish municipal franchise do not place the inhabitants of an Irish town in a worse position than the inhabitants of London. So far as Parliament is concerned, Ireland is fairly and more than fairly represented in the House of Commons; and we Liberals have insisted on admitting Irishmen to an equality with ourselves in the matter of electoral rights. But—and here I touch what seems to me the root of the Irish difficulty—while the form of the government is popular, its methods are despotic; and this is just one of the cases in which methods are more important than forms.

Mr. Gladstone's method with Ireland has always been more or less despotic. Sometimes he has tried force, as when he threw Mr. Parnell into Kilmainham. Again, he has tried benevolent despotism, as when he tried to solve the land question by means of an agrarian poor law. Even at this moment, in the act of creating an independent legislature, he must needs dictate beforehand what the Legislature ought or ought not to do. It has never occurred to him to govern Ireland, as he governs England and Scotland, by putting himself in contact with the people and making a direct appeal to their political judgment. The people of Great Britain are governed partly by law, but

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chiefly by personal and social influence. The people of Ireland refuse to be governed because the representatives of law make no attempt to acquire personal and social influence among them.

It is the want of personal contact with their subjects which makes our statesmen so hopelessly weak in dealing with Irish disaffection. If an agitator makes a foolish speech in England, we can usually afford to let him alone, because the representatives of authority will be heard in their turn. In Ireland the authorities are never heard. If an agitator makes a foolish speech he is not answered; he is put into Kilmainham, and he emerges from prison after a short term, ten times more powerful and more ill-conditioned than he was when he went in.

The agitation which has culminated in the return of eighty-six Parnellites to Parliament may be said to have begun in 1879. The bad harvest of that year gave Davitt the opportunity to raise the land question, and to found the Land League. A General Election was approaching, and the anti-English parties were preparing to strike a blow at the Government. Lord Beaconsfield saw the danger, but he gave us the impression that he was pointing it out, not for the sake of Ireland, but rather to influence the elections in Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone hardly seemed to see the danger; he certainly made no attempt to meet it directly. He spoke scores of times in England, dozens of times in Scotland; he never went to Ireland at all. Can we wonder that the Irish people refused to give their confidence to a leader who would not even take the trouble to ask for it? I have been told by British politicians that the Irish would not listen to a British statesman, but this, I believe, is a complete mistake. When Mr. Gladstone was in Ireland in 1877, the Nationalists were annoyed and rather alarmed by his popularity. A friend who lives in Wicklow told me that the people in his neighbourhood came out of their houses and knelt down at the roadside to bless the great Englishman who had stood their friend. Surely the warm feelings of those people might have been turned to political account with advantage to them and to us. Mr. Gladstone has made a tremendous bid for the votes of the Irish members. I believe that a smaller bid would have sufficed if he had only chosen to bid for the votes of the Irish electors.

I have often endeavoured to discuss, in meetings of British Liberals, the arrangements which would be necessary if we desired to give a substantial measure of Home Rule within the limits of the Constitution. The Irish members ought to form a Grand Committee on Irish Bills, and we might well empower them to hold special sessions in Dublin for the purpose of taking evidence and of reporting generally on the needs of

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their country. We ought to abolish the Lord Lieutenancy, and place the Executive Government in the hands of a resident Chief Secretary, assisted by a Parliamentary Under Secretary. Industry should be encouraged and the evil of poverty combated, not by grants of money, but by the encouragement of private enterprise, and the diffusion of sound information and advice. Order should be maintained, not by giving arbitrary powers to the Government, but by promoting the steady enforcement of the ordinary law. The Irish have been taught to look on the criminal law as a foreign institution, established for the benefit of landlords and unpopular persons generally. We encourage this delusion by tampering continually with the administration of justice on political grounds. If the Government wishes to see the law well administered, its best policy is to interfere as little as possible. I should like to see a Chief Secretary brave enough to govern Ireland without packed juries and to fight the secret societies without the aid of the informer.

Once on a time, these ideas were held to savour of doctrinaire Radicalism. They were received with some favour by advanced politicians; they were repudiated by moderate men who adhered to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Spencer. But now many of my advanced friends are so excited about Mr. Gladstone's new policy, that they cannot even listen with decent courtesy to any argument against it; while some of my moderate friends are drumming and shouting and flourishing subscription cards in the front rank of the Political Salvation Army. I have to complain of Mr. Gladstone, not only because he has produced an ill-considered scheme for the government of Ireland, but also because he has made the rational discussion of the subject almost impossible. We are told that the issue now before the country is clear and simple. We are to choose between Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, between Home Rule and Coercion, between a paper Union and a genuine community of sentiment. The issue is, in point of fact, obscure and complicated; we cannot even approach it until we have cleared out of the way the false issues which are raised to embarrass our judgment. I take the arguments of the Gladstonian Home Rulers, addressed to those whom they are pleased to describe as the seceding Liberals, and I find that they are simply so many attempts to withdraw our attention from the facts and principles which ought to influence the minds of practical politicians.

This is not a personal question between Mr. Gladstone on the one hand, and Lord Salisbury, or Lord Hartington, or Mr. Chamberlain on the other. There is perhaps none of these distinguished individuals who can offer us a complete solution of the Irish problem. No one man is to be followed in an emergency like

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the present; the first necessity of the case is that competing policies should be fairly weighed against one another, and that all opinions should be heard. At the famous meeting of the National Liberal Federation, it was suggested that Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Jesse Collings were to be condemned because they would not allow Mr. Gladstone to frame a new Irish policy without consulting them. I always imagined that if men were governed without being consulted, they were properly described as slaves. In modern parlance they are robust Liberals, loyal Radicals, genuine believers in popular government.

The choice before us does not lie between Home Rule and Coercion. For my own part I am willing to let the Irish people manage their own affairs to an extent not contemplated by Mr. Gladstone; and I regard our Coercion Acts as so many proofs that we have not yet learned how to govern the country. The question is whether the necessity for coercion may best be removed by altering the methods of government, or by making a fundamental and irrevocable change in its form. Mr. Gladstone's own arguments on the subject of coercion are to me almost unintelligible. First, he points out that the record of Irish crime is much less formidable than it used to be. From this fact he draws the curious inference that our legislation for Ireland is and always must be a total failure. Coercion, it seems, cannot be effectively applied unless by a national legislature. But the question is by whom, over whom, and for what ends the coercive authority of an Irish Legislature will be exercised. Mr. Gladstone's speech in introducing the Irish Government Bill admits of two interpretations. He may mean to assure us, that if there is disorder in Ireland, the local Parliament will be able to apply measures such as he himself has often devised and supported for the repression of crime. If that is so, what will the anti-coercion party gain by the change? On the other hand, he may mean that when Ireland has a local legislature the necessity for exceptional measures will disappear. No solid reason is given for this sanguine forecast. We know that the establishment of a legislature in Dublin will be the signal for an outburst of agrarian excitement and religious strife. If Mr. Parnell is to be the first responsible head of an Irish executive, his difficulties will be numerous and grave. We gain nothing by attempting to conceal these difficulties from ourselves or from our Irish friends.

Again, the question at issue is a question for the present generation, and must not be mixed up with the controversies and blunders of the past. Nobody can understand Irish politics without a considerable knowledge of history; but history must not be pressed into the service of party. Let

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us confess that England has made many mistakes in dealing with Ireland. How does that affect the question whether Englishmen and Irishmen can or cannot now agree to live peaceably within the limits of the Union? Let us admit that the Union was obtained by force and fraud. How does that affect the question whether the Union is or is not on the whole the most satisfactory basis for the future political relations of the two countries? Let us admit (rather a large admission) that Ireland was more prosperous and orderly under Grattan's Parliament than she has been under the Union. How does that affect the question whether we ought to establish a legislature utterly different from Grattan's Parliament in every essential respect?

If the arguments drawn from our own history are apt to be misleading, those which are drawn from foreign sources are still less useful for the purposes of the present controversy. When Holland and Belgium were separated in 1830 they became two separate and independent States. The case of Austria and Hungary is so peculiar, that we cannot make it serve as a constitutional precedent. If Mr. Chamberlain will turn over the reports of the cases decided under the British North America Act 1867, I question very much whether he will continue to hold up the Canadian Confederation as a model for our imitation. The Provinces were separate colonies of equal rank, possessing legislative bodies with plenary power. They were united, at their own request, in one Dominion; but their legislatures still have plenary power, except in matters assigned to the Canadian Parliament. No analogy can be established between the facts of the Canadian question and the facts of the question now under discussion. These foreign and colonial parallels are interesting in themselves; we shall do well to study them quietly as we have opportunity. But when used in debate they are often of less than no value. Even Mr. Bryce cannot throw much force into the argument, that because various systems of dual government have worked fairly well in various parts of the world, therefore a wholly untried system of dual government is likely to work well in the United Kingdom.

Again, it must be steadily borne in mind that Home Rule, as understood in Ireland, has nothing to do with the reform of local government, as understood in Great Britain. If a separate legislature is conceded, the reform of Irish local government will be a matter for that legislature and not for Parliament. If a separate legislature is refused, no administrative council, parochial, provincial, or national, can be regarded as a substitute for it. Mr. Gladstone's Bill has sometimes been described as a measure of decentralization; it is, in fact, a measure for

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centralizing all power over Irish affairs in a single body. It is the creation of a new centre, in the shape of a legislature which may or may not favour the policy of decentralization recommended by Mr. Gladstone.

But all the fallacies which the debates on the Irish Government Bill have produced would have little influence on the public mind if it were not for the great master fallacy, that the Bill is an assertion of what are vaguely described as popular rights. I absolutely deny that in maintaining the Union we infringe any right whatever. The Irish people have the same political franchise as we have. They may fairly claim to be governed by popular methods, within the limits of the Act of Union. If they wish to repeal or alter the Act of Union, they must refer the question to the electors of the three kingdoms; and if the decision goes against them they are bound in duty to accept it loyally. Mr. Gladstone seems to hint that they are justified in mutinous resistance to the Act of Union, because it was obtained "by force and fraud." If this argument is admitted, the foundations of social order are not safe. If Irishmen may repudiate the Union, British Radicals may repudiate the National Debt. We may plead that the debt was contracted to support a policy of force and fraud, at a time when the masses of the people were not adequately represented in Parliament. These are, in fact, the arguments used by the few extreme persons who advocate repudiation.

In support of his theory, that the cause of Home Rule is the cause of popular government, Mr. Gladstone puts forward a statement which none of his critics would desire to leave unnoticed. He asserts that the opposition to his scheme has come chiefly from the classes—that is from persons of superior education and social rank. I should be sorry to waste a serious answer on this preposterous assertion; but I should like to ask—not the Prime Minister, but rather Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who is about my own standing—whether he has ever heard of the manœuvre known as carrying the war into the enemy's country? How does the British Home Rule party stand in relation to the classes? Mr. Gladstone himself was educated at Eton and Christ Church; brought into Parliament by ducal influence; promoted from step to step of the official hierarchy, and rewarded with many thousand pounds of public money. His trusted lieutenant, Sir W. Harcourt, is a person of noble or even royal lineage, once a lawyer, and still a sinecure professor. His unofficial confidant, Mr. Labouchere, is an ex-diplomatist, a denizen of the London clubs, and the editor of a Society paper. His Irish allies are Mr. Parnell, a landlord; Mr. Justin McCarthy, a drawing-room historian and novelist; Mr. Healy, a rising barrister, connected

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by marriage with the Lord Mayor of Dublin. If I only possessed the style of Mr. Joseph Leicester, I would call on the sons of toil to arise in their might and sweep from power these minions of luxury and privilege.

We "dissident Liberals" have derived an advantage from the manner in which our Gladstonian friends have presented their case. Believing as we do that the Union can be and ought to be maintained, we should have been in a somewhat perplexing position if the deliberate judgment of our own party had gone against us. We might have been driven to acknowledge that Home Rule, though neither necessary nor desirable, had become practically inevitable. As matters now stand, we are not contending against the judgment of our party. An attempt has been made to deprive us of our judgment, to suppress differences of opinion, to decide a great issue under the imperious control of a suddenly awakened sentiment. We are absolved from our allegiance to leaders who treat us in this headstrong fashion. It is right that we should defer to the unequalled influence of Mr. Gladstone; it is not right that we should give him authority to revise the party programme as often as he changes his own principles of action.

There is every reason to believe that we have a great deal of trouble before us. This election may settle nothing; parties may be balanced and divided in the next Parliament as they were in the last. Even if Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell should command a decided majority in the new House of Commons, the obstinacy of the House of Lords may cost us another penal dissolution. If the country decides against the advocates of Home Rule, obstruction will be the resource of the Irish members and their English allies. The patience of Unionist politicians may give way; under the stress of conflicting opinions we may take refuge in some unsatisfactory compromise. But the omens are not all unfavourable. We have defeated a powerful combination; we have finally disposed of one dangerous project; we have done something to open the mind of the country to the issue which is now to be tried. Great Britain and Ireland have to choose between Union and Separation. Both principles are worth considering; either the one or the other may be made the basis of a settlement. But we shall not be safe until we can find men who are prepared to act consistently and courageously on the principle which they adopt.

THOMAS RALEIGH.

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Art. X.—The Socialist Movement.

SOME good-hearted people must have felt an uncomfortable thrill when they heard Professor Huxley declare that he would rather have been born a savage in one of the Fiji Islands than have been born in a London slum. The advantages of civilization, from the slum point of view, must appear somewhat doubtful; and as a considerable part of the population of every large city live in the slums, the slum view has an importance of its own as a factor in the future social evolution. For it must be remembered that the slum population is not wholly composed of criminals and ne'er-do-weels—the "good-for-nothings" of Herbert Spencer. The honest workman and struggling seamstress live there cheek by jowl with the thief and the harlot; and with the spread of education has arisen an inclination to question whether, after all, everything has been arranged quite as well as it might be in this best of all possible worlds. The question, "Whether on the whole civilization has been an advantage?" has been a theme of academical discussion since Rousseau won the prize for an essay on "Has the restoration of the Sciences contributed to purify or to corrupt Manners?" and laid down the audacious thesis that riches gave birth to luxury and idleness, and from luxury sprung the arts, from idleness the sciences. But it has now changed its form, and has entered the arena of practical life: men are asking now, Is it rational that the progress of society should be as lopsided as it is? Is it necessary that, while civilization brings to some art, beauty, refinement—all that makes life fair and gracious—it should bring to others drudgery, misery, degradation, such as no uncivilized people know; and these emphasized and rendered the bitterer by the contrast of what life is to many, the dream of what it might be to all? For Professor Huxley is right. The savage has the forest and the open sea, the joy of physical strength, food easily won, leisure sweet after the excitement of the chase; the civilized toiler has the monotonous drudgery of the stuffy workshop, the hell of the gin-palace for his pleasure-ground, the pandemonium of reeking court and stifling alley for his lullaby: civilization has robbed him of all natural beauty and physical joy, and has given him in exchange—the slum. It is little wonder that, under these circumstances, there are many who have but scant respect for our social fabric, and who are apt to think that any change cannot land them in a condition worse than that in which they already find themselves.

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The tendency to think of complete social change as a possible occurrence has come down to the present generation as an inheritance of the past. Old men still dwell fondly on the hopes of the "social missionaries" who were preaching when the men now of middle-age were born. Some even remember the experiments of Robert Owen and of his personal disciples, the hopes raised by New Lanark and Arbiston, the chill disappointment of New Harmony. The dream that glorified their youth has remained a sacred memory, and they have told how all might have been different had society been prepared in Owen's time for the fundamental change. And the great and far-reaching co-operative movement, born of Owen's socialism, has kept "his memory green," and has prepared men to think of a possible future in which co-operation should wholly replace competition, and Owen's dream of universal brotherhood become a living reality. Such part of the energy of the Owenite Socialists as was not merged in co-operative activity was swamped in the sudden rush of prosperity that followed the repeal of the Corn Laws and the English triumph of Free Trade. Now that that rush is long over, and the old misery is on the workers once more, their minds turn back to the old schemes, and they listen readily to suggestions of a new social order.

The abnormally rapid multiplication characteristic of the very poor is at once constantly rendering the problem to be solved more difficult and more imperatively pressing. Unhealthy conditions force the young into premature nubility; marriage takes place between mere lads and lasses; parenthood comes while father and mother are themselves legally infants; and the dwarfed, peaky little mortals, with baby frames and wizened faces, that tumble over each other in the gutters of the slums, are the unwholesome and unlovely products of the forcing-house of extreme poverty.

The spread of education and of religious scepticism has added the last touch necessary to make the poor ripe for social change. Ignorance is a necessary condition for prolonged submission to remediable misery. The School Boards are teaching the children the beauty of order, cleanliness, and decency, and are waking up in them desire for knowledge, hopes, and aspirations —plants unsuited for cultivation in the slums. They are sowing the seeds of a noble discontent with unworthy conditions, while at the same time they are developing and training the intelligence, and are converting aimless, sullen grumbling into a rational determination to understand the Why of the present, and to discover the How of change. Lastly, religious scepticism has enormously increased the value put upon the life which is.

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So long as men believed that the present life was the mere vestibule of an endless future, it was possible to bribe them into quiescence in misery by representing poverty as a blessing which should hereafter bring in its train the "kingdom of heaven." But now that many look on the idea of a life beyond the grave with doubt, and even with disbelief, this life has taken giant proportions in their eyes, and the human longing for happiness, which erstwhile fed on hopes of heaven, has fastened itself with passionate intensity on the things of earth.

Such is the soil, ploughed by misery, fertilized by education and scepticism, ready to receive and nourish the seed of social change.

While the soil has been thus preparing, the sowers who are to scatter the seed have been fashioning. Thoughtful persons have noted the regular cycle of alternate depression and inflation trodden by industrialism during the last century. At one time industry progresses "by leaps and bounds," employment is plentiful, wages high (as wages go), prices of coal and iron high, profits increase, and fortunes are rapidly built up. This inflation after a while passes away, and is succeeded by depression; "short time" is worked, wages are reduced, profits diminish, the "market is overstocked." This in its turn passes away, and temporary prosperity returns, to be after a while succeeded by another depression, and that by another inflation. But it is noticeable that the depressions become more acute and more prolonged as they return time after time, and that there is less elasticity of revival after each. The position of England in the world's markets becomes yearly one of diminished advantage; other nations raise their own coal and their own iron instead of buying from us, and as the competition of nations becomes keener, English trade can no longer monopolize the custom of the world. The radical weakness of our industrial system is thus becoming patent—no longer veiled, as it was during the first half of the century, by a monopoly which brought such enormous gains that the drain of wealth into a few hands was comparatively little felt. Now that there is so much less to divide, the unfairness of the method of division is becoming obvious.

Nor can we overlook, in tracing the fashioning of those who are to sow the seeds of change, the effect on English thought of the greatly increased communication with foreign countries, and especially with Germany. English religious thought has been largely influenced by the works of Strauss and Feuerbach; philosophic thought by those of Hegel, Kant, and Schopenhauer; scientific by the speculations of Goethe, the practical labours of Vogt, Büchner, and Haeckel. English insularity has been

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broken down in every domain of theoretical and speculative thought; it was inevitable that it should also be broken down in the domain of practical sociology, and that German proposals for social change should win the attention of English students of social problems. The works of Marx, Bebel, Liebknecht, and Engels have not reached any large number of English people; neither have those of Strauss, Hegel, and Kant. None the less in each case have they exercised a profoundly modifying influence on religious, philosophical, and sociological thought respectively; for, reaching a small band only, that band has in its turn influenced thought in the direction taken by itself, and has modified the views of very many who are unconscious of the change thus wrought in their own attitude towards progress. At the same time the German graft has been itself modified by the English stock, and English Socialism is beginning to take its own distinctive colour; it is influenced by English traditions, race, habit, and methods of public procedure. It shows, at its best, the influence of the open-air of English political life, the tolerance of diversity of thought which is bred of free speech; it is less arrogant, less intolerant, than it is with Germans, or with those English who are most directly under German influence. In Germany the intolerance of oppression has caused intolerance of revolt; here the very power of the democracy has a tendency to sober its speech, and to make it take its own way in the quiet consciousness of its resistless strength. This peculiarity of English life must modify Socialism, and incline it to resort, if such resort be possible, to methods of legislation rather than to methods of dynamite.

Nor has the effect of foreign thought been confined to the influence exerted by thinkers over thinkers, through the medium of the press. A potent worker for the internationalization of thought has been silently busy for many years past. At first insular prejudices were broken down only for the wealthy and the nobles, when the "grand tour" was a necessary part of the education of the fine gentleman. Then the capitalist broke down national fences for his own gain, feeling himself nearer in blood to his foreign colleagues than to the workers in his own land; for, after all, common interests lie at the root of all fellow-feeling. And the capitalist abolished nationalism for himself: he hired Germans and Frenchmen for his counting-house work, finding them cheaper and better educated than English clerks; when his English wage-workers struck for better wages he brought over foreigners to take their place, so that he might live on cheap foreign labour while he starved the English into submission. The effect of foreign immigration and of foreign importation has not in the long run turned wholly to the

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advantage of the capitalist; for his foreign clerks and his foreign workers have fraternized with the English they were brought over to displace. They have taken part in club discussions; they have spread their own views; they have popularized in England the ideas current among workers on the Continent; they have made numbers of Englishmen acquainted with the solutions suggested abroad for social problems. Thus, the internationalism of the luxurious idle and of the wealthy capitalist has paved the way for the internationalism of the future—the internationalism of the proletariat, the internationalism of Socialism.

From this preliminary sketch of the conditions which make for a Socialist movement in England at the present time we must turn to an examination of the doctrines held and taught by the modern school, which claims to teach what is known as Scientific Socialism. The allegation, or even the proof, that modern civilization is to a large extent a failure, is obviously not sufficient ground for a complete social revolution. Appeals to the emotions by means of word-pictures of the sufferings and degradation of the industrious poor, may rouse sympathy, may even excite to riot, but can never bring about fundamental changes in society. The intellect must be convinced ere we can look for any wise movement in the direction of organic improvement; and while the passion of the ignorant has its revolutionary value, it is on the wisdom and foresight of the instructed that we must rely for the work of social reconstitution.

The first thing to realize is that the Socialist movement is an economic one. Despite all whirling words, and revolution fire, and poetic glamour, and passionate appeal, this one dry fact is the central one—Socialism rejects the present industrial system and proposes an exceedingly different one. No mere abuse can shake the Socialist; no mere calling of names can move him. He holds a definite economic theory—a theory which should neither be rejected without examination nor accepted without study.

The preliminary stock objection which is often held to be sufficient to wave Socialism out of court is the statement that it is "against the laws of political economy." No statement could be more erroneous; though it may be pleaded in extenuation that the abuse levelled by ignorant Socialists at political economy has given excuse for supposing that it is in antagonism to Socialism. With political economy, as the science which deals with the nature, the production, and the distribution of wealth, Socialism can have no quarrel. Its quarrel is with the present industrial system, not with the science which points out the ascertained sequence of events under that system. Suppose

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a *régime* of avowed slavery: political economy, dealing with the production of wealth in such a state, would lay down how slaves might be worked to the best advantage—how most might be got out of them with least expenditure. But it would be irrational to attack political economy as brutal under such conditions; it would be the slave system which would be brutal, and blame of the science which merely dealt with the existent facts would be idle. The work of political economy is to discern and expound for any type of social system the best methods of producing and distributing wealth *under that system;* and it can as easily study and develop those methods under a *régime* of universal co-operation such as Socialism, as under a *régime* of universal competition such as the present. Socialism is in antagonism to this competitive system, and seeks to overthrow it; but only the ignorant and the thoughtless confound in their hatred the system itself, and the science that deals with its phenomena.

In truth, Socialism founds part of its disapproval of the present industrial system on the very facts pointed out by orthodox economists. It accepts Ricardo's "iron law of wages," and, recognizing that wages tend to fall to the minimum on which the labourer can exist, it declares against the system of the hiring of workers for a fixed wage, and the appropriation of their produce by the hirer. It accepts Ricardo's theory of rent, with such modifications as to the influence of custom, &c., as are adopted by all modern economists. It assents to, and indeed insists on, the facts that all wealth is the result of labour applied to natural agents, that capital is the result of labour and abstinence, that in all save the most primitive forms of industry capital and labour—that is, the unconsumed result of past labour and present labour—are both necessary factors in the production of wealth.

Nor does Socialism challenge the accuracy of the deductions from "the laws of political economy" in a competitive system drawn by the trading community. That a man who desires wealth should buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest; that he should drive the hardest possible bargains; that in selling he should be guided by the maxim, *caveat emptor;* that in buying he should take advantage of the ignorance or the necessities of the seller; that the weakest should go to the wall; that feeling should not interfere with business; that labour should be bought at the lowest possible price, and as much got out of it as may be; that trade morality differs from the morality of private life;—all these maxims the Socialist regards as the evil fruits of the perpetuation among men of the struggle for existence; a struggle which, however

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inevitable among brutes, is from his point of view unworthy of human civilization.

Recognising thus the unsatisfactory results which flow naturally and inevitably from the present system, Socialism proceeds to analyse the way in which wealth is produced and accumulated under it, to seek for the causes of the extreme wealth and extreme poverty which are its most salient characteristics.

Applying ourselves, then, to the study of the production of wealth, we find taking part therein three things—natural agents, capital, and labour. These, under the present system, are represented in England by three types—the landlord, the capitalist, the proletarian. The transitional organisms need not detain us: the landlord who tills his land with his own hands, the capitalist who works in his own mill—these are exceptions; and we are concerned with the normal types. Abroad, the landlord pure and simple is comparatively rare. Of these three, the landlord owns the natural agents; no wealth can be produced without his consent. John Stuart Mill ("Principles of Political Economy," bk. ii. ch. xvi. sec. 1) remarks that "the only person, besides the labourer and the capitalist, whose consent is necessary to production, and who can claim a share of the produce as the price of that consent, is the person who, by the arrangements of society, possesses exclusive power over some natural agent." Given a person who, by possession of the natural agents from which wealth can be produced, can prevent the production of wealth by withholding the raw material, and you have a person who can successfully claim part of the wealth to be produced as a condition of allowing production to take place. He gains, by virtue of his position, wealth which one less fortunately placed can only acquire by prolonged labour. Nay, more; since many capitalists will compete for the raw material when it is advantageously situated, he will be able to obtain an ever higher price from the most eager bidder; as towns increase and trade develops, competition will drive the price up still higher; and this ever-mounting "rent," paid to the owner of the natural agents, will enrich the lucky possessor, however idle, ignorant, or useless he may be. Thus is produced a class which has a vested right to tax industry, and which taxes it in proportion to its success. Not an improvement can be effected, nor a railway constructed, nor a road made, without toll being first paid to the owner of the soil. The whole nation is at the mercy of a comparatively small class, so long as it consents to admit that this class has a right to own the ground on which the nation lives. Here is a point at which Socialism finds itself in direct antagonism to the present system of society. Socialism declares that natural agents ought not to

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be private property, and that no idle class should be permitted to stand between land and labour, and demand payment of a tax before it will permit the production of wealth. Socialism holds that the soil on which a nation is born and lives ought to belong to the nation as a whole, and not to a class within the nation; that the soil should be cultivated by individuals, or by co-operative groups, holding directly under the State—the "State" here meaning central organizing body or district organizing body, according as the organization is communal or centralized. And here, among different Socialist schools, difference in detail manifests itself. All agree that the soil must in some fashion be controlled by the community, and the benefits derivable from it spread over the community. But some Socialists would have each commune practically independent, with the soil on which it lives vested in each; the agriculturists of the commune would form an organized body for cultivating the soil, and the agricultural products would be collected in the communal store, and thence distributed as each member of the commune had need of them. Nothing would here be recognized as "rent," since the total produce would pass under communal control. Other Socialists favour a system of more centralized management. But all agree that individual property in land must disappear, and that in the future land must not be used as an investment which is to bring in a profit in the shape of rent to some speculator or idler, but must be used for purposes of production for the general good, yielding food and raw materials for clothing and other necessaries of life, but profit in the shape of rent to no individual.

The extreme Radical school of politicians accepts the Socialist theory of land, and denounces private property in the soil as vigorously as does the Socialist. In fact, the Radical is a half-fledged Socialist—indignant as many would be at the description: he is in favour of the State being the only landowner, but he boggles at the idea of the State being the only capitalist. His attitude to the land is, however, an important factor in the Socialist movement, for it familiarizes the national mind with the idea of the State absorbing the functions hitherto belonging to a class. The establishment of Land Courts, the fixing of judicial rents, the legal restrictions put on the "rights" of landlords—all these make for Socialism. M. Agathon de Potter, a well-known continental writer, rejoices over the introduction of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh's Bill for expropriating landlords who keep cultivable land uncultivated, and for vesting the forfeited lands in the State, as a direct step towards Socialism. The shrinking of English politicians from the name does not prevent their advance towards the thing, and the Liberty and Property Defence League

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is justified in its view that politics are drifting steadily in a Socialist direction.

Pass we from the landlord who holds the natural agents to the capitalist who holds the means of production. What is capital, and how has it come into existence? Capital is any wealth which is employed for profit. On this there is no dispute. As Senior says: "Economists are agreed that *whatever* gives a profit is properly called capital." Now, as all wealth is the result of labour applied to natural agents, capital, being wealth, must have been so produced. But another factor has been at work; as Marshall says, it is "the result of labour *and abstinence.*" Wherever there is capital there has been labour, and there has also been abstinence from consumption. But in studying the origin and the accumulation of capital, this remarkable historical fact stares us in the face—that capital is not found in the hands of the laborious and the abstemious, but is obtained by a process of confiscation of the results of labour and the imposition of privation on the laborious. On this John Stuart Mill has the following pregnant passage:

> In a rude and violent state of society it continually happens that the person who has capital is not the very person who has saved it, but some one who, being stronger, or belonging to a more powerful community, has possessed himself of it by plunder. And even in a state of things in which property was protected, the increase of capital has usually been, for a long time, mainly derived from privations which, though essentially the same with saving, are not generally called by that name, because not voluntary. The actual producers have been slaves, compelled to produce as much as force could extort from them, and to consume as little as the self-interest or the usually very slender humanity of their taskmasters would permit. ("Principles of Political Economy," bk. i. c. v. § 5.)

Capital always has been, and it always must be, obtained by the partial confiscation of the results of labour; that is, it must be accumulated by labour which is not paid for, or by labour of which the payment is deferred. In slave communities the slave-owner becomes a great capitalist by appropriating the total results of his slaves' toil, and returning to them only such small portion of it as suffices to keep the wealth-producers in capable working order. That is, the wealth produced *minus* the amount consumed by the producers, goes to the owner, and that part of it which he does not consume is laid by to be employed as capital. And it is worth noting that no considerable accumulation of capital was made, and no rapid progress in civilization was possible, until slavery was introduced. In a low stage of evolution men will not deny themselves present for the sake of future

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enjoyment, nor incur present toil for the sake of future ease. But when, as was neatly said to me, the barbarian discovered that he could utilize his conquered enemy to much greater advantage by making him work than by merely eating him, civilization had a chance. Slavery was, in truth, a necessary stage in social evolution; only by forced toil and forced privation was it possible to accumulate capital, and without capital no forms of complex industry are realizable. At the present time that which was done frankly and unblushingly in the slave *régime* is done under a veil of fine phrases, among which free contract, free labourer, and the like, play a striking part. But in reality the "free labourer" only obtains as wage such portion of the results of his labour as enables him to exist at the standard of living current for his class at the time, and the remainder of his produce goes to his employer. And too often this portion of his is not sufficient to keep him in capable working order, as is shown by the sombre fact that the average age of the hand-workers at death is far less than that of the idlers. For in truth the slave of the past had the advantage over the wage-worker of the present—that it was to his master's interest to keep the slave in high physical condition, and to prolong his working life; whereas it is to the modern employer's interest to get as much work out of the "free labourer" as is possible in a short time, and then to fling him aside as he begins to flag, and hire in his place a younger and more vigorous competitor, to be in his turn wrung dry and thrown away.

Before considering what Socialism would do with the capitalist, we must turn to the proletarian, his necessary correlative. A proletarian is a person who is possessed of labour-force, and of nothing else. He is the incarnation of the "labour" necessary for the production of wealth, the third factor in our trio. This type, in our modern society, is numerous, and is rapidly increasing. He is the very antithesis of the really free labourer, who works on his own raw material with his own instruments of production, and produces for his own subsistence. In the country the proletarian is born on somebody else's land, and as he grows up he finds himself owner of nothing except his own body. The raw material around him is owned by the landlord; the instruments of production are owned by the capitalist farmers. As he cannot live on his own labour force, which can only become productive in conjunction with raw material and means of production (capital), he must either sell it or starve. Nominally he may be free; in reality he is no more free than is the slave. The slave is free to refuse to work, and to take in exchange the lash, the prison, the grave; and such freedom only has the present proletarian. If he refuses to work, he must take the lash of hunger, the prison of

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the workhouse, and, on continued refusal, the actual gaol. Nor can he put his own price on this solitary property of his, his body—he must sell it at the market rate; and in some agricultural counties of England at the present time the market rate is from 7s. to 9s. a week. It is most significant of the bearing of the property-less condition of the proletarian that many farmers object to the very slight improvement made in the labourer's position by his being permitted to rent at a high price a small allotment which he cultivates *for himself*. The ground of the farmer's objection is that even such small portion of freedom makes the labourer "too independent," and thereby drives up wages. To get the full advantage out of him, the proletarian must be wholly dependent for subsistence on the wages he earns. The town proletarian is in a similar position—neither land nor instrument of production is his; but he also has his labour force, and this he must sell, or he must starve.

We have arrived at the citadel of the Socialist position. Here is this unpropertied class, this naked proletariat, face to face with landlord and capitalist, who hold in their grip the means of subsistence. It must reach those means of subsistence or starve. The terms laid down for its acceptance are clear and decisive: "We will place within your hands the means of existence if you will produce sufficient to support us as well as yourselves, and if you will consent that the whole of your produce, over that which is sufficient to support you in a hardy, frugal life, shall be the property of us and of our children. If you are very thrifty, very self-denying, and very lucky, you may be able to save enough out of your small share of your produce to feed yourself in your old age, and so avoid falling back on us. Your children will tread the same mill-round, and we hope you will remain contented with the position in which Providence has placed you, and not envy those born to a higher lot." Needless to say, the terms are accepted by a proletariat ignorant of its own strength, and the way to profit is open to landlord and capitalist. The landlord, as we have seen, obtains his share of the gains by taxing the capitalist through raising his rent. The capitalist finds his profit in the difference between the wage he pays and the value of the produce of his hired workers. The wage is fixed by the competition for employment in the labour market, and limited in its downward tendency by the standard of living. The minimum wage is that on which the worker can exist, however hardly. For less than this he will not work. Every shilling above this is fought over, and wage rises and falls by competition. At every stage of their relationship there is contest between employer and employed. If the wage is paid for a fixed day's work—as in nearly every trade—the employer tries to lengthen the day, the

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employed to shorten it; the longer the day, the greater the production of "surplus value"—*i.e.* of the difference between the wage paid and the value produced. The employer tries to increase surplus value by pressing the workers to exertion; they lessen exertion in order not to hasten the time of their discharge. The employer tries still to increase surplus value by supplanting male labour with female and child labour at lower wages. The men resist such introduction, knowing that the ultimate result is to increase the amount taken by capital and to lessen that obtained by labour.

Now, the Socialist alleges that these antithetical interests can never be reconciled while capital and labour are the possessions of two distinct classes. He points to the results brought about by the capitalist class while it was left unshackled by the State. The triumph of capitalism, and of *laissez-faire* between employers and employed, was from 1764 to 1833. During that time not only adults but young children were worked from fifteen to sixteen hours a day, and the production of surplus value was enormous. The huge fortunes of the Lancashire "cotton-princes" were built up by these overtasked, quickly worn-out workers. The invention of machinery centupled man's productive power, and its benefits were monopolized by a comparatively small class; while those who made the wealth festered in closely crowded courts, those who appropriated the wealth luxuriated in country seats; one side of industrialism is seen in the Lancashire mansions, pleasure-grounds, and hothouses; the other in the reeking slums within the sound of the factory bells. Under a saner system of production, the introduction of machinery would have lightened toil, shortened the hours of necessary labour, and spread abundance where there was want. Under capitalistic industrialism it has built up huge fortunes for a few, and has reduced thousands to conditions of insanitary living and dreary degradation, worse than anything the world has hitherto known. It has poisoned our rivers, polluted our atmosphere, marred the beauty of our country's face, bestialized large numbers of our people. Improvements in machinery, which should be hailed with joy, are regarded with dread by large classes of workers, because they will throw numbers out of work, and reduce men, who were skilled labourers with the old machinery, into the ranks of the unskilled. True, the result of the introduction of machinery has been to cheapen—in consequence of competition among capitalists—many commodities, especially articles of clothing. But this effect is little felt among the labouring classes. They can buy perhaps three coats where they used to buy one, but the easily worn-out shoddy, thought good enough for clothes sold in poor quarters, is but a poor

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exchange for the solid hand-made stuffs worn by their ancestors.

What, then, is the remedy proposed by Socialism? It is to deal with capital as it deals with land; to abolish the capitalist as well as the landlord, and to bring the means of production, as well as the natural agents on which they are used, under the control of the community.

Capital is, as we have seen, the result of unpaid labour; in a complex system like our own it is the result of co-operative—that is, of socialized—labour. It has been found by experience that division of labour increases productive ability, and in all forms of industry numbers now co-operate to turn out the finished product. In each commodity is embodied the labour of many workers, and the socialization of labour has reached a very advanced stage. But while industrialism has been socialized in its aspect of labour, it has remained individualistic in its aspect of capital; and the results of the combined efforts of many are appropriated to the advantage of one, and when the one has exhausted his power of consumption he retains the remaining results, and employs them for the further enslavement and exploitation of labour. Thus labour constantly adds new links to the chain which fetters it, and is ever increasing the capital which, let out at interest, becomes ever a heavier tax upon itself. Socialism contends that these unconsumed results of socialized labour ought not to pass into the hands of individuals to be used by them for their own profit; but should pass either into the industrial funds of the several trades that produce them, or into a central industrial exchequer. In either case, these funds created by past labour would be used for the facilitation of present and future labour. They would be available for the introduction of improved machinery, for the opening up of new industries, for the improvement of means of communication, and for similar undertakings. Capital thus employed would bear no interest, for no idle class would have a lien upon it; and thus, in a very real sense, capital would become only the deferred payment of labour, and the whole results of toil would be constantly flowing back upon the toilers. Under such conditions, fixed capital or plant would be owned for purposes of use by the workers who used it. Its replacement would be a constant charge on the commodities it helped to produce. A machine represents so much human labour; that embodied labour takes part in producing the finished commodity as much as does the palpable labour of the human worker who superintends the machine; that worker does not produce the whole value added in the factory to the material brought into it, and has no claim to that whole value. The wear and tear of the machine is an

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offset, and must be charged on the products, so that when the machine is worn out there may be no difficulty in its replacement. Under such conditions also the distinction between employers and employed would disappear. All would be members of industrial communities, and the necessary foremen, superintendents, organizers, and officers of every kind, would be elected as the officers of trades unions are elected at the present time.

Poverty will never cease so long as any class or any individuals have an interest in the exploitation of others. While individuals hold capital, and other individuals cannot exist unless that capital is used for their employment, the first class will prey upon the second. The capitalists will not employ unless they can "make a profit" out of those they hire to work for them; that is, unless they pay them less than the value of the work produced. But if one man is to have value for which he has not worked, another must have less than the value of his work; and while one class grows wealthy on unpaid labour, another must remain poor, giving labour without return. Socialism would give to each return for labour done, but it recognizes no claim in the idle to grow fat on the produce of the industrious.

Interest on capital has—as is obvious indeed from the foregoing—no place in Socialism. Strongly as Socialism protests against the whole system of which landlords and capitalists form an integral part, it reserves its uttermost reprobation for the theory which justifies a class of the latter in living solely on money drawn as interest on investments. If a man possesses three or four thousand pounds he can invest them, and live all his life long on the interest without ever doing a stroke of honest work, and can then bequeath to some one else the right to live in idleness; and so on in perpetuity. Money in the capitalist system is like the miraculous oil in the widow's cruse—it can always be spent and never exhausted. A man in sixty years will have received in interest at five per cent. three times his original fortune, and although he may have spent the interest, and thus have spent every penny of his fortune three times over, he will yet possess his fortune as large as it was when he began. He has consumed in commodities three times the sum originally owned, and yet is not one penny the worse. Other people have laboured for him, fed him, clothed him, housed him, and he has done nothing in exchange. The Socialist argument against interest lies in a nutshell: a man earns £5; he gives labour for which he receives in exchange a power of possession over £5 worth of commodities; he desires only to consume £1 worth now, and to defer the consumption of the remaining £4. He

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buys his £1 worth of commodities, and considers himself repaid for the fifth portion of his work by possessing and consuming these. But he expects to put out his saved £4 at interest, and would consider himself hardly used if, fourteen years hence, when he desired to exercise his power of consumption, deferred for his own convenience, that power had not increased although he had done nothing to increase it. Yet it can only be increased by other people's labour being left unpaid for, while he is paid twice over for his; and this arrangement the Socialist stamps as unjust. So long as capital remains in private hands, interest will be demanded for its use, and will be perforce paid; and so long also will exist an idle class, which will consume without producing, and will remain a burden on the industrious, who must labour to support these as well as themselves, and must produce sufficient for all.

Now, Socialism aims at rendering impossible the existence of an idle class. No healthy adult but will have to work in exchange for the things he requires. For the young, freedom from labour; they have to prepare for life's work. For the aged, freedom from labour: they have worked, and at eventide should come rest. For the sick also, freedom from labour; and open hospitals for all, without distinction of class, where tendance and all that skill can do shall be at the service of each. But for the strong and the mature, no bread of idleness, no sponging upon other people. With division of labour will come also division of leisure; the disappearance of the languid lady, full of *ennui* from sheer idleness, will entail the disappearance of the overworked slavey, exhausted from unending toil; and there will be two healthy women performing necessary work, and enjoying full leisure for study, for art, for recreation, where now are the over-lazy and the over-driven.

In thus condemning the existence of an idle class, Socialism does not assail all the individuals who now compose it. These are not to blame for the social conditions into which they have been born; and it is one of the most hopeful signs of the present Socialist movement, that many who are working in it belong to the very classes which will be abolished by the triumph of Socialist principles. The man who has inherited a fortune, and has embraced Socialism, would do no good by throwing it away and plunging into the present competitive struggle; all he can do is to live simply, and to utilize his position of advantage as a pedestal on which to place his advocacy of Socialism, and to employ his money in Socialist propaganda.

It is feared by some that the success of the Socialist movement would bring about the crushing of individualism, and an undue restriction of liberty. But the Socialist contends that the

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present terrible struggle for existence is the worst enemy of individualism, and that for the vast majority individuality is a mere phrase. Exhausting toil and ever-growing anxiety, these crush out individuality, and turn the eager promising lad into the harassed drudge of middle age. How many capable brains are wasted, how many original geniuses lost to the nations they might illuminate, by the strife for mere livelihood? The artist fritters away his genius in "pot-boilers"; the dramatist writes down to the piece that will "pay," and harnesses his delicate fancy into coarse burlesque full of wretched witticisms; in the stress of the struggle to live, patient study and straining after a great ideal become impossible. Individualism will only really develop fully when Socialism has lifted off all shoulders the heavy burden of care, and has given to all leisure to think and to endeavour.

Nor is the fear of undue restriction of liberty better founded than that of the crushing out of individualism. One kind of liberty, indeed, will be restricted—the liberty to oppress and to enslave other people. But with this exception liberty will be increased. Only the very wealthy are now free. The great majority of people must work, and their choice of work is very limited. The poor must take what work they can get, and their complaint is not that they are compelled to work, but that they often cannot get work to do. In satisfying the complex wants of the civilized human being there is room for all the most diverse capacities of work; and if it be said that there are unpleasant kinds of work that must be done, which none would willingly undertake, it may be answered that those kinds of work have to be done now, and that the compulsion of the community would not be a greater restriction of personal liberty than the present compulsion of hunger; and further, that it would be easy to make a short period of unpleasant toil balance a long period of pleasant; and that it would be far better to have such tasks divided among a number, so that they would press very lightly upon each, than have them, as now, pushed on to a comparatively few, whose whole lives are brutalized by the pressure. The very strictest organization of labour by the community that can be imagined, would be to the great majority far less oppressive than the present system, for at the worst, it would but control an extremely small portion of each working day, and would leave the whole of the rest of the existence free, to be used at the pleasure of the individual, untrammelled by anxiety and harassing care for the mere necessaries of life. The pride in skill, the stimulus of honourable ambition, the pleasure of success, all these would be present, as they are to-day; but instead of being the privilege of the few, they would brighten the life of all.

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A profound moral impulse really underlies the whole of the Socialist movement. It is a revolt against the callous indifference of the majority in the "comfortable classes" to the woful condition of large numbers of the workers. It is an outburst of unselfish brotherhood, which cannot bear to sit at ease while others suffer, which claims to share the common human lot, and to bear part of the burden now pressing with crushing weight on the shoulders of the poor. It detests the theory that there must always be hewers of wood and drawers of water for a luxurious class, and proclaims that human degradation lies in idle living, not in earnest work. It would have all work, that all may have leisure, and would so distribute the necessary work of the world that none may be crushed by it, but that all may be disciplined. And this very outburst of human brotherhood is in itself a proof that society is evolving Socialism-wards, and that the evolution of humanity is reaching a stage in which sympathy is triumphing over selfishness, and the desire for equality of happiness is becoming a potent factor in human conduct. The Socialist ideal is one which could not meet with wide acceptance if humanity were not marching towards its realization.

On one matter the Socialist movement, both abroad and at home, has set itself in opposition to science and to right reason—*e.g.*, on the law of population. It is easy to see how this opposition has arisen, and it may be hoped that when Socialists in general disentangle the scientific statement of facts from Malthus' unwise applications of them, Socialism and prudential restraint will be seen to be indissolubly united. Malthus accurately pointed out that population has a tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence; that as it presses on the available means, suffering is caused; and that it is kept within them by what he termed "positive checks"—*i.e.*, a high death-rate, especially among the children of the poor, premature death from disease, underfeeding, &c. The accuracy of his statement has been proved up to the hilt by Charles Darwin, who describes with abundant illustrations the struggle for existence—a struggle which is the direct result of the fact stated in the law of population, of the tendency of all animated things to increase beyond their food supply; this has led, and still leads, to the survival of those who are fittest for the conditions of the struggle. Unhappily, Malthus added to his scientific exposition some most unfortunate practical advice; he advised the poor not to marry until, practically, they had reached middle life. The poor felt, with natural indignation, that in addition to all their other deprivations they were summoned by Malthus to give up the chief of the few pleasures left to them, to surrender

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marriage, to live in joyless celibacy through the passion-season of life, to crush out all the impulses of love until by long repression these would be practically destroyed. And when they found that the advice came to them from a clergyman, who had certainly not practised the repression that he preached—*vide* his eleven children—it is little wonder that "Malthusianism" became a word hated by the poor and denounced by those who sympathized with them. It is true that the advice of Malthus as to the putting off of marriage has been and is very widely followed by the middle classes; but it is perfectly well known that the putting off of marriage does not with them mean the observance of celibacy, and the shocking prostitution which is the curse of every Christian city is the result of the following of the advice of Malthus so far as marriage is concerned. It is obvious that Malthus ignored the strength of the sexual instinct, possibly because he had not himself tried to bridle it, and that the only possible result of the wide acceptance of his teaching would be the increase of prostitution, an evil even more terrible than that of poverty. But the objection rightly raised to the practical teaching of Malthus ought not to take the form of assailing the perfectly impregnable law of population, nor is it valid against the teachings of Neo-Malthusians, who advise early marriage and limitation of the family within the means of existence.

The acceptance of this doctrine is absolutely essential to the success of Socialism. Under a system in which children are forced to labour, they may begin to "keep themselves" at a very early age; but under a Socialist system, where education will occupy childhood and youth, and where old age is to be free from toil, it will soon be found that the adult working members will not permit an unlimited increase of the mouths which they have to fill. Facilitate production as we may, it will always take more hours to produce the necessaries of life for families of ten or twelve than for families of three or four. The practical enforcement of the question will probably come from the women; highly educated women, full of interest in public work and taking their share in public duty, will not consent to spend year after year of their prime in nothing but expecting babies, bearing babies, and suckling babies. They will rebel against the constant infliction of physical discomfort and pain, and will insist on the limitation of the family as a condition of marriage. The sooner this is recognized by Socialists the better, for at present they waste much strength by attacking a doctrine which they must sooner or later accept.

A glance backward over the history of our own country, since the Reform Bill of 1832 opened the gate of political power to those outside the sacred circle of the aristocracy, will

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tell how an unconscious movement towards Socialism has been steadily growing in strength. Our Factory Acts, our Mines Regulation Acts, our Education Acts, our Employers' Liability Acts, our Land Acts—all show the set of the current. The idea of the State as an outside power is fading, and the idea of the State as an organized community is coming into prominence. In the womb of time the new organism is growing: shall the new birth come in peace or in revolution, heralded by patient endeavour or by roar of cannon? This one thing I know, that come it will, whether men work for it or hinder; for all the mighty, silent forces of evolution make for Socialism, for the establishment of the Brotherhood of Man.

ANNIE BESANT.

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Contemporary Literature.

THEOLOGY.

ALTHOUGH it appears rather late the translator and publisher have done well to produce in a popular form the second edition of Von Hartmann's "Selbstzersetzung des Christenthums und die Religion der Zukunft."[1]

In "The Religion of the Future," the most interesting thinker of contemporary Germany presents us with a concise statement of his religious position. It is slight in form, and with a polemical flavour which becomes at times, especially when Liberal Protestants or Socialists are in question, extremely intolerant. It is therefore unlike the author's later and more comprehensive and systematic works, "Das religiöse Bewusstsein der Menschheit" and "Die Religion des Geistes," but the earlier work is on this account more lively reading. It has been compared in Germany with Strauss's "New Faith and Old." Like Strauss, Von Hartmann realizes that the traditional concrete religions can no longer be retained. The best part of Strauss's book was, however, its statement of the modern scientific position and its relation to Christianity; when at the end he tried to describe what he called the "Machine of the Universe" as an object of worship the result was almost pathetically ludicrous. Von Hartmann is opposed on the one hand to the "Christian or stupid" party, which he identifies with Catholic Ultramontanism, and on the other to "the shallow irreligious Secularism of pseudo-Christian Liberal Protestantism," to which he considers that Strauss belonged fundamentally. (Von Hartmann was scarcely just, it may be noted by the way, in speaking of Strauss's "renunciation of idealism" in latter days. Strauss did not consider the monism which he advocated in opposition to all dualism, as opposed to idealism.) Concerning the essentially irreligious character of Protestantism, with its gospel of comfort and its adroitness in making the best of both worlds, Von Hartmann speaks very strongly. In regard to the relation of religion to science he has a more just conception than the author of "Natural Religion," whose brilliant epigrams do not always reveal a very intelligent grasp of the religious problem; and his discussion of this question is one of the most valuable parts of the book, although at one point he rather strangely falls into the weakness of Biblical exegetes, and asserts that science "maintains the doctrine of immanence," a function by his own showing entirely outside the province of science. The ideas of religion,

[1] "The Religion of the Future." By Eduard von Hartmann. Translated by Edward Dare. London: Stewart & Co. 1886.

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he more truly says, are fragments of science cast among the people and receiving a large emotional development. "Science's task is to work with zeal and loyalty, in order to offer to the future a store of ideas as rich and valuable as possible, from which the eventual new religion can one day be formed." This new religion he does not venture definitely to forecast—it cannot be made by science—but he suggests that it will be a synthesis of the Eastern and Western religious developments, the Hindoo with the Jewish-Christian, "a pessimistic Pantheism which teaches the immanence of the individual soul in the one universal spirit, and the substantial identity of the universal essence with its individual manifestation." He advocates the virtues of this pantheistic panacea with much enthusiasm. In his latest religious work, "Die Religion des Geistes," Von Hartmann recognizes that the ideal of a universal churchless religion will always remain an ideal, but an ideal towards which there will always be a gradual approximation. The translation is executed in a faithful and intelligent manner. "Innovation" seems, however, a scarcely adequate rendering of Von Hartmann's *neubildung*, and Mr. Dare has allowed the printer to perpetuate constantly a curiously common error in regard to "Rénan." A short introduction would have added to the interest of the book to English readers.

Dr. Keningale Cook has written a book,[2] which is fairly interesting but scarcely satisfactory. He has attempted to show that in the history of Jesus we see the crystallization of an immense mass of Oriental tradition, but he has gone so far afield as Osiris and Buddha and the pre-Socratic philosophers of Greece, who can in no very exact sense be called the Fathers of Jesus. This undue discursiveness extends to the various chapters of the book. Dr. Cook is most at home among the parables and wise sayings from various sources with which he has plentifully enriched his pages. His general attitude is indicated in the Preface; he desires "to refound a truly nationalized Church upon the broader and more lasting basis of the religious impulse which is to be found in the heart of all conditions of men." At the same time, however, as he perceives without any attempt at reconciling the two positions, the highest ideal is a wise anarchism: "Perhaps, in the twentieth century, we may be free to begin again at the beginning and to copy humbly those rarely conscientious and surely excellent folk, every man of whom 'did that which was right in his own eyes.'" Dr. Cook is broadly sympathetic rather than scientific in his methods. He has not laid any scientific basis for his work by a critical examination of the documents with which he deals; he appears to regard Moses as the founder of Israel, and speaks with considerable confidence concerning Zoroaster; he does not tell us what amount of historical value he attaches to The Gospels. He is much fascinated by philology, and sometimes revels amid a wealth of

[2] "The Fathers of Jesus: A study of the Lineage of the Christian Doctrine and Traditions." By Keningale Cook, M.A., LL.D. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

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suggestions, which in the end succeed in bewildering the reader almost as much as they certainly bewilder himself. For instance, he finds in the Nile a fertile source of philological speculation. From the Egyptian root *ur*, *uri* (water), and the Sanscrit *vâri*, he would derive Ur of the Chaldees as an archaic Egyptian colony, and (in opposition to Max Müller who prefers *var*, to cover) the Sanscrit Heaven *Varuna*, as well as the Greek Heaven *Ouranos*, and the Latin *urina* and *urna* and their derivations. Across the mighty highway of the firmament the disembodied spirit was ferried just as his body was borne across the Nile to be buried in the mountains on its sunset side. At this point Dr. Cook finds not only a possible connection with baptism, but also a site for the Garden of Eden. "Is it possible that the region in which, through the yearly bounty of the Nile, agriculture was free from the curse which besets it elsewhere, was the land that occasioned the legend of the Garden of Eden? Upon this hypothesis, the Adam and Eve who were turned out of Paradise represent emigrants from a country too small to maintain its overgrown family. The memory of a paradise which they had lost was preserved in Aryana like the dream of a golden age—Egyptian exiles pining for home, and handing down to the far-off generations of their descendants an idealized reminiscence of their state of life by the Nile, where man might eat of the fruit of the ground without toil." This speculation is of some interest, as we may connect it with the distinct but harmonizing tendencies among students of language and of civilization and of biology to find the origins of man in Africa generally, and especially in the Nile valley, with its exceptional conditions. The essay on the "School of Pythagoras" is a rather too enthusiastic exposition of the legend-tinged education of perfection, founded on the conception of a large and harmonious development of the individual attributed to Pythagoras, "the noblest chimera in the world." "The Brotherhood of the Essenes" is also among the more interesting chapters. Dr. Cook is inclined to connect that sect with the priests of the Ephesian Artemis of the same name and so back into Egypt. He concludes: "There seems nothing to make it improbable that Jesus was brought up among Essene priests; there is nothing to make it probable that he remained an Essene, or addicted to any sect whatever." If some of the essays, having a fair right to the title, were published together in a compact and abridged form they would probably form an attractive and popular book. In their present state these two large volumes are much too miscellaneous and discursive.

From America comes one of those numerous and wearisome attempts to reconcile faith and science.[3] Mr. Porter has nothing of Professor Drummond's clever audacity; he writes in a laboured and earnest fashion, with little assistance from controversy, quotation, or allusion. He recognizes the unity of matter and force, and is enthu-

[3] "Mechanics and Faith: A study of the Spiritual Truth in Nature." By Charles Talbot Porter. New York & London: Putnam's. 1886.

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siastic concerning the dynamic power of science, especially mechanics, to knock over the materialist, on the ground that in this particular science (and apparently in no other) "man, in his conscious ignorance, and with a sense of entire dependence, makes his appeal immediately to the Infinite Source of truth." Mr. Porter is so familiar with the construction of railway bridges and similar structures that the reader is tempted to conjecture that he is an engineer with a natural tendency to piety. This impression is distinctly strengthened when we find him speaking of the power which he recognizes behind the world as the "Infinite Engineer." (If this surmise is correct, Mr. Porter's conception is an interesting example of the anthropomorphizing tendency.) Associated with a profound distrust of the intellect as an organ of truth, Mr. Porter has an extreme faith in science, which he calls a physical revelation. "Mechanical science is the angel whose spear has vanquished the demon of superstition." It is quite impossible to understand the statement, "God so loved the world," except in the light of mechanics; so only, Mr. Porter tells us, may we hope to reach the "engine-room" of the world. Force (which he identifies with the emotional nature in a fashion slightly similar to Schoperhauer's identification of it with the will) is the first great spiritual reality, and constitutes, with truth, beauty, and love, "the quaternion of spiritual realities." Mr. Porter has a Wordsworthian feeling for nature, and with thoroughgoing American optimism he will have no such "senseless raving of morbid poets as, 'Nature, red in tooth and claw.' The earth exerts the inconceivable benefit of its uniform attraction, and the blind try to fix our attention on something falling from a precipice." Mr. Porter does well in trying to overthrow the degraded notions of science which have so long marked vulgar theology, but he is sadly overladen in the attempt to discover Biblical morality in nature. The book is ingenious and leaves an impression of the writer's honesty and thoughtfulness.

"Nature and the Bible"[4] seems at first to offer to the English-speaking Biblical apologist an armoury of weapons. The Professor of Catholic Theology at the University of Bonn, turns out, however, to be a stupid but honest writer, who has read a vast number of scientific books, the plentiful excerpts from which form by far the most interesting part of his work. He seems to consider Cardinal Wiseman an "English savant" and treats all miracles, even the sudden stoppage of the earth at Joshua's command, *au pied de la lettre*. It is not, he holds, the object of the Bible to give instruction in natural history, but, according to the elastic but safe scholastic formula, "*de rebus fidei et morum* we can only consent to be guided by the rules of hermeneutics." Dr. Reusch admits that death existed among the lower animals before the Fall, man being preserved "by a supernatural act

[4] "Nature and the Bible: Lectures on the Mosaic History of Creation in its relation to Natural Science." By Dr. Fr. H. Reusch. Translated from the fourth edition by Kathleen Lyttleton. Two vols. Edinburgh: J. & J. Clark. 1886.

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of God," and he finds a comfortable *modus vivendi* with Darwinism in the reflection that, after all, we do not know how many species God created in the beginning—ten or a hundred—for evolution to work on. The book is said to be "revised and corrected by the author." The translator appears to have done her work well, but would have been better employed on some work of genuine scholarship.

Yet another attempt to set forth the controversy between science and revealed religion—the chief factors in modern civilization—and to suggest their ultimate agreement and common triumph, is described as "A Dialogue for the Times."[5] It is a rambling conversation between two equally impotent controversialists, a thoughtful materialist, and a Christian supernaturalist. (There are said to be four "persons" but, strangely enough, only two appear.) It is written in a medium consisting of long irregular lines (with occasional accented words), having a superficial resemblance to "Leaves of Grass" or "Towards Democracy," but tamely pedestrian throughout. What it is all about is difficult to say; as Physicus at the end very truly observes to Psychicus:—

> "Our converse now methinks, has run less on a 'glory of the sun,'
> Than halo of the moon, and thou'rt in jeopardy of being lunatic!"

Mr. Wicksteed has done well to translate the first part (all that has yet appeared) of the second and completely rewritten edition of Kuenen's "Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek."[6] The translator has performed, very carefully and with the author's assistance, his translation of this important and elaborate investigation of the composition of the first six books of the Bible. It is in no sense a monograph, but the first chapter of an introduction to the Old Testament, and it is not so well adapted for a popular exposition as Wellhausen's brilliant "Prolegomena to the History of Israel," with which, however, Kuenen is in substantial harmony. The introduction to the volume is an interesting feature; it has been compiled with Professor Kuenen's assistance from various articles contributed by him to the "Theologisch Tijdschrift," and is an account of the criticism of the Hexateuch during the last twenty-five years with special reference to the growth of Kuenen's own views. He does ample justice to the work of Colenso (especially Part I. of his "Pentateuch," with its "imperturbable *sang-froid* and relentless thoroughness"), of Graf, of Wellhausen, and others (but he passes by Vatke to whom Wellhausen attaches so much importance) who have contributed to solve the great problem of the composition of the Hexateuch on the hypothesis that it consists of three great narrative and legislative strata, the prophetic or oldest, the Deuteronomic, and the priestly or post-exilian. "In setting forth

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[5] "Christian Theocracy and the Dynamics of Modern Government: A Dialogue for the Times." Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart. 1886.

[6] "An Historical-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch." By A. Kuenen, Professor of Theology at Leiden. Translated from the Dutch, with the assistance of the Author, by Philip H. Wicksteed, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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in this treatise, for the first time, its complete and systematic critical justification, I am no longer advocating a heresy, but am expounding the received view of European critical scholarship."

Professor Wendt modestly hopes that his book[7] will take a place in the development of opinion regarding The Gospels which has been growing since the end of the last century. He accepts Mark's gospel as the most ancient, and formed from a series of apostolic traditions arranged, in a more or less successful manner, chronologically. The second gospel is thus "a secondary source of the first rank," which (and not the original tradition on which it was founded) served as one of the sources for the first and third gospels. Dr. Wendt argues with considerable force against the hypothesis of Weiss, that Mark worked on the logia used by the first and third evangelists. An interesting portion of the book is an ingenious attempt to reconstruct the primitive apostolic logia upon which the gospels of Matthew and Luke may have been founded. In opposition to the general tendency of opinion, Professor Wendt is inclined to find a primitive and genuine apostolic document, emanating from John, embedded in the fourth gospel corresponding to the logia used by Luke, except that it only contained John's special reminiscences of the last days of the activity of Jesus. This is the theory of C. H. Weisse and Schenkel, and differs from that of Ewald and Hase, who considered that the evangelist was a disciple of John's who set down his master's oral traditions. It is strange that this hypothesis has not found more adherents, since it reconciles the unquestionably late character of the fourth gospel as a whole with those elements in it which once caused it to be considered an authority of the first rank. Professor Wendt goes beyond Weisse and Schenkel in the elaborate manner in which he deals with the gospel, and in the exact nature of his results. He insists on the Hebraisms in what he considers the Johannine portions, and believes that the fourth evangelist, who is responsible for the gospel as it now stands, was probably an Ephesian disciple of John's. Having laid the foundation in this part, Prof. Wendt will, in the second part of his work, proceed to give a systematic exposition of the teaching of Jesus.

Archdeacon Farrar has largely outgrown the turgid rhetoric which marked so strongly his earlier books, while retaining his strong feeling for the common-place picturesque, which, with his moderate Liberalism, has created for him so large an audience. His Bampton Lectures on the "History of Interpretation"[8] are among the best and most interesting work he has done, largely, perhaps, on account of the freshness of the subject. The history of the exegesis of the Bible is one of peculiar psychological interest, needing much more attention than could be bestowed on it in this volume. Within the eight

[7] "Die Lehre Jesu." Von Dr. H. H. Wendt, ord. Professor der Theologie in Heidelberg. Erster Theil. Die Evangelischen Quellenberichte über die Lehre Jesu. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck. 1886.

[8] "History of Interpretation. Bampton Lectures for 1885." By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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regulation lectures of the series, after a preliminary lecture on the success and failure of exegesis, Archdeacon Farrar divides his subject into Rabbinic Exegesis, Alexandrian Exegesis, Patristic Exegesis, Scholastic Exegesis, Reformers, Post-Reformation Epoch, and Modern Exegesis. Among the most satisfactory sections are those dealing with Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, Jerome, Nicholas of Lyra, and Calvin. A very large, but perhaps not too large, amount of space is given to Philo, but other distinguished writers—Cornelius à Lapide, for instance, and Calmet—are passed by without notice. The account of Scholastic Exegesis is remarkably well done. The last lecture on Modern Exegesis is certainly the worst—the most unsatisfactory and the most careless. Archdeacon Farrar is compelled to look upon the whole movement of Biblical criticism since Strauss as a reaction, something analogous to the Counter-Reformation; and although there is truth in this view of the case, it is a sadly one-sided way of dealing with the great modern developments of Biblical criticism, and only culminates in a glorification of the respectable mediocrities of the English Broad Church school. In speaking of Strauss's "Leben Jesu" (which he rather inconsistently calls a "deadly attack upon the centre of Christian faith"), he falls back into the old style of florid declamation: "But one more of the many waves which have dashed themselves in vain upon the rock, and been scattered into mist upon the wind and scum upon the shore;" and he asserts his own view, according to which the Bible is not "the sole source of revelation, but rather the record of its progressive development." But it is not quite clear what this progressive revelation means; it seems clearly allied to that doctrine of "accommodation" concerning which, in more than one place, Archdeacon Farrar uses very severe language. He has taken as the motto of his book a sentence of Jerome's, but the impression left on the reader's mind is better summed up in the keen saying of a later day:—

> Hoc liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quisque,
> Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua.

It is remarkable how deeply Herbert Spencer's philosophy has penetrated recent orthodox theology; perhaps because, as a recent orthodox writer has remarked, one who accepts Spencer's "Mysterious Something which lies behind the forces of the universe" might be presumed to accept in time the more explicit language of the Bible. In any case, the fact is unquestionable, and a striking example is furnished by Dr. Cunningham, who, in his able Croall Lectures on "The Growth of the Church,"[9] boldly claims for the Church a niche in the system of evolution, and endeavours to trace the ecclesiastical organism, as "a microscopic, almost structureless, mass," in its progress from the indefinite, the incoherent, and the homogeneous, to the

[9] "The Growth of the Church in its Organization and Institutions. Croall Lectures for 1886." By John Cunningham, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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definite, the coherent, and the heterogenous, under the influence of its environment. He even speaks of "fœtal Christian meetings;" and reverses old-fashioned Church history, according to which the primitive Apostolic Churches were perfect, looking upon them as "rudimentary, unorganized, incomplete," or, as he says again, "they were like the *amœba*—they had as much consistency as kept them together and considerable power of movement, but they had no specialization of function or structure—the lowest form of organized life." He even founds an argument on evolution: "If bishops be the descendants of apostles, the law of evolution does not hold—there is deterioration and not development." The lectures are not so fanciful as these fragments of Spencerian philosophy might lead the reader to expect. They show considerable power of lucid exposition, and the style is always swift, bright, and vivacious, so that even the dull controversy concerning the claim of bishops to apostolical succession becomes interesting and even lively. Dr. Cunningham is not afraid to pun, even on the ἰδιοτικους ψαλμοὺς of the early Christians. "The probability is that many of them were idiotic." He has a healthy dislike of what, by a rather abstruse metaphor, he calls "smoke-dried dogmatism," and his chief interest in controversies "arose from their being instances of evolution." He traces the ecclesiastic organism through its five stages of Individualism, Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, Episcopalianism, and Papalism. We thus reach the conclusion—which looks as if it ought to be awkward—that Papalism is the most perfect development of the Church; but Dr. Cunningham does not shrink from this conclusion, although he here seems to supplement his theory of evolution by a theory of dissolution. He is, however, very tolerant; every Church has done, and is doing, good in its own place and time. "And so may God prosper all!" One of the most interesting lectures is the last, on the History of Sunday Observance. Dr. Cunningham does not fail to point out that the Jewish Sabbath was for the most part a day given up to joyousness, to feasting and dancing, and that in Scotland itself Sabbatarianism is a fungous growth of yesterday, since even after the Reformation the people delighted in "Robin Hood" and other plays on Sunday.

Dr. Milligan is a Presbyterian of a more orthodox type.[10] The Revelation stands far above any other book of the New Testament, both as regards its structure and its diction. But it has long been felt that "the road to the New Jerusalem lies beside the madhouse," and the beauty and noble eloquence of this book have, in most people's eyes, been buried beneath a strange mountain of absurd and contradictory intrepretation. While, however, it stands so high as a work of art, it is deficient in "spiritual" power, and it has been systematically neglected as well by Chrysostom, with his subtle homiletical perceptions, and many of the Fathers, as by Luther, Calvin, and later

[10] "The Revelation of St. John." By W. Milligan, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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Protestants. Dr. Milligan abjures the old Protestant superstition according to which the Babylonian harlot is the Church of Rome; she is merely, he thinks, the degenerate Church in general. He is shocked at the notions of previous writers, who have asserted that the Apocalypse is concerned with the red stockings of Roman Cardinals, the horse-tails worn by Turkish Pashas, and Sir Robert Peel's motion in 1841 of want of confidence in the Whig Ministry. He asserts, however, that The Revelation deals with the whole history of the Christian Church down to that mysterious event, commonly called the "Second Coming," but within this period with "great principles and not special incidents"—a safe and admirable distinction. He entirely rejects the Neronian theory, accepts the Apostolic authorship, and places the date as late as the close of the reign of Domitian, A.D. 95 or 96. On all these points he is, as he is aware, at variance with the main body of recent scholarship. He writes modestly, and his criticism is often acute.

Mr. Evans has published a series of Appendices[11] to his attempted demonstration—we beg pardon, "irrefragable scientific proof"—of St. Paul's authorship of the Third Gospel of The Acts. This is accomplished by bringing together with much labour parallel words and phrases, which are thus, he remarks, "(to borrow a quaint expression from the vocabulary of the late gifted, misguided, lamented Professor Clifford)—they are thus specimens of 'mind-stuff.'" Incidentally, Mr. Evans introduces an analogy between Paul and Ezra, founded on twenty-one parallels, such as "Ezra was a devout and prayerful Jew; St. Paul was a devout and prayerful Jew. Ezra was a unique personage in point of position; St. Paul was a unique personage in point of position;" and so on. Mr. Evans's style is of that slashing decisive kind, characteristic of ancient controversy, which used to be called "trenchant," but which is somewhat musty at a time when critics of the Bible, learning that there is development in the science of criticism as in other sciences, are also learning humility. One gathers that there is not a single fact that makes against Mr. Evans's hypothesis; he even founds an argument for Paul's authorship on the *diss*imilarity of the style of The Acts from that of the Apostle's recognized writings, because, of course, St. Paul would not write history in the same way as he wrote epistles. It is true that many very respectable authorities have accounted for the unquestionable points of contact by the theory that the writer of The Acts was a disciple of St. Paul's, but, as Mr. Evans energetically concludes: "So much the worse for those very respectable authorities."

Dean Church's "Advent Sermons"[12] are, as we expect from him, sound in style and refined in sentiment; they are not otherwise noteworthy. Dr. Cazenove's four short lectures[13] contain a temperate and concise

[11] "St. Paul, the Author of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Third Gospel." By H. H. Evans, B.A. Second Part. London: Wyman & Sons. 1886.

[12] "Advent Sermons, 1885." By R. W. Church. London: Macmillan. 1886.

[13] "Historic Aspects of the *à priori* Argument, concerning the Being and At-

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statement of the old scholastic *d priori* argument for the existence of a God, with its modifications at the hands of Descartes, Clarke, and W. H. Gillespie. He does not seriously face Kant's treatment of the question. From the Cambridge University Press come the Divyâvadâna collection of early Buddhist legends,[14] carefully edited, for the first time, from the Nepalese Sanskrit MSS., in Cambridge and Paris; a prize essay on Prayer[15] according to the New Testament belongs to the school of Liberal theology. In Dean Howson's papers on the diaconate of women[16] (prefaced by a short biography), he expresses the opinion that he is dealing with the religious side of "a kind of revolution"—the woman's question—which, "on the whole, I believe to be a most healthy and most Christian revolution." The Unitarian theology of "The Prophet of Nazareth and His Message,"[17] is broad, simple, and homely, in genuine accordance with its motto—"In things essential, unity; in things non-essential, liberty; in all things, charity." Mr. Rendall's "Theology of the Hebrew Christians"[18] is an attempt by an orthodox writer "to realize the position and feelings of Hebrew Christians in Apostolic times as the natural result of their two-fold religious education." "The Story of Jeremiah"[19] is very tamely written, but it is in general outline fairly up to the level of modern scholarship. Mrs. Penny's brief introduction[20] to the "teacher from whom Sir Isaac Newton learned secrets of physical nature, and Hegel a whole transformation of German philosophy," may be helpful to the novice, though even at the outset he must familiarize himself with such conceptions as that of the "Corporeity of the Holy Ternary, the delight and playfellow of the Most High." In connection with this "Great Mysterium Magnum," or "Maternal Principle in Deity," it was taught that "the Word had become man, but that when it made itself woman, then the world would be saved"—a belief, we learn, "which some of our contemporaries warmly advocate at the present time."

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tributes of God. Honyman-Gillespie Lectures for 1884." By J. G. Cazenove, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

[14] "The Divyâvadâna." Edited by E. B. Cowell, M.A., and R. A. Neil, M.A., Cambridge. 1886.

[15] "Die Lehre vom Gebet nach dem Neuen Testament." Von der Haager Gesellschaft zur Vertheidigung der Christlichen Religion Gekrönte Preisschrift. Von Paul Christ. Leiden: Brill. 1886.

[16] "The Diaconate of Women in the Anglican Church." By the Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D. London: Nisbet. 1886.

[17] "The Prophet of Nazareth and His Message." By the Rev. Alfred Hood. London: Swan Sonnenschein. 1886.

[18] "Theology of the Hebrew Christians." By F. Rendall, A.M. London: Macmillan. 1886.

[19] "The Story of Jeremiah and his Times." By Harriet M. Johnson. London: Sunday School Association. 1886.

[20] "An Introduction to the Study of Boehme's Writings." By A. J. Penny. Reprinted from "Light and Life." Glasgow: Dunn & Wright. 1886.

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PHILOSOPHY.

THE second volume of Professor Green's Works[1] consists of selections from his unpublished philosophical papers. "It was his practice," the editor says, "both as college tutor and as professor, to write out and keep full notes from most of his lectures. These were re-written and amplified from time to time, and in some cases developed into tolerably finished compositions. In making selections from them it has been thought advisable not to include anything written before 1874, the date of the 'Introductions to Hume' (see vol. i.). The earlier drafts, though by no means devoid of interest, are for the most part superseded by those which are here printed; and where this is not the case, the more careful composition of the latter seems to show that they contained the writer's maturest views." With a few unimportant exceptions, the manuscripts have been printed without change of form or expression. In cases where the order or connection of passages was not obvious, the editor has had to exercise his discretion. He is also responsible for the division into sections, the table of contents, and the notes and insertions in brackets. The contents of the volume are "Lectures on the Philosophy of Kant" (I., The Critique of Pure Reason; II., The Metaphysic of Ethics); "Lectures on Logic" (I., The Logic of the Formal Logicians; II., The Logic of J. S. Mill); "On the Different Senses of Freedom, as applied to Will and to the Moral Progress of Man" (pp. 308-333); "Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation" (pp. 335-553). Those who, from Green's previously published works, already know something of his metaphysics will turn with most curiosity to the latter part of the present volume. It will be found that the last series of lectures, although unfinished, is an extremely important contribution to political philosophy. These "Lectures," like the "Introductions" to Hume, are very much more than the titles indicate, having assumed the form of an elaborately reasoned treatise rather than of ordinary lectures. They begin with a discussion of "the grounds of political obligation." After this come sections devoted to criticism of Spinoza, Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. Then the theory of "sovereignty," and of the rights of the State over the individual, and of the individual against the State are discussed. Green's general doctrine is "that the claim or right of the individual to have certain powers secured to him by society, and the counter-claim of society to exercise certain powers over the individual, alike rest on the fact that these powers are necessary to the fulfilment of man's vocation as a moral being, to an effectual self-devotion to the work of developing the perfect character in himself and others." This, as he points out, is more in agreement

[1] "Works of Thomas Hill Green," late Fellow of Balliol College, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford. Edited by R. L. Nettleship, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Vol. II., Philosophical Works. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

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with the utilitarian doctrine than with the doctrine of absolute "natural rights." The difference is that in place of the greatest sum of pleasures of all individuals as the end is put the moral self-realization of the individual in society. This does not mean that the State should directly promote moral self-realization, but only that it should aim at making it possible for all. A condition of its possibility is that men should be left free voluntarily to seek a good which they have in common with all men (that is, to lead the highest kind of moral life) or not; but no one can claim a "right" except on the ground that the concession of this right is necessary in order to enable him, if he chooses, to fulfil the ethical law of his being. There can be no rights "antecedent to society," but there are rights "antecedent to the State," which the State has for its first function to maintain. "Private rights" —alone treated in detail in the present series of lectures—are of this kind. Afterwards the author would have gone on "to examine in the same way the rights which arise out of the establishment of a State; the rights connected with the several functions of government; how these functions come to be necessary, and how they may best be fulfilled with a view to those moral ends to which the functions of the State are ultimately relative." In order to establish such a general conception as that which has been described, it was necessary to show that rights do not proceed originally from "the sovereign." A distinction is drawn between the sovereign power (whether an individual person or a representative assembly or the whole community meeting together) and "the general will." The sovereign in its coercive functions may be an expression of "the general will" of the society to seek a common good, as it is in every organized "State" properly so called; or it may be purely external in its action on the society, and have nothing to do with its common good, as, for example, in some Eastern empires, where it has been merely a tax-collecting and recruit-raising agency. In this last case the common good, so far as it is attained at all, is attained by a system of hereditary customs, and by such governmental organization as is present in separate villages. But here, as in the former case, the common good can only be attained by means of some mutual recognition of rights; at least of the "private rights" that have reference to life and liberty, property, and the family. Thus, "will (*i.e.*, the will to attain a common good), not power, is the basis of the State." This is not to be taken as implying one theory rather than another of the origin of States. What is asserted is the philosophical proposition that the State exists for the sake of an ethical good, not the historical proposition that the desire for this good has been the motive power in the actual formation of States. But it is implied that even the most personal motives of those who have taken part in the building up of States have been conditioned by their membership of society, and by their having, as far as they were able to produce any permanent effect, to work for the good of society, although not necessarily in a perfectly disinterested manner. In what sense the ethical end of which political institutions are the condition is to be understood when it is regarded as an object of direct pursuit by the

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individual, may be learnt from the lectures on "The Different Senses of Freedom."

An illustration of the intellectual "solidarity" of Europe is furnished by the appearance of the first volume of a work on "The Philosophy of Law,"[2] by Professor L. Miraglia, of Naples, written from a point of view almost identical with that of Professor Green. The scope of the volume is the same as that of Green's lectures on Political Philosophy; being, first, to establish the idea of "rights" on a philosophical foundation, and then to discuss in greater detail "private rights." The foundation selected is, as with Green, the idea of society and of the State as conditions of the attainment of an ethical good. This idea is held by both writers to be essentially the Greek idea of the State as it was formulated by Aristotle and in modern times restored by Hegel. Before Hegel it had found expression in the writings of Vico; and to Vico, as much as to Hegel, Professor Miraglia attaches the exposition of his own doctrines. In particular, he accepts Vico's account of "the philosophy of law" as consisting in a certain combination of philosophy (that is, scientific or rational principles) with philology (in a generalized sense, including all that is now understood by anthropology, as well as history proper, not merely the grammatical study of languages). "Morals" and "Law" are to be regarded as parts of one general science of "Ethics." Of these, law is the realm of "external freedom," morals of "internal freedom." Along with exposition the book contains much criticism of writers of widely different schools.

Mr. W. L. Courtney's book[3] makes us inclined to say to Hegelianism that it is beginning to bore us with its Universal Self-consciousness. This is not the fault of Hegelianism, however. Mr. Courtney seems more concerned to be an orthodox Hegelian than to have anything original to say; but we are not sure that he has succeeded in his intention to be philosophically orthodox. If he will look up Green on the relation of the ideas of obligation and end, he will probably find that the doctrine expounded in "Constructive Ethics" is not strictly Hegelian. The title, "Constructive Ethics," it must be remarked, is a little misleading. It is explained in the preface, however, to mean only that a volume which is really constructive will follow this, which is entirely critical. The moralists criticized are English moralists from Hobbes to Mr. Spencer and Mr. Leslie Stephen; Kant, and his successors (Jacobi, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel); and the pessimists. We find it really impossible to say what there is distinctive about the book. The style is readable enough in a way, but will not bear close

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[2] "Filosofia del Diritto." Di Luigi Miraglia, Professore ordinario di Diritto nella R. Università di Napoli. Volume Primo. Parte generale—Diritto privato. Napoli: Tipografia e Stereotipia della Regia Università. 1885.

[3] "Constructive Ethics. A Review of Modern Moral Philosophy in its three stages of Interpretation, Criticism, and Reconstruction." By W. L. Courtney, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of New College, Oxford, Author of "The Metaphysics of John Stuart Mill," and "Studies in Philosophy." London: Chapman & Hall. 1886.

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analysis. It is only fair to quote a passage as a specimen. The author is proving—

If proof were needed, that ethics, at all events, will not be satisfied with a purely critical treatment. For ethics has the power to lead us out of the phenomenal into the real, and its problems end by transporting us straight into the arcana of metaphysics. Its problems are essentially problems of consciousness, to begin with: they deal with internal, subjective factors like will, conscience, motive, and responsibility. Then come the questions as to the personality, and its relation to the world at large, the torturing problem of the relation of the finite to the infinite, of the individual to the absolute. And finally the discovery that unless ethics is based on some form of ontology—whether matter or spirit, absolute self-consciousness or absolute unconsciousness, will or idea—the whole of our ethical science is floating in the air, a bubble with all the colours of the rainbow but still a bubble, a vast luxuriance of branches and leaves and flowers which have no trunk to support them or root to nourish" (p. 13).

In reviewing Mr. Seth's book on "Scottish Philosophy" last January, we asked the question why there should not be an English Hegelian "Left." The aspiration that was then breathed has not been in vain. The eternal idea of English Hegelian Left has descended into the world of appearances under the form of a "Handbook of the History of Philosophy,"[4] by Mr. E. Belfort Bax. Mr. Bax's "Handbook" is intended to introduce the English student, hitherto nourished on Empiricism, to the more speculative German conception of Philosophy. For this purpose it seems to be in some respects well adapted. The author is interested in philosophy itself, in metaphysics, more than in the group of subjects known as "the philosophical sciences," which have been more cultivated in England. He has included the chief names of philosophy from the beginning of speculation to the present time; and his treatment is pretty impartial. In speaking of the state of contemporary English philosophy, he expresses the opinion that "the Neo-Hegelians, even if they have not said the last word on the speculative problem, are by far the most important school existing at present." "There is one point," however, on which he "would like to hear an explanation from one of the authoritative leaders of the more pronouncedly Right wing of the school—that is, as to the theological terminology affected." His own opinion about theology is clear enough; and he expresses it quite candidly. The following passage explains why we have classed him as of the Hegelian Left:

If the Real be simply a system of logical determinations alone, if its totality is exhausted in the Logical; if in its leading momenta, the formal is their determining side, then the philosophical-theistic and free-will theory of the Hegelians of the Right is established: if, on the other hand, consciousness is not creative; if the Logical necessarily involves an alogical element, and it is this alogical element which determines which is the δύναμις in the production of the experienced world, then we have discovered the root-meaning of the

[4] "A Handbook of the History of Philosophy. For the use of Students." By Ernest Belfort Bax, Editor of "Kant's Prolegomena," &c., Author of "Jean Paul Marat; a Historico-biographical Sketch," &c. London: George Bell & Sons. 1886.

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protest of the Left wing of the Hegelian school against the theistic and idealistic guise in which the doctrine was presented by the conservative side . . . . The hypostasis of the formal moment which has so long dominated the speculative world then disappears. The ultimate principle of "Theory of Knowledge," or philosophy, the science which alone deals with first principles properly so called, is no longer "Consciousness," or thought as such, but the alogical subject which determines itself as *conscious*, which is the *materia prima* of consciousness. A little reflection, we think, will enable the student to see that this initial change of attitude shifts (so to speak) our point of view throughout every department of thought. The material rather than the formal henceforth becomes the determining moment in the synthesis of all and every *reality*. Thus (the author adds in a note) nature is self-determining and not determined *ab extra* by its mere formal moment which constitutes what we term "natural law" (pp. 350–1).

There is one question that we should like to ask in concluding. Why does Mr. Bax adopt the pedantic system of transliterating Greek names? Or, if he must be pedantic, why is he not consistently so? If it is "Proklos," why should it not be "Plotinos?" Is it because transliteration does not seem to be genuine unless there is a "k" somewhere?

We now pass from the Hegelians to the Evolutionists. Mr. Lloyd Morgan explains the purpose of his book, "The Springs of Conduct,"[5] as follows:—

> My object in writing this volume has been to provide such of the general public as have the appetite and digestion for this kind of mental food-stuff with some account of the teachings of the modern philosophy of evolution in the matter of science and conduct. The book makes no pretension to be a scientific treatise; but at the same time, I would fain hope that it breathes the scientific spirit. It propounds no final system of philosophy, and yet I trust that neither philosophy nor system are wholly absent. It lays no claim to originality, but still I hope it may show some signs of individual assimilation. It is throughout tolerably plainspoken, and yet it has been my sincere desire to avoid giving offence to any.

The impression made by the book as a whole is very well described by the author's phrase, "mental food-stuff." Some readers may be disposed to complain that there is so little sack to that intolerable deal of bread; but then it is not every writer who gives us bread; and if Mr. Morgan is not often original (as he does not profess to be), he is, at any rate, fully justified in claiming that his book shows "signs of individual assimilation."

There is no want of stimulating quality in Vernon Lee's "Book of Dialogues,"[6] and there is always a solid basis of thought. The interest of the dialogues is not so much in the views inculcated by Baldwin, the chief speaker in all of them (although these, too, are interesting), as in the literary presentation of types of intellectual

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[5] "The Springs of Conduct: An Essay in Evolution." By C. Lloyd Morgan. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1885.

[6] "Baldwin: being Dialogues on Views and Aspirations." By Vernon Lee, Author of "Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy," "Euphorion," "Miss Brown," &c. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1886.

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character, and in the thoughts about life that are carried to their logical conclusions by the different characters. Here is Baldwin's description of himself: "A creature troubled with the desire to create, yet able only to criticize; consumed (which is worse) with the desire to affirm, yet condemned to deny; a life spent in being repelled by the exaggerations of one's friends, and attracted by the seeming moderation of one's enemies, in taking exception in the midst of assent: secpticism in a nature that desires to believe and rely, intellectual isolation for a man who loves to be borne along by the current—an unsatisfactory state of affairs, yet to me the only one conceivable." Vernon Lee admits that she often sympathizes with her other characters more than with Baldwin, and, although agreeing with him, sometimes dislikes him. We are nearly of the same mind. We find the Voltairean Rheinhardt and the artistic pessimist Marcel, for example, more alive and interesting than the didactic Baldwin with his evolutionist ethics. "I can't make out our friend Baldwin," says one of the characters in the dialogue "On Novels;" "he is too strangely compounded of a scientific thinker, a moralist, and an æsthete; and each of the three component parts is always starting up when you expect one of the others." Of these component parts it seems to us that the moralist predominates. Baldwin looks at everything from the ethical point of view; and since the non-ethical points of view are sometimes alone appropriate, Baldwin is sometimes wrong. The other characters of the dialogues are more interesting, because in their different ways they represent "the free play of mind," while Baldwin always speaks under a sense of moral responsibility. But instead of taking the part of devil's advocate against Baldwin (as we should rather like) we will quote a passage from the first dialogue:

"Be that as it may," continued Vere, "my meaning is simply this. The world which surrounds us is not everything; the faculties with which we perceive it enter for just as large a share into our life; and this action is as much a reality as is a stone or a bench outside us. The world exists around us in a certain definite way, and with certain definite necessities, which we may find out by trying, as we find out that the stick plunged in water is not crooked, as it looks to our eye, and that the sun which seems to go round our earth does nothing of the sort; in the really existing universe, the objective universe, there is death and inevitable decay, and there is, as it seems to you and me and Rheinhardt, a cruel and conscienceless will, or no will at all, and, as an end to all our efforts, there is annihilation. But besides the outwardly existing there is the inwardly existing, our faculties, which act in a given way, reconstructing this outward world; and in this universe thus reconstructed by our mind and our conscience there is no real death, no evil will or indifferent omnipotence; above all, there is no annihilation. It is false, you will say; but is it false if, according to the laws of our sight, the stick plunged in the water is crooked? Would it not rather be false were we, because experience has taught us that the stick is straight, to cease to see it as crooked?"

"I see," put in Rheinhardt, who loved metaphysics as he loved a French comedy; "and the fact that all have faculties which make us see sticks which are straight as crooked when plunged in the water, is an obvious proof that somewhere or other there must exist a world in which all straight sticks really

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do become crooked when held under water. The theory is not new, but it has the charm of eternal freshness."

Dr. Koegel's small volume (138 pp.) on "Lotze's Æsthetics"[7] is chiefly expository; but the author's work has not been without difficulty, since he has had to give systematic form to views that Lotze had nowhere completely systematized himself. The significance of Lotze seems to the author to be this, that he was the precursor of modern psychological æsthetics, and yet at the same time gave an adumbration of the genuinely philosophical treatment of art for which its psychological treatment is only the preparation.

Mr. Shadworth Hodgson's latest Address as President of the Aristotelian Society[8] is both a clear presentation of the leading principles of the author's philosophy in their relations to science and ordinary experience, and full of interest and suggestion in detail. To do more than give this general indication would take us too far into the matters discussed.

The Rev. M. Harvey, while admitting that "the pessimist can readily find a certain justification of his views in the many dark and discouraging facts of human existence," still believes "there are ample grounds for holding human progress to be a grand reality." To show that this is so is the object of these "Lectures,"[9] the substance of which was "originally delivered as an Athenæum lecture before a popular audience." There are four Appendices, the titles of which are "Opinions of Eminent Theologians who accept Evolution"; "Progress and Survival of the Fittest"; "Aspects of Pessimism"; and "The Poet Laureate's New Poem" ("Vastness").

We have received also a book called "Problems in Philosophy,"[10] which, the author says, "may seem to be constructed on the idea of gathering up the fragments that nothing may be lost"; a reprint from the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1885, of an article on Professor Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World"[11]; Part III. of Miss Hennell's "Comparative Ethics;"[12] a Lecture on "Energy," by Mr. W. F.

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[7] "Lotze's Æsthetik." Von Fritz Koegel, Dr. Phil. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1886.

[8] "Philosophy and Experience." An Address delivered before the Aristotelian Society, October 26, 1885. [Being the Annual Presidential Address for the Seventh Session of the Society.] By Shadworth H. Hodgson, Honorary LL.D. Edin., Honorary Fellow of C.C.C. Oxford, President. London: Williams & Norgate. 1885.

[9] "Whence are we, and Whither Tending?" Three Lectures on the Reality and Worth of Human Progress. By the Rev. M. Harvey, Author of "Newfoundland—the Oldest British Colony," &c. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

[10] "Problems in Philosophy." By John Bascom, Author of "Science of Mind," "Growth and Grades of Intelligence," &c. New York and London: J. P. Putnam's Sons. 1885.

[11] "Are the Natural and Spiritual Worlds one in Law?" By George F. Magoun, D.D., Iowa College.

[12] "Comparative Ethics, III. Moral Principle in Regard to Parenthood." [Present Religion, Vol. III.] By Sara S. Hennell, Author of "Thoughts in Aid of Faith," &c. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

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Bassett, M.R.C.S. Eng. (Bathurst, New South Wales)[13]; and a pamphlet by Mr. A. P. Sinnett, directed against a Report on Theosophy, by Mr. Richard Hodgson, recently published by the Psychical Research Society.[14]

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

A NEW book by the author of the "Creed of Science"[1] is sure to meet with favourable consideration—all the more, perhaps, because in it Professor Graham attacks directly what he had only, as it were, skirmished with in one of the chapters of his former work, namely, the great permanent problem of the age, commonly called the Social Problem. This problem, old as Plato and older, is once more pressing for solution.

The consciousness of the masses is becoming awakened to their social condition, and a rooted feeling is growing up amongst them that wealth, which is mainly the creation of those who toil and spin, is unjustly distributed. This social discontent, this newly awakened consciousness, is not due solely to poverty, which has always been with us, nor yet to agitators, who are themselves but "the distributors (often with much adulteration) of the thoughts" of other minds. It is due in part to the diffusion of education, but in the last resort it is the work of the philosophers and thinkers of all ages, and especially of the modern prophets from Rousseau to Carlyle, "whose mission it was to raise this redoubtable question"; and in the fact that the modern school of prophets are leaving metaphysical questions and turning their attention to the condition of man on earth, Mr. Graham finds the best hope of a true and wise solution of the problem.

The social question shades into the larger question of the general distribution of wealth, at the root of which lies the question, What is a just wage? Accordingly, after a slight sketch of the history of the problem in modern times, so as to show how the chief issues have been raised, Mr. Graham reviews the actual distribution of wealth in its economic aspect and discusses in a very lucid manner the influence of Trades Unions on the wages of labour.

In passing under review the various sharers in the annual produce of the country, Mr. Graham deals leniently with the fundholder "as a necessary and legitimate consequence of private property," and

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[13] "Energy; or Thoughts on Inductive Reasoning in its Bearing on Natural Religion." Bathurst: Glyndwr Whalan. 1886.

[14] "The Occult World Phenomena, and the Society for Psychical Research." By A. P. Sinnett, Author of "The Occult World," "Esoteric Buddhism," &c. With a Protest by Madame Blavatsky. London: George Redway. 1886.

[1] "The Social Problem: in its Economical, Moral, and Political Aspects." By William Graham, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

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deprecates the fashion of socialist agitators in "bracketing together landlords and fundholders as alike living on the labour and sweat of others."

We do not understand Mr. Graham as deliberately justifying the application of this description to either class of property holder, but he implies a distinction which in our opinion his arguments do not sustain. In fact, Mr. Graham has in view only those landowners whose ancestors acquired their estates "by force, fraud, or royal gift, &c."; but if we are always to inquire how private property was originally obtained, the fundholder's capital would not always appear untainted. Surely prescription applies in the one case as much as in the other.

Mr. Graham next describes the great industrial revolution of the last hundred years, the extinction of the small producer, the rise and supremacy of the capitalist, "when a conquest more important than the Norman was completed, a system more universal than the Feudal was introduced"; a revolution at first economical and industrial, but in the sequel political and social, which "perhaps for the last time has enabled a few to rise on the shoulders of the many and reduced the mass of mankind to subjection." Next, the origin of the individualistic instinct and of the institution of private property is treated, and finally the remedies, general and special, of the social disease are considered. At this point Mr. Graham eloquently enlarges upon the terrible antinomy between the fact that Iago's advice, "put money in thy purse," is "the lowest and most vulgarizing life-theory ever put before the children of men," and the equally certain fact that extreme poverty is a genuine hell. Out of this contradiction there is only one way. We shall have to change our conception of life and concurrently therewith the laws of property. We must make a sort of moral revaluation of the general objects of men's pursuits, and, with a view to the mitigation of the present gross inequality of wealth, we must alter the laws respecting the acquisition and ownership of things. The principle of private property must be preserved, but the rights of the possessor must be curtailed and his obligations increased. In a word, we must take certain steps towards Socialism or Communism. We must adopt the policy of "ransom," or, to use the fitter word, reparation, as against the present representatives of classes which have committed wrong in the past. We must multiply taxes on inheritances, increase the land tax, and appropriate unearned increments of rent. There are only two courses open to society, real reform or revolution, for the third course, *laisser faire*, has been found impossible. A democratic community no longer moves from *status* to contract, but rather in the reverse direction. Of the more special remedies, those favoured by Mr. Graham are: The spread of education, the furtherance of co-operative production by means of capital lent by the State, as Lassalle proposed, the extension of profit-sharing as a stepping-stone to true co-operation, and the wide diffusion of land by the creation (again with State aid) of peasant proprietors and holders of allotments. Next, certain heroic remedies are examined and found wanting. These are the land nationalization schemes of Mr. George

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and Professor Wallace, and the more sweeping collectivism of the Social Democratic Federation. This latter could only be brought about after a revolution, and even if this were successful, Messrs. Hyndman, Morris, and Belfort Bax, "the triune deity" of the revolutionists, would have a task beyond mortal power in the reorganization of the industrial and social order. They would have to unmake and remake human nature. Finally, there is the anarchism of Bakunin, with the amorphous commune for ideal. The madness of this scheme is not so much in the end in view—"A peaceful idyllic vision seen across the stormy sky of destruction"—as in the supposition that this end could be reached by force. It will thus be seen that Professor Graham has no one solution for the social problem, and that he condemns as iniquitous or impracticable all the heroic remedies that have been proposed. He has perhaps more faith in the efficacy for good of State aid than is warranted by past experience; but he is quite ready to admit, or rather he most eloquently insists, that the most important reform of all has to be wrought in the mind and heart of man. Though the grammatical purist may often detect a fault in Mr. Graham's literary style, yet it has a freshness and vigour of its own which is in harmony with the strength and originality of the thought it clothes. We congratulate Professor Graham on having produced a work which is never dull, and which contains food for deepest reflection.

Few writers have done more to enlighten English readers as to the internal condition of Russia and the hopes and aims of the revolutionary party than "Stepniak." In the new volume which he has just published under the title of "The Russian Storm Cloud,"[2] consisting mainly of articles that have already appeared in magazines, he deals not only with the internal condition of Russia, but also with her relations to Europe. As we might have expected, he attributes her aggressiveness to her autocratic form of government. The Russian people are naturally—*i.e.*, under normal conditions—an extremely peaceful people, averse to war, gentle and industrial. But "Stepniak," somewhat inconsistently, admits that there is another and more potent reason—the necessity of obtaining new foreign markets for the growing industrial activity of the country; and it is not apparent in what way autocracy is responsible for this need, or how any other form of government could satisfy it by less objectionable methods. It may be that, as "Stepniak" asserts, "Russia is a bureaucratic oligarchy, slavishly serving a commercial oligarchy," and that the interests of other classes of the community are sacrificed to the merchant class. But this has been, or is, equally true of most other European countries in the present century, and the abolition of autocracy is not likely to change it. "Stepniak" labours to prove that the revolutionists are much more moderate and reasonable than they are generally supposed to be. They do not even want to destroy monarchy, provided the

[2] "The Russian Storm Cloud; or, Russia in her Relations to Neighbouring Countries." By Stepniak. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

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Tzars consent to accept the position of a constitutional monarch, giving the people genuine representative institutions, with adequate powers of self-government. The Nihilist terrorism is the outcome of police tyranny, and the denial of every legitimate means of ventilating grievances. The *conditio sine quâ non* of the terrorism is the existence of "illegal men" as they are called in Russia—men who are outlawed because they have fallen under the suspicion of the police, perhaps for no better reason than that some of their relatives have already been suspected. "Stepniak's" account of these "illegal men" and the life they lead is extremely interesting, and throws a flood of light on the strange phenomenon of Nihilism.

He has a great deal to say about the coming revolution, analyzing the revolutionary elements, and the influences it has to contend against. It will not be a rising of the peasantry, he thinks, but of the towns; and the military element must be won over to the cause before it can hope to succeed. At present the strength of the revolution lies in the landed gentry, who, ruined by the emancipation of the serfs, are crowding into literary and professional careers where there is no room for them, and forming an intellectual proletariat—the most fertile source of revolutionary ideas. Imbued with the Western conception of liberty, idle because there is no work for them, pinched in consequence for means of living, and harassed beyond endurance by police interference, it would indeed be strange if they did not brood over means of ameliorating their condition, and be willing to risk all for the chance of winning the rights of free men for their fellow-subjects. But "Stepniak" does not lead us to expect any great success for his party in the immediate future. The mass is not yet leavened. When at last the revolution has done its work, the Russian Empire, he thinks, will resolve itself into a number of autonomous States. Even Poland will not seek more than "Home Rule." These essays must have a rather cooling effect on ardent revolutionists, and may serve also to allay many wild apprehensions amongst those who dread disorder.

Readers of Mr. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty"[3] are aware that the writer is not wanting in self-confidence. His new book on "Protection for Free Trade" shows no falling off in this respect. He undertakes to "harmonize the truths which free-traders perceive with the facts that to protectionists make their own theory plausible"; and he believes that he has "opened ground upon which those separated by seemingly irreconcilable differences of opinion may unite for that full application of the free-trade principle which would secure both the largest production, and the fairest distribution of wealth." After this promising exordium, it is rather disappointing to find that the resolution of this discord is the old "simple yet sovereign remedy" of his former work, the confiscation of the whole income arising from land by a tax on land values. Though the abolition of protection would greatly increase the production of wealth, it would be no per-

[3] "Protection, or Free Trade." By Henry George. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

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manent benefit to the working classes. "So long," he says, "as the land on which all must live is made the property of some, increase of productive power can only increase the tribute which those who own the land can demand for its use." Until Mr. George establishes the justice of his remedy it is hardly worth while to consider afresh its alleged efficacy.

We are not amongst those who think that patriotism is dead, or contemporary politics particularly degenerate. "Weak, piping times of peace" are not favourable to the display of heroic patriotism; but we see no reason for supposing that the sentiment is less strong and healthy, less capable of bearing noble fruit, than it has ever been. The practical working of our system of government leaves much to be desired when judged by any ideal standard of political philosophy, and much at which every practical reformer of earnest purpose must chafe. But we take leave to doubt whether, considering the necessary limitations imposed by the fundamental conditions of representative government, there is any reason to complain of the general result as we see it in English politics of the present day, or any ground for maintaining that we are not steadily advancing towards a purer and more intelligent administration of national affairs, in spite of frequent blunders, in spite of petty rivalries and discreditable jealousies. Mr. Sydney Williams,[4] we presume, does not agree with us, though we cannot make this out very clearly. He is discontented with party government, yet he "does not urge its abolition." He is "concerned only to show that the institution is very far from perfect, and capable of great improvement." But who believes in its perfection, or in the perfection of any form of government the world has ever seen or expects to see? As for "improving" it, what rational suggestion has Mr. Williams? Absolutely none beyond a pious wish "to see a little more courage and independence"—a wish shared by all who desire human beings to be nobler and better than they are. There is indeed another suggestion—namely, that one more party should be formed—a neutral party, to hold the balance between existing parties. Would this add to the stability of government? Would it add to the "courage and independence" of the party in power to know that they must shape their policy, not according to their own views, but to suit the views of a minority who hold the scales between themselves and their rivals. In relation to these complaints and suggestions, the events of the last few months are significant. We admit the justice of many of Mr. Williams's complaints, but they are complaints against the frailties of human nature, not against the existing machinery of government. For this reason we think there is little practical benefit to be derived from the study of "Party and Patriotism." Its political morality is unexceptionable, so far as our hurried perusal has allowed us to take note of it; but it carries us only a very little way towards a deeper understanding of the problems of political morality. His

[4] "Party and Patriotism; or, the Degeneracy of Politics." By Sydney E. Williams. London: Swan Sonnenschein, Le Bas & Lowrey. 1886.

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maxims are obvious and trite. No one is likely to deny them, or to see any deeper significance in them by Mr. Williams's aid. His book, is, in fact, a political sermon filled with platitudes, not unwholesome if we regard them as rough approximations, but conveying certainly no new gospel to weary seekers after truth, or eager watchers for a more excellent way of guiding the evolution of political institutions. It is clear that he has founded a good deal of his opinions on the writings of Carlyle, whom he freely quotes. But even this strong meat fails to give nerve and muscle to the feeble, faltering touch of Mr. Sydney Williams. We ought to have said that there is no party bias discoverable in the work. So far the author is rigidly consistent.

"Triumphant Democracy"[8] is a wholesale and undiscriminating glorification of the United States of America, and all that therein is. Most people, in England at least, have a very fair idea of the relative size, wealth, population, &c., of America as compared with other countries, and will learn very little from Mr. Carnegie's superlatives. Mr. Carnegie gushes with "love" and "gratitude" towards the country of his adoption, which, he says, has removed from him "the stigma of inferiority which his native land saw proper to impress upon him at birth." Most people will be puzzled to know what "stigma" his native land (some part of the United Kingdom) could have impressed upon him at birth. Vaccination may occur to some. That, however, appears not to be the meaning of the mysterious sentence we have quoted. We are inclined to think that the clue must be sought in the Dedication, where he describes himself as "denied equality by my native land." This does not, indeed, help us much; but as we read on, he informs us that America has made him "the peer of any human being who draws the breath of life, be he pope, kaiser, priest, or king;" from which we conclude that his grievance against his native land is that she failed to accomplish this remarkable feat. The object of the book appears to be chiefly to teach the English people how immensely inferior in every respect England is to America, and to impress upon them that this inferiority is due to their monarchical form of government. For the accomplishment of the first part of this double task, Mr. Carnegie relies on statistics, which apparently he considers a sufficient test of national superiority; for the second he trusts to his own rhetoric. "I have tried," says he, "to coat the wholesome medicine of facts in the sweetest and purest sugar of fancy at my command. Pray you, open your mouths and swallow it in small doses, and like the sugar even if you detest the pill." We can assure Mr. Carnegie that having taken several doses both large and small, we find the "sugar of fancy" quite delicious, and the "pills" not at all detestable. We say without fear of contradiction that no well regulated British household ought to be without a supply of them.

We should have thought it impossible to make a book on "Railroad

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[8] "Triumphant Democracy; or Fifty Years' March of the Republic." By Andrew Carnegie. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1886.

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Transportation"[6] interesting to any but experts. Mr. Arthur T. Hadley has nevertheless achieved the feat. The secret of his success lies, no doubt, in the fact that his work bears in every line the impress of a strong, clear-seeing mind, practically acquainted with railway management and railway politics in their smallest details as well as their broadest principles, and well read in the history and literature of the subject in all parts of the world. We may remark in passing, that Germany has a very considerable railway literature.

Mr. Hadley deals mainly with the United States branch of the subject, but incidentally he includes Europe and India. He contrasts European, and more particularly English, systems with those of his own country, bringing out very clearly the differences of circumstance and the consequent differences in result in the various countries. His chapters on "The English Railroad System," and "English Railroad Legislation" ought to be read by every one who has anything to do with either. The railway legislation of France and Germany is also briefly but ably sketched. Strange to say, Italy has had the most varied experience of different systems, and has most exhaustively investigated their merits. Consequently from the political and social point of view, Italian railway policy is the most instructive of all. Mr. Hadley discusses with impartiality most, if not all, the questions on which the public appear to be unfairly dealt with by the companies. He is justly severe on abuses, while showing that many practices, such as combination and discriminating rates, are not in themselves unjust or injurious, though often unjustly and injuriously applied. Nothing can be more convincing than his demonstration of the fairness and even economic necessity of such arrangements under certain not uncommon circumstances. It is a pleasure to read this book, because, amongst its other merits, it contains nothing but solid, relevant, well-digested knowledge, useful not only to directors and legislators, but to political economists hardly less.

The Italian translation of Mr. Henry Latchford's "Wit and Wisdom of the English Parliament,"[7] which we do not remember to have seen in the original, is a collection of the most striking scenes that have been enacted in the House of Commons, together with some of the greatest speeches delivered within its walls. But to the English reader by far the most valuable part of the book is the preface by the translator. In it he gives his opinion of contemporary events, and since it is always well to see ourselves as others see us, the mirror Signor Meale holds up may be found instructive. For instance, when dealing with "obstruction," he says, "in any other country a remedy for this evil would soon have been found, but England, who does not readily accept changes on account of her respect for tradition, required

[6] "Railroad Transportation: Its History and Laws." By Arthur T. Hadley, Commissioner of Labour Statistics of the State of Connecticut, Instructor in Political Science in Yale College. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1885.

[7] "Senno e Brio del Parlamento Inglese." By Henry Latchford. Traduzione per Gaetano Meale. Milano: Fratelli Dumolard. 1885.

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some time before deciding to modify her ancient rules." The chapter devoted to Ireland is good throughout, and might be read with advantage by many Englishmen. In it Signor Meale deplores the fact that Mr. Parnell should have become the arbitrator of English politics, setting up and overthrowing Ministers according to his will and pleasure.

The Bar Committee has at last done a work of some public utility. By its orders a sub-committee of eminent conveyancers has recently drawn up and published a report on the subject of Land Transfer,[8] "in view of the fact that both of the chief political parties have announced their intention to promote measures for facilitating the transfer of land." The report consists of three parts. The first gives a historical sketch of recent legislative reforms affecting the common practice of conveyancing. The committee seem well satisfied with the results of these reforms, and suggest that further legislation on the same lines may be desirable. The second part is a very thorough examination of the systems of registration now existing in Great Britain. Every one of these, with perhaps the exception of that at York, has, for one reason or another, turned out a complete failure. Part III. states and examines the principal characteristics of the remedial schemes at present most in favour, and lays down the conditions essential, in its author's opinion, to any beneficial system. The report is remarkably fair and unbiassed. We do not know any other publication that shows so exactly what has been done in recent years, how matters stand at present, and what considerations it is essential to keep in view in any attempt to remedy existing defects.

"The Right of Landed Property in Egypt"[9] might more correctly be entitled "The Obligations of Owners and Occupiers of Land." It deals chiefly with the different kinds of tenure by which different lands are held, and the corresponding taxes to which they are liable. The subject is highly complicated, and not easy to master without considerable study; but this little work is a serious attempt to give an intelligible account of the land systems of Egypt, concerning which little is known and still less has been written.

We have received the second volume of Mr. Macleod's "Theory and Practice of Banking,"[10] Fourth edition. The work is so well known we need hardly do more than chronicle the appearance of the new edition.

Why the author of the "Wealth of Households"[11] should have chosen that title for a treatise on the general principles of political economy, we cannot tell. We expected to find practical hints for housekeepers. Instead of that, we have a treatise which aims at ex-

[8] "Land Transfer." Published by order of the Bar Committee. London: Butterworth. 1886.

[9] "The Right of Landed Property in Egypt." By Yacoub Artin Bey. Translated from the French by E. A. Van Dyck. London: Wyman & Sons. 1885.

[10] "The Theory and Practice of Banking." By Henry Dunning Macleod, M.A. 4th edition. Vol. II. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer. 1886.

[11] "The Wealth of Households." By Danson. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1886.

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plaining the fundamental ideas and technical terms of economic science. It is extremely loose and inaccurate. At the very outset the writer confuses his readers, who are supposed to be beginners, by making "wealth" synonymous with "well-being"—a fatal confusion. Again, he confounds wages with salary, rent with hire, and gravely enumerates "alms and theft" among "sources of income." As for his explanation of "profit," we defy any one to understand it; and when we look for the formal definition, deliberately so labelled in the marginal analysis of the chapter, all we find is that risk is the mother of profit, and skill in estimating risk is its father! On the whole, the perusal of this book is about the readiest way we know of hopelessly confusing a pupil's ideas on economic subjects.

Had Ruskin and Carlyle never thundered against the degeneracy of modern times, "Echetlus"[12]—if indeed in such a case it could ever have seen the light at all—might perhaps have scandalized a few of those good people who hold that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds, or have given voice to the vague repinings of the few who feel that nineteenth-century civilization is not entirely perfect. As it is, there is little in "Echetlus" that has not been better said already by Mr. Ruskin and many others. We grant that there is much that is true, and much that is eloquently expressed in "Echetlus." But there is always so much contemptuous ignoring of plain fact, and such laboured obscurity of style, such straining after unconventionality of expression, that the book as a whole we must condemn as pernicious in matter and ridiculous in manner. The author, like his great master, rails incessantly against the whole constitution of society; against machinery, manufactures, life in town (especially in suburbs), against most known methods of gaining a living, and most ways of living; against our professions, our science, our art, our literature, our work, and our play—everything, in fact, that savours of the simple country life of some imaginary period when all men were stalwart, manly, open-air workers, and all women were as simple, beautiful, and modest as the wild rose. Nor has he attempted to come to particulars. He deals only in the vaguest of general abuse. To attempt to grapple with his paradoxes would be an endless task.

Mr. Froude's "Oceana"[13] may serve as a bridge to lead us from Politics and Sociology to Voyages and Travels.

The vision of Sir James Harrington is, after two centuries and a half, but half accomplished. That what is realizable of the remaining half may yet be realized has been the dream of Mr. Froude. As a student of England's history he imagined to himself the Oceana that might yet be, and wisely determined to see and study for himself the Oceana that now is—to visit the colonies, "talk to their leading men, see their countries and what they were doing there, learn their feelings, and correct his

[12] "Echetlus: Considerations upon Culture in England." By Geo. Whetenall. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1886.

[13] "Oceana; or, England and her Colonies." By James Anthony Froude. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

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impressions of what could or could not be done" for federation. Twelve years ago Mr. Froude started on his tour, but got no further than the Cape. Ten years later he successfully carried out his long-cherished intention; and the volume before us is one result of his pilgrimage. Naturally there is little in his facts that can be new to English readers. But he brings to bear upon these facts a mind steeped in the philosophy of history, long accustomed to watch the working of existing political institutions and to study the laws of their evolution. His philosophy may be wrong, and his studies may sometimes lead him astray. But right or wrong, they raise "Oceana" to a platform high above the ordinary books of travel. Besides these rarer and more solid qualities, "Oceana" is a very judicious mixture of episode and picturesque description; it has plenty of movement and life; it gives a graphic account of all the author saw and heard (and of course his reputation secured him unusual opportunities for free and equal conversation with the best men of all classes everywhere); and it has all the charms of Mr. Froude's style. It goes without saying, therefore, that "Oceana" is pleasant and instructive. But it was not to please that "Oceana" was written. Mr. Froude's views on federation are well known, and they are shared by the leading colonial statesmen. The colonies are, as he tells us, in no mood for a union which would bring them again under the influence of Downing Street. But "British they are, and British they wish to remain; and impossible as it is to weld together two pieces of steel while below the welding temperature, let the desire for a union of equality rise in England and rise in the colonies to sufficient heat, the impossibility will become a possibility, and of political possibilities the easiest."

Like the Marquis of Lorne and all others who understand the temper of the colonies, he warns us to let all advances come from them, and to avoid pressing upon them anything for which they do not heartily wish. For the present there is only one important change which they desire. That is, to have a united navy, under one admiralty and one flag, each colony supporting out of its own resources the squadron allotted to it and bearing its name. Amongst minor changes, requiring no legislation, no formal pact, and yet potent for good, we can adopt a more considerate and heartier tone in official transactions; we can be more careful to give them the best men we have for governors; we can send them immigrants of the right sort; we can give them honours and rewards for public services such as our own public men value; we can admit them to the services, to the Privy Council, the Bar. For drawing closer the political connection we must wait until the occasion presents itself, and until they themselves demand it; above all, we must not let them suppose that the coldness of the Colonial Office correctly represents the temper of the English people.

No better moment than the present could have been chosen for the publication of "Oceana." With such an object-lesson before us as the Colonial Exhibition at South Kensington, the dullest of

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us home-keeping folk can hardly fail to comprehend the dazzling magnificence of the future already assured to our colonies; and we look with ever-growing interest to such works as "Oceana" for light and leading in the solution of the grand problem—How to keep together in one harmonious family the great brotherhood of English communities. The problem is one which requires instant attention. The opportunity for its solution may come sooner than we think. The change of front towards Ireland, which Mr. Gladstone has inaugurated, must lead, sooner or later, to far-reaching changes in our representative institutions, the end of which we do not pretend to forecast. But it requires little sagacity to see that we are travelling with startling rapidity in the direction of federal institutions at home; and, if the present mood prevails, opportunities will present themselves for advancing in the same direction in our relations to the colonies.

But it is time to give some indication of the colonies and colonists visited by Mr. Froude. After a pleasant passage he lands his readers first at the Cape, where he finds much to lament: woful mistakes, and even sins in the past which we have not yet expiated, nor even learned to avoid in the future. The Cape problem is running the Irish problem very close, and bids fair to be soon equally tangled.

"From the Cape to Australia—from political discord, the conflict of races, the glittering uniforms, and the tramp of battalions—from intrigue and faction, and the perpetual interference of the Imperial Government, to a country where politics are but differences of opinion, where the hand of the Imperial Government is never felt . . . . the change is great indeed." Mr. Froude's admiration for the Australians and their magnificent territory is warm and deep. It is all the more sincere because it is evidently extorted from him in spite of the deep distrust of democracy which he shares with his favourite Aristotle. The contemplation of the "greatness" of this wonderful country prompts the saddest as well as the most beautiful passage in the whole book:—

> Democracies are the blossoming of the aloe, the sudden squandering of the vital force which has accumulated in the long years when it was contented to be healthy and did not aspire after a vain display. The aloe is glorious for a single season. It progresses as it never progressed before. It admires its own excellence, looks back with pity on its earlier and humbler condition, which it attributes only to the unjust restraints in which it was held. It conceives that it has discovered the true secret of being beautiful for ever, and in the midst of the discovery it dies.

The material prosperity of Australia is indeed marvellous. But for New Zealand—"the future home, as I believe it to be, of the greatest nation in the Pacific"—he prophesies still higher things. We wish we had space to give in full his general description of that wonderful land—its resources, the grandeur and variety of its natural features, its power of touching the imagination. We must content ourselves with his prophecy: "If it lies written in the book of destiny that the English nation has still within it great men who will take a place

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among the demigods, I can well believe that it will be in the unexhausted soil and spiritual capabilities of New Zealand that the great English poets, artists, philosophers, statesmen, soldiers of the future will be born and nurtured."

Pleasant would it be to linger with Mr. Froude in the giant Kauri forests and the fern-clad glades, to sail on the Blue Lake, and bathe in the hot lakes, to visit the rude Maori settlements, and the cultured home of Sir George Grey in his island solitude. But we have spent too much time with him already, and must hurry away elsewhere.

We cannot give our readers a better insight into the merits and significance of this unique work—unique whether we consider its real or its nominal authorship—than by quoting from the candid preface of the chief compiler and editor, Mr. Dalton,[14] the Princes' "Governor." "Both Princes kept very regular diaries all the time they were away from home; these, written up every evening before turning in, both at sea and ashore . . . form naturally the groundwork of the whole. . . . I have also drawn largely upon the contents of letters. . . . With the private journals and letters that record the passing sensation of the day or hour, I have embodied a good deal from certain note-books in which the Princes entered at their leisure the substance of much which they read concerning the countries visited, or learnt in conversation. . . . Where such entries refer to figures and statistics, I have endeavoured to correct them up to date. . . . My own additions are marked off in square brackets." The absence of brackets is, however, rather a fallacious test of royal authorship, for the proof-sheets, after being compiled by Mr. Dalton, were read, corrected, and supplemented by various gentlemen possessed of special knowledge of the countries referred to, thus rendering the account trustworthy as to facts; but these gentlemen are not responsible for conclusions or opinions. The brackets, in fact, serve only to mark those portions (and they are considerable) in which the Princes have not even a nominal share. The charts, maps, and sketches have been made or corrected by experts. It will thus be seen that the young Princes are little more than Mr. Dalton's amanuenses—channels through which the opinions and knowledge of others are conveyed under Mr. Dalton's supervision into a reservoir where they are carefully filtered by Mr. Dalton and a staff of experts before being sent out for public use. By this process the work loses, of course, all individuality, though it gains indefinitely in utility. In fact, when we remember the unique advantages enjoyed by the Princes and their instructors for seeing and hearing the best wherever they went, and that they went to the West Indies, South America, the Cape, Australia, Japan, China, the Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Egypt, Palestine, and the Mediterranean, the materials at hand must have been of considerable value, and the care bestowed on them ought to have resulted in a first-rate handbook for

[14] "The Cruise of Her Majesty's Ship Bacchante," 1879–1882. Compiled from the Private Journals, Letters, and Note-books of Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales, with additions by John N. Dalton. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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globe-trotters. It ought to be, and probably is, the best of all such existing handbooks. For people who like to do their globe-trotting in an armchair by their own fireside, no guide could be more pleasant, trustworthy, and respectable. More thoughtful books, going over a good deal of the same ground (*e.g.*, "Oceana"), have been, and we hope will be, written again and again. But "The Cruise of the Bacchante" will be read by thousands who would never look at any such work but for the exalted station and interesting youthfulness of its authors, and having read it, these good people can hardly fail to add a little of their meagre knowledge and imperfect understanding of lands beyond the seas, especially our own great colonies. That is something gained, and for that we thank the promoters of this work, the Prince and Princess of Wales. Of course, whatever positive merit the book has Mr. Dalton is entitled to the credit of it. Industry, accuracy, and good judgment are perhaps the only virtues he would claim on the strength of this compilation. As to the manner in which the work is turned out, we recognize hardly anything boyish in the style, and not much in the matter. Here and there we are gratified by coming on a remark or a description with a little of the boyish tone still left in it—"grinning through," as housepainters say of a dark paint under a light one. We wish there was a little more of it. On the other hand, the book is seldom trivial (as records of travel too often are), and it is brimful of condensed information. Everything, of course, was "explained" to the boys, and a good deal of the explanations are reproduced in the book. If the boy authors only marked, learned, and inwardly digested the contents of their own book, they would know a good many things that very few boys of their ages know.

Mr. Romilly's "Notes" on the Islands and Islanders of the Western Pacific[15] are so well worth reading, that we regret they were not given to the public sooner. His visit to New Guinea was made as long ago as 1881, since which time much has occurred there, and his information has lost some of its freshness. Still, the book as a whole is fresh enough, both in style and in matter, to make it welcome to every reader who feels any curiosity to know what manner of men inhabit these islands, how they live, what their surroundings are. In the Western Pacific, if anywhere now, the true unsophisticated savage is to be found; and we must confess that after giving him credit for all the good qualities Mr. Romilly testifies to, he is as unlovely an object as we can think of. His cannibalism is, from this point of view, a trifle, comparatively. It shocks our sentiments in a very peculiar way, no doubt; but it does not obtrude itself; it is generally practised in secret and denied in public. It is in their persons and their manners that the unspeakable repulsiveness of the island savage displays itself. We need not give instances. Mr. Romilly is

[15] "The Western Pacific and New Guinea: Notes on the Natives, Christian and Cannibal, with some Account of the Old Labour Trade." By Hugh Hastings Romilly, Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific, and Acting Special Commissioner for New Guinea. London: John Murray. 1886.

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very discreet, but his pages supply instances in plenty; and readers who know something of "native" habits may read between the lines much which the author omits.

Mr. Romilly had the good fortune (why should we be ashamed to call it so in these days of special war correspondents?) to see from beginning to end the invasion of one native tribe by another. The alarm, the landing of the invader, the rush to arms of the invaded, the setting in battle array of both, the Homeric boastings and challenges to single combat, the shock of battle when at last they have worked themselves up to the full height of their demoniac war passion, the short bloody struggle, the rout of the invader, and the cannibal feast which closes the incident, are all well and faithfully described, probably for the first time by one who witnessed the whole drama. It is an impressive and suggestive narrative, the scene of which is laid in New Ireland. A very remarkable institution called the "Duk-Duk" flourishes in New Britain, and Mr. Romilly was allowed to witness it in operation several times. His account of it is very curious and interesting. These two islands, now known as Neu Mecklenburg and Neu Pomern, are amongst the largest of the recent German acquisitions; but if their climate is as bad as Mr. Romilly believes, they can be of little value of themselves, and the difficulty of dealing with the natives is greatly aggravated by the absence of regular chiefs through whom the natives could be governed. He mentions, but does not attempt to account for, the extraordinary frequency of irregularities in the hands and feet of the New Britons. Two thumbs on one hand are commonly to be seen. "I noticed sometimes six toes on a foot, and sometimes only four; and the toes are not unfrequently joined together by a tough membrane." As for moral qualities and fine sentiment, something may be gathered from the fact that there is no word for expressing thanks in any language of New Guinea, nor indeed do the natives ever feel the want. There are native trading fleets it seems in New Guinea, and it usually happens that when the real trading business is finished, the traders make a raid on "the pigs and girls," and carry them off if they can. "If the girls are sensible, they run into the bush on the eve of the strangers' departure, but there are many who like the fun of being fought for, and stay on purpose to be kidnapped. It gives some of them immense satisfaction to accept their lovers' payment for their marriage, and then to fly with the strangers."

Mr. Romilly has a good deal to tell about the horrors of the labour trade, and the force and fraud that was practised by "recruiters." Happily, he also assures us, that the worst features of the trade are now things of the past. The traders of recent years are a far better set of men, and well looked after by the imperial authorities. But naturally, the cruelty and deception of which the natives of a former generation were the victims have left their marks on the present generation, and the horrible initiation they underwent into the vices of civilization has left marks of degradation which will not be effaced by the best efforts of the missionaries for many a long day.

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"Warm Corners in Egypt,"[16] is one of the best written of the many accounts that minor actors in the modern Egyptian drama have given of their personal experiences. The author does not tell us his name, or what his business in Egypt was. We infer that he was, at times at least, in the service of the Khedive, of whom he speaks with the highest respect and admiration. He was present, in what capacities we know not, at the destruction of Alexandria, and at the massacre of Baker's army near Trinkitat. He was also employed in sanitary work on the Nile, and in some of the worst cholera districts, and he made an adventurous expedition, with only one companion, into the Fayûm, an interesting and very little known district, of which he has written a charming account. It will be seen, therefore, that he was in some uncommonly hot corners. He has evidently lived some time in Egypt, and knows the language, character, and customs of its people, as well as of its rulers. His sketches and incidental references to them are, therefore, something more valuable than "first impressions" of passing visitors.

The author has a happy narrative style, a strong sense of humour, and a warm, manly tone. With these qualifications as a writer, and such experiences as he had to employ them on, his chapters cannot fail to be entertaining. As he relates nothing but what came under his own direct observation they are instructive also.

The author of "Life and Society in Eastern Europe"[17] is by profession "a roving linguist," or in less ambiguous terms, a teacher of the English language, "traversing a vast empire in search of bread in return for linguistic instruction," and we regret to say, meeting with "little encouragement and much less success." But if he failed in this, he enjoyed and has made good use of rare opportunities of studying the characteristics of the heterogeneous inhabitants of Transylvania. His search for employment brought him into direct contact with all ranks and races, and amongst the Magyars at least the native hospitality of all classes enabled him to see into their inner life in a manner that to us Western people may seem incredible. Nothing, for instance, could be more foreign to our English social life than that of the Magyar "magnate" under whose patriarchal roof the poor "linguist," for all his threadbare coat and borrowed boots, was welcomed as if he were a "distinguished traveller," instead of a stranger seeking wages. The English, it seems, are as much liked by the Magyars as the "Prussians" are hated, and Mr. Tucker reports numberless instances of respect and kindness shown to him on the strength solely of his nationality. The greater part of the book consists of dialogues between the author and his various interlocutors—priests, peasants, tradesmen, servants, professors, nobles, &c. These are very skilfully worked up, always characteristic, and often most humorous, as are the incidents of his adventures. We may safely congratulate

[16] "Warm Corners in Egypt." By "One who was in them." London: Remington & Co. 1886.

[17] "Life and Society in Eastern Europe." By William James Tucker. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. 1886.

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Mr. Tucker on having produced a most lively and entertaining book, and thank him for his graphic sketches of some of the most interesting and least known of the races of Eastern Europe.

"Emigrant Life in Kansas,"[18] is an unpretending record of a boy's experiences in the far West. In 1870, the author, then ten years old, started from England with his father, (an upholsterer), his brother, and three other young men for Junction City, Kansas, to try their luck at farming and cattle raising. As only one of the party had the smallest acquaintance with country life, it may be imagined that they were not very successful, and of course they suffered unexpected hardships. Still they managed to get along somehow, and no doubt the author, being young, would have made his way had he not run away from his father and eventually returned to England. The book contains some sensible advice to intending emigrants, and will probably serve to correct exaggerated notions as to the facility with which success may be achieved by emigrants of the wrong sort.

Mr. Katscher's "Studies and Pictures from John Bull's Home"[19] merit great praise. His wonderfully minute and accurate sketches may serve to enlighten not only foreign but also English readers, who need not be ashamed to learn something from these spirited and truthful pages.

We do wrong to call these essays sketches; they are rather finished pictures of social life in England.

Mr. Katscher's earlier books on London show his wonderful painstaking faculty, and his gift of observation.

In the work before us we have a most exact and thorough description of the Salvation Army, and the work it is doing. Other portions of the book are taken up with the German population in London, modern journalism, engineering triumphs of England, and some slighter sketches on a great variety of social topics, all alike handled with delicacy and quickness of touch. The book deserves a wide circulation; the author's style is attractive, and the matter interesting.

Under the title "Cosmopolitan Essays,"[20] Sir Richard Temple has collected a number of his magazine articles, speeches, and papers read before societies. If we are to speak our mind without fear or favour we must say that we have found no sufficient reason in the contents of this volume for its high-sounding title, or indeed for its publication at all. So various and so unconnected are the subjects touched on that we can sympathize with Sir Richard's difficulty in finding any descriptive name that would comprehend them all; but we venture to suggest that a descriptive title is hardly a necessity, and that, at all

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[18] "Emigrant Life in Kansas." By Percy G. Ebbutt. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

[19] "Nebelland and Themsestrand. Studien und Schilderungen aus der Heimat John Bull's." Von Leopold Katscher. Verfasser von "Bilder aus dem englischen Leben," "Aus England," u.s.w. Stuttgart: G. J. Göschennhe. London: Trübner & Co.

[20] "Cosmopolitan Essays." By Sir Richard Temple. London: Chapman & Hall, Limited. 1886.

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events, it ought to be intelligible. Whatever the author intended to imply, there is not a single essay to which the title is applicable, nor in the whole of them, considered as one, is it possible to find any really cosmopolitan character. The author does indeed attempt to discover running through these scattered and independent units "one *nexus*, one guiding idea, one moral—namely, that of British duty and responsibility in affairs which concern almost every part of the world." The *nexus* may be there, but it is difficult to perceive with the unassisted eye. Moreover, such a *nexus* is distinctly British, and quite excludes the cosmopolitan idea. Sir Richard Temple has the reputation of an energetic and showy Indian administrator, but he is not, we judge, a man of extensive information, of deep philosophy, prescient statesmanship, or of literary genius. His essays are of very mediocre merit whatever point we view them from, rarely rising above the level of a leading article in a London "daily." And this is the more to be regretted, because, with his Indian experiences, Sir Richard ought to be able to give us something that we should really value.

It has often been remarked that Anglo-Indians seldom write anything worth reading about the country and the people amongst whom their life is spent; and the explanation usually suggested is that they are too much absorbed in the daily work of actual administration. But when a distinguished Anglo-Indian retires in the fulness of his vigour, enters Parliament, and takes to scribbling, is it too much to expect of him that he will confine himself to the special subjects on which he possesses special knowledge, and leave "economic statistics of the British empire" and such-like common studies to the wrangling of real experts and the vapouring of platform speakers?

Mr. J. G. Scott, whose "France and Tonkin" we noticed last year, has lost no time in giving us a general description of the newest addition to the British Empire.[21] He is as well qualified to do so as, perhaps, any other man, having both the ready pen and quick observation of the newspaper correspondent, and the experience of many years of residence and travel in Further India. He gives us a great deal of the kind of information most sought for respecting our acquisition—something of the history, customs, character of the people, and something of the country, its resources, and prospects. From his knowledge of these factors he draws the conclusion that Burma is the most valuable addition to our empire made these many years, just as British Burma is the richest and most valuable of our Indian provinces. But at the same time he warns speculative traders that the increase in the market for British wares is not likely to be considerable for some years. Of the Burmese people he speaks highly, notwithstanding their "inconceivable" laziness and their ridiculous self-conceit. They are brave, religious, sober, charitable, genial, humorous (the Irishmen of the East), considerate of the feelings of others; their women enjoy more perfect equality of rights and practical social

[21] "Burma: as it was, as it is, and as it will be." By J. George Scott ("Shway Yoe"). London: George Redway. 1886.

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superiority than in any Western country. But their aversion to work leads Mr. Scott to prophesy that they will be driven out of the towns by the Chinese. Buddhism is a living reality with the Burmese, and enters into every detail of every-day life. Well ruled, they may become a pillar of support to our Indian Empire.

Signor Pelleschi[22] is not a literary genius, though he may be all he claims to be, "an attentive observer and a faithful narrator" of what he saw, or believed he saw. His book is very dull, and its dulness is aggravated by maudlin reflections on things in general. Skipping these, the reader in search of facts concerning a territory and a people little known will find a fair sprinkling of information, especially about the Indians and their customs.

We are glad to see a new edition of Mr. Sala's bright, sunny "Essays written in Hot Countries."[23] His chatty, confidential manner and good-humoured way of looking at things, enable him to use his quick observation most effectively, and make him deservedly one of the most popular of light descriptive writers.

All information concerning our new territory, Burma,[24] is welcome. In the interval between the deposition of King Thebaw and the definitive annexation of his dominions by the Indian Government, while the question of annexation was still under consideration, Mr. Grattan Geary visited the country for the purpose of "examining carefully some of the conditions of the problem, and seeing for himself what were the political, social, and military aspects of the question awaiting solution." This was indeed the only way that any European could at that time form an independent opinion on the question, for "no one even pretended to know what were the wishes or capabilities of the Burmese of the upper country." Mr. Geary has now published an account of his journey and the results of his examination of the Burmese problem, together with a good deal of the information he picked up during his stay. His conclusion appears to be that for the Burmans themselves the change is likely to be highly beneficial, but he is dubious about its advantages for the people of India and England.

The principal effect on the reader of Mr. Knighton's "Struggles for Life"[25] is the impression it leaves that the history of the human race is a record of hideous cruelty and unspeakable suffering, unillumined by a single ray of anything noble or humane. He ransacks the history of the world from the earliest times to the present, and drags into light all the deeds of cruelty and lust, the devastations of war and

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[22] "Eight Months on the Gran Chaco of the Argentine Republic." By Giovanni Pelleschi. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1886.

[23] "Under the Sun: Essays mainly written in Hot Countries." By George Augustus Sala. New edition, with several additional essays. London: Vizetelly & Co. 1886.

[24] "Burma after the Conquest: viewed in its Political, Social, and Commercial Aspects, from Mandalay." By Grattan Geary. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1886.

[25] "Struggles for Life." By William Knighton, LL.D. London: Williams & Norgate. 1886.

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pestilence, of religion (so-called) and greed, the horrors of slavery and of the extermination of races. The recital is sickening. And for what object? With what result? Surely Mr. Knighton deceives himself when he answers: "To learn first the causes of deterioration and destruction, that we may obviate or remove them; and to discover the remedies, if possible, for imperfection and misery." What single cause of "deterioration and destruction" has he thrown the faintest light on? What single remedy for "imperfection and misery" does he point out? There may be some advantage in compelling people to look at the misery that is in their midst, in the hope that means of alleviating it may be devised. But is a bird's-eye view of the misery that mankind has inflicted and endured throughout all ages and in every land likely to quicken effective sympathy with the less striking forms of existing wretchedness which cry aloud for instant relief? Assuredly it can have no such effect. The only effect it can have, in our opinion, is to deepen the impression that man is altogether vile, and life a colossal blunder of Nature.

We have received the following:—"Year-book of Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland; comprising Lists of the Papers read during 1885 before Societies engaged in fourteen departments of research, with the names of their Authors. Third annual issue" (London: Charles Griffin & Co., 1886); "Hazell's Annual Cyclopædia, 1886; containing nearly 2,000 concise and explanatory articles on every topic of current Political, Social, and General Interest referred to by the press and in daily conversation." Edited by E. D. Price, F.G.S. (London: Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1886); "Land." By James Platt, F.S.S. (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1886); "Why I would Disestablish: a Representative Book by Representative Men." Edited by Andrew Reid (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1886); "French Art and English Morals." By John Trevor (London: Swan Sonnenschein, Le Bas & Lowrey); "Duty and Privilege." By Charles Anthony (London: National Press Agency, 1886); "Political Evolution; or, From Poverty to Competence." By C. A. Washburn (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1885); "The Church and the Franchise." By Andrew Simon Lamb (London: James Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners Street, 1886); "The Masses: How shall we Reach Them? Some Hindrances in the Way set forth from the Standpoint of the People." By an old Lay-Helper (London: Charles Griffin & Co., 1886); "Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) for the year 1885, with the Statistics of 1884" (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1886); "School Architecture and Hygiene, with Plans and Illustrations for the use of School Trustees in Ontario" (Toronto: Education Department).

We have also to acknowledge the following admirable Italian official publications:—"L'Assicurazione degli Operai Nella Scienza e Nella Legislazione Germanica." Ugo Mazzola (Roma: Tipographia Eredi Botta, 1886); "Atti della Commissione d'Inchiesta per la Revisione della Tariffa Doganale. I. Parte Agraria. Fascicola I." Fedele Lampertico (Roma: Tip. Eredi Botta, 1885); "L'Economia dell' Agricol-

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tura in Italia, e la sua Trasformazione." C. Bertagnolli (Roma: Tip. Elzeviriana, 1886); "Risultati Sommarii dell' Inchiesta Intorno alle Condizione Igienico-Saintarie dei Comuni" (Roma: Tip. Elzeviriana, 1885); "Atti della Commissione per il Riordinamento della Statistica Giudiziaria Civile e Penale. Serie 3ª, vol. xv." (Roma: Tip. Fratelli Bencini, 1885). Also several statistical reports relating to the industrial condition of the provinces of Arezzo and Vicenza, causes of death, and elementary instruction.

We regret we have no space to notice the following:—"Ueber die Römische Gerichtsverfassung." Von Ernst Hartmann. Ergänzt und herausgegeben von August Ubbellohde" (Göttingen: Bandenhoch und Ruprichts, 1886); "Skizze des Englischen Geldmarktes." Von Emil Struck (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1886).

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

WE have much pleasure in resuming our criticism upon the fifth volume of M. Duruy's work,[1] which brings down the history of the Roman State to the close at once of the reign of Marcus Aurelius and of the golden era of the great world empire. The chief feature of the first part consists of an account of the life and works of the great Emperor Hadrian, whose administration marks the final abandonment of the "forward policy" of his predecessors; it is the culminating point of the empire, soon to be followed by a decline so gradual as hardly to be perceptible at first, but unquestionably a decline. From this policy necessarily resulted a profound peace, only broken by the fierce outbreak of the Jews under the leadership of Bar Kokaba. Hadrian was content to forego military glory, and to be known as the wise ruler whose energies were unsparingly devoted to the detection and repair of the weak points in the administration of the laws and the civil and military government of the State. To his initiative also may be referred many of the magnificent specimens of architecture and engineering which were, by the ruder successors of the Romans, referred to the agency of magic. The reigns of the two Antonines followed practically the same lines as their immediate predecessor. The Roman peace was, however, broken in the reign of Marcus Aurelius by the invasion of the Marcomanni, *à propos* of which M. Duruy indulges himself with an amusing outburst of national feeling which we cannot refrain from quoting:—

This prolific race (the Germans) had increased in time of peace, and their greed had augmented with their strength. At the sight of the riches which

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[1] "History of Rome and the Roman People." By Victor Duruy. Edited by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy. Vol. V. Parts I. and II. London: Kegan Paul & Trench. 1885.

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the productive activity of the Romans had amassed on the other side of the frontier their hearts were filled with hate and envy. Those charming villas on the Danube and Rhine which they saw from their own wild bank seemed an insult to their straw huts. In their national poem, the "Nibelungen," the object of their hero's ardent pursuit, the conquest for whose sake the people are butchered and kings perish, is not the woman . . . . as in the case of the Greeks under the walls of Troy, nor a tomb, as in the case of the French before Jerusalem, but treasure! In the midst of their sterile lands and savage forests that sensual race, greedy and poor, even then breathed the verses of Mignon about the lands where the golden apples grew, and which during eighteen centuries have excited their cupidity. In the time of the Cæsars they, by their continual attacks, disturbed that civilized, rich, and peaceable empire, which, under the Antonines, gave humanity a hundred years of peace. At the end they succeeded in throwing down the Colossus, and they precipitated the world into the sorrows and tears of the Middle Ages.

The second part of the fifth volume describes with much minuteness the domestic life of the Romans, pointing out with great clearness the points in which it differs from modern civilization, with especial reference to the great respect for family life evinced by the ancient Italians, to the prevalence of the custom of adoption, and to the institution of slavery. Municipal life is also well and minutely brought before us; the large measure of local liberty existing in the municipalities proving, somewhat perhaps to our surprise, that the Romans had solved (at least in the age of the Antonines) the problem of harmonizing monarchical government with local liberty. There can be little doubt indeed that numerous cities in Italy, South Germany, and France derive their local privileges and those of their trade-guilds from immunities conferred during the existence of the Roman empire. We cannot, in conclusion, avoid once more adverting to the excellence of the illustrations and maps which accompany the letterpress. M. Duruy has our best wishes for his success.

The editor of the Second Punic War[2] having in his preface rather unnecessarily attacked Mommsen, we carefully read the present work against the corresponding chapters of Mommsen's "History of Rome," and have somewhat reluctantly arrived at the conclusion that, in spite of the eminent authorities quoted by Mr. Arnold, the German historian has, in less than half the space, given us a description of the wonderful career of the Barcidæ, which, in careful composition, in just and terse delineation of character, in detail abundant yet duly subordinate to the general outline, is certainly superior to that of our countryman the very points in which Mr. Arnold claims the superiority. We have no wish, however, to detract from the merits of a work which, in in the absence of Mommsen, would be of a very high order, and are content to leave the decision to our readers, although we doubt very much whether Dr. Arnold himself would have approved of the publication of the book in its unfinished state. We notice with approbation the notes upon the mining operations of the Phœnicians and Romans

[2] "The Second Punic War." By the late Thomas Arnold, D.D. Edited by W. T. Arnold, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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in the south of Spain; also the excellence of the maps in illustration of the various military operations of the war.

At first sight Hittite antiquities would not appear to be a popular subject, but for all that in little more than twelve months Dr. Wright's book[3] has reached a second edition. Not the least important portion is the chapter contributed by Professor Sayce upon the progress made in deciphering the Hittite writings with the help of the bilingual inscription (in Cypriote and Hittite) of Tarkondêmos, which holds with respect to these researches the same position as the Rosetta stone formerly did among Egyptologists. The Hittite system of writing resembled that of the Egyptians and Assyrians, or, in fact, of any people who employed hieroglyphics and was partly ideographic and partly phonetic. The phonetic characters represented in turn a monosyllable or a dissyllable and sometimes both, while the ideographs were generally attached to the phonetic characters, though sometimes standing alone. The writing is always boustrophedon, the first line starting from right to left; a word does not end a line, and lines are read from the direction towards which the characters look. The forms of the characters vary not only in different localities but on monuments from the same locality and of the same age; and in some instances they tend towards hieratic forms. Tentative readings of some of the inscriptions are given, which, although at present (owing to the fewness and the mutilated condition of the monuments) are rather meagre, are yet made upon a sound method, and, with the help of fresh material, will probably lead to very important results. In conclusion, we have to thank Dr. Wright for the admirable workmanship of his book, and Mr. Rylands for his elaborate drawings of the inscriptions.

Some years ago, the late Mr. Coote wrote on the connection between Roman *Collegia* or Guilds and English municipal institutions, and now Mr. Baldwin Brown,[4] the Art Professor at the University of Edinburgh, tells us that he looks to them as the patterns from which Christians evolved their congregations and their churches. These *collegia* met in halls called *scholæ*, which were oblong halls, some fifty feet long, with apsidal terminations, and no doubt the "School of Tyrannus," which St. Paul used at Ephesus, was of such a character. Such halls might also be found in the houses of private persons, to be used for meetings or for social gatherings, and we know that the first church at Tours was formed by Bishop Litorius out of the hall in a senator's house. The Jewish synagogue also served as a model for Christian places of worship, and these, as far at least as the ruined specimens in Galilee show, are of a Roman basilican type. There is some doubt, however, how far these represent the normal form. The basilica, as Mr. Brown shows, was not necessarily apsidal, but possessed

[3] "The Empire of the Hittites." By William Wright, D.D. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1886.

[4] "From Schola to Cathedral." By G. Baldwin Brown, M.A. Edinburgh: D. Douglas. 1886.

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the special architectural feature of a division into nave and aisles and a clerestory, and almost always had a gallery over the colonnade of the nave, where the Christian churches had a plain wall usually covered with pictures. The reason of this alteration in design has not been hitherto apparent, and Mr. Brown's solution of it—that the Christians added the basilican colonnade to the plain oblong interior of the schola, instead of taking away the gallery from a basilica, is very plausible. His theory therefore, roughly speaking, is as follows: That the Christians first met in private halls and *scholæ*, and built such edifices for themselves, holding services also sometimes at the *cellæ* of martyrs in the catacombs. That in the end of the third and the fourth century, as the Church increased, larger buildings were needed and side aisles added; the apse being a reminiscence or survival of the *cellæ* or *exedræ* of the cemeteries; and from these elements resulted the complete church of the fourth century, its oblong plan derived from the *schola*, its apse from the *cella*, its colonnades and system of lighting from the *basilica*.

Nothing requires more care than the criticism of minute historical points, lest one falls into the pit oneself has digged. A pamphlet has recently appeared written to correct errors into which the late Professor Brewer, Mr. Gairdner, and Mr. Friedmann have fallen respecting the Boleyn family,[5] and especially to support Mr. Friedmann's view that Anne Boleyn was older than her sister Mary, the grandmother of Lord Hunsdon. And yet the author writes, concerning Henry VIII.'s liaison with both sisters: "And is it not possible that in his selfish greed he (*i.e.*, Sir Thos. Boleyn) may, when his elder daughter (Anne, according to him) had lost her attraction for the king, have sought to maintain his power by the means of the charms of the other" (*i.e.*, Mary.) Does the writer think that Mary Carew was a rival of Jane Seymour's, or what evidence is there of Henry's passion for Anne having waned until marriage had produced its usual effect?

The English public generally are little aware of the enormous literature which has grown up in France upon the subject of the great French Revolution of 1789,[6] and should therefore be greatly indebted to Mr. Stephens for his trouble in placing before them the substance of the new information which he has gathered, upon what may in truth be called the most important period in modern history, unfortunately very imperfectly known in this country; indeed, with the exception of Carlyle's poem in prose (which can only by a stretch of courtesy be denominated a history), and a few scattered essays upon particular events and individuals of the time, there is absolutely no work in English upon the subject at present before the world; and yet a narration of the struggles of a great and civilized nation in its passage through trials so many and so great, ought to repay examination. It may be impossible for a Frenchman, whose immediate

[5] "The Early Life of Anne Boleyn." By J. H. Round, M.A. Elliot Stock. 1886.

[6] "A History of the French Revolution." By H. Morse Stephens. London: Rivingtons. 1886.

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ancestors witnessed or took part in the stirring events of the era, to enter into a description of the epoch with the necessary impartiality; but it may, notwithstanding, be practicable for an Englishman to avoid partisan bias and yet preserve the dramatic interest of the story of a period abounding with great political lessons; a period during which nearly every socialist or democratic theory proposed up to the present time for the benefit of the people was successively put to the practical test of experience; and a period, the discussion of which is peculiarly appropriate at a time when democracy is developing great influence in English politics. Mr. Stephens' method in describing seriatim, with equal care and minute attention to detail, every circumstance, great or small, that had its part in producing the great modern cataclysm, renders it difficult to pick out any special paragraph or chapter for commendation, but the attention of the reader may with propriety be called to the description of the cumbrous, semi-political law corporations, the Parlements; the irregular assembly of the States of Dauphine under the leadership of Mounier, preluding the election of the States General and the preparation of the *cahiers*, or statement of grievances, &c., by each electoral district. The recital of the better known events, such as the fall of the Bastille, the various movements in Paris and the provinces, the flight to Varennes, are especially noticeable for accuracy in detail and moderate tone; and the numerous short biographies of the prominent actors in the great drama, with which the narrative is interspersed, show considerable perception of character and skill in seizing salient points, as well as considerable humour. As a sample, we would draw attention to that of Lafayette. The style is solid and sensible, without any attempt at fine writing. Altogether the book bids fair to be a classic work in the language, and we trust that the author's intention of completing the book early next year will be realized.

We must protest against the habit, far too common, of digging up the twaddle safely buried ten years ago or more in the back numbers of the monthly magazines, and of fathering such resurrection upon friends, at whose earnest request, &c. No doubt the articles of which Mr. Jerningham's book[7] is composed were duly appreciated in their time; but it is hardly fair towards the present generation to inflict upon them the reminiscences of a bore of the first magnitude; as for instance: How he saw Rossini for five minutes; how he had the good fortune to be present when the great Dickens was heard to say "No"; how he owned an undoubted autograph of Thackeray; how (thrice happy man!) he was twice bullied by Mr. Gladstone, &c. &c. We have waded through all this as in duty bound, but we strongly advise our readers *not* to follow our example.

The present volume[8] completes the series of Rhind Lectures,

[7] "Reminiscences of an Attaché." By H. E. H. Jerningham. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

[8] "Scotland in Pagan Times: the Bronze and Stone Ages." By Joseph Anderson, LL.D. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1886.

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delivered by Dr. Anderson from 1879 to 1882. The first two volumes, entitled "Scotland in Early Christian Times," are devoted to the remains of the early Celtic Church, the Christian Celtic monuments, and metal work; the third to the remains of the Iron Age, and the present volume to the Bronze and Stone Ages, the two latter comprehending "Scotland in Pagan Times." With respect to the Bronze Age, the writer has selected: first, a series of burials determined to belong to that period by their essential characteristics or underground phenomena; secondly, burials showing special developments of non-essential overground circumstances; and thirdly, accumulations of objects not associated with burial. He then proceeds to deal in a similar spirit with the relics of the Stone Age, classifying the residue of the Pagan burials, and determining their associated forms of arms, implements, and ornaments. We have to present Dr. Anderson with our congratulations, both for the accurate method followed by him, and for the curious and valuable facts he has collected by way of illustrations.

In Madame Roland[9] and in the scenes and circumstances of her career, terminating, as it did, in the cataclysm of the French Revolution, Miss Mathilde Blind has been furnished with excellent material for story telling, and, using it to good purpose, has written an interesting and instructive narrative for the "Eminent Women Series," under the editorship of Mr. John H. Ingram. In truth, here in the history of this child of the "unimaginative class of small shopkeepers," born to be daughter of "a gay, vain, quick-witted, and pleasure-loving Parisian," who degenerated into a pitiable object, lost to every feeling but that of self-gratification, but still able to divest herself of the "moral livery" of this unworthy father, and herself disposed to studiousness, seriousness, sincerity, and a sense of life's responsibilities; in after years "sometimes relegated to the servants' hall" at the same moment that she was "friend and correspondent of men of high rank and abilities;" later on performing with devotion the quiet duties of wife and mother in the society and service of a not altogether congenial partner in life; in the final scenes, when called from this monotonous routine by the march of events and involved in the "beginning of sorrows," the pangs which accompanied the birth of the era of liberty for her country, then an enthusiast in the cause of liberty, the centre of the loftiest spirits of the time, the men of the "Gironde," and in some measure their guide and inspiration, and last of all the heroic martyr to the cause she loved so devotedly—here certainly in this woman's history is a career which is full of the most dramatic situations, and a story which cannot fail to be worth the telling. And in Miss Blind, Madame Roland has found a sympathetic biographer who has not neglected, while giving her heroine due prominence in the portraiture, to fill in details required to illustrate and explain. Necessarily this has been done in some

[9] "Madame Roland." By Mathilde Blind. "Eminent Women Series." London: Allen & Co. 1886.

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degree in a summary manner, but not altogether so; the detail in a small compass is considerable, and at any rate the book will serve as a good introduction to the history of the time, while the "list of authorities" given is an excellent guide to any further study of the subject which any reader may wish to make.

"The Story of Holland,"[10] as told by Miss Isabel Don, is one of the series of similar histories published by Messrs. Rivington. It bears evident signs that it is primarily intended for children of the age when it is considered necessary to point the moral for them in a plain and unmistakable manner; and for whom, when talking of foreign scenes, it is considered proper to "make believe" that these scenes are being visited in a way not common among ordinary travellers, in this case on the "broad backs" of the storks which build their nests in the old towns in Holland. Whether children of this age (though perhaps it would be hard to say what the age is, and, when this point is decided, whether such children are troubled much with history of any kind)—whether children of this age will be able to carry in their minds many of the details of the story is doubtful; it may be questioned whether it is necessary that they should; but at any rate they may gain from this volume, written for the most part in an interesting manner, and with a studious avoidance of long words, a general impression of the heroic story of this little water-cursed—no! water-blessed—country which it will be well for them to have. And it may be that children of a larger growth, very many of them, might read this summary recital of the Dutchman's national story with great profit to themselves, enlargement of their information, and increased appreciation of the qualities of a neighbouring and closely allied people. No Dutchman need, indeed, be ashamed of the history of his country, and if every English tourist would condescend to make himself acquainted with the contents of Miss Don's book, say, in the course of his journey down to the coast, it is possible that his wanderings in Holland would gain an interest which, however great the pleasure to arise from the present strange and quaint aspect of things in themselves, they would not otherwise possess. One meets with pleased surprise in this little volume, not only Sainte Aldegonde's words, but the melody also of their national song, the "Wilhelmuslied," in which the Dutch celebrate the praises of William of Orange, "the father of their country."

Mr. Lilly proposes, from the point indicated in his introductory dialogue, to deal with the three great movements which, during the last two thousand years, have done much to shape the history of Europe[11]—viz., Christianity, the Renaissance, and the French Revolution. He commences by asking, "Can anything be made of history?" Does what we know of man's past career, teach us any moral lesson? Premising that evolution is the real basis of the universal law of his-

[10] "The Story of Holland." By Isabel Don. London: Rivingtons. 1886.
[11] "Chapters in European History." By W. S. Lilly. In two volumes. London: Chapman & Hall. 1886.

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torical philosophy, that in spite of immense drawbacks the history of mankind is one of progress, and that obedience to law is the condition of progress, he then assumes that man is born under a law of virtue applicable to nations equally with individuals, and that in loyalty, truth, and uprightness lies the root of all greatness. To use his own words, the progressive and conservative principle of civilization is the idea of God, and of the duties binding upon us because He is what He is. Great men are the fount of great thoughts, and the trial of nations lies in the loyalty with which they follow revelations made at sundry times and in divers manners by these prophets of the Most High. He then states, rather than examines, the contrary doctrine, that great men are teachers so far only as they follow the Divine illumination; so far, in fact, as they correspond with truth and no farther. He then proceeds to illustrate his thesis by a chapter upon the Pontificate of Pope Gregory VII. (in his opinion), the cardinal point of the Middle Ages; another upon mediæval Catholic hymns as the natural outcome and expression of the religion of the generation in which they were composed; others upon the art of the Renaissance, with especial reference to the career of Michael Angelo; upon the eighteenth century and the principles of 1789, concluding with a chapter upon the age of Balzac. Mr. Lilly has written a very interesting and, as far as we can judge, a very orthodox book; but in spite of the parade of logic in the introductory dialogue, we think it would have been a better one had he adopted the test of reason rather than that of faith, especially when he invites a comparison with a thinker so acute as Mr. Herbert Spencer.

Mr. W. J. Amherst, of the Society of Jesus, has published a work[12] which quite exhausts the subject he has taken on hand. The introduction is taken up with explanations relating to questions at issue between Roman Catholics and those of other religious denominations, one of which is the sense in which the words "Catholique avant tout" should be taken. The author of this work contends that the expression was used by Montalembert "to rouse the spirits of Catholics, who had just shaken off the chains of persecution, and were thinking how they could, by all legal means, use their liberties as Englishmen in defence of their religion as Catholics," and that Mr. Gladstone having adopted the *suggestio falsi*, a suggestion of the falsehood that, in civil matters, a Catholic would not give the laws of his country the first place, is responsible for it, and has never rejected it. Taking an Act passed in 1771, entitled "An Act for the Reclaiming of Unprofitable Bogs," by which Papists were enabled to take fifty acres of unprofitable bog, with half an acre of arable land adjoining, for sixty-one years, as the first relaxation of the tyranny exercised over Catholics, the author gives minute points of detail as to the progress of the various Bills in Parliament which brought about the present state of affairs. He

[12] "The History of Catholic Emancipation and the Progress of the Catholic Church in the British Isles (chiefly in England) from 1771 to 1820." By W. J. Amherst, S.J. In two volumes. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1886.

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charges the Catholics of England to work together, and especially to join with the Catholics of Ireland in order to obtain those remaining concessions which at any rate the former must hope for. What this working together means is not very clear, but there is no doubt that for Catholics complete individual independence of action is the safest way to success. That the many protests of loyalty to the Crown which are made by the author on behalf of the Catholics are sincere, no one can doubt. In reading the chapter which bears the ugly heading "English and Scotch Bigotry," we must say that we cannot agree with it, and the following passage is uncalled for:—"A Catholic priest cannot walk the streets of a town in Scotland without seeing in the countenances, and sometimes hearing from the mouths, of at least one-half of the Scotch people whom he may meet, signs and expressions which convey the idea that they are saying in their hearts what the Pharisees of old cried out against our Lord, 'Crucify Him, crucify Him!' And the religion of these people well fits them to hate what is good and true." It cannot be said that this work has been written with an impartial spirit, nor does it tend to give hope for improvement as regards the position of Catholics and Protestants.

The Bishop of Missouri has presented to the American Historical Association a paper on "The Louisiana Purchase in its Influence upon the American System,"[13] which is well worth the fifty cents it costs and the short time it takes to read forty-two pages of perfect print. As the paper is so short the following extract will suffice:—"The acquisition of Louisiana, as contributing to the enormous increase of the material wealth derived from the gold and silver products of these Western States, has had a very wide and decided influence upon the social life of this country. . . . . The total increase in the wealth of the country in gold and silver from the regions included in the Western acquisitions of the United States amounts to fifteen hundred millions of dollars." It appears that the American Historical Association held its first annual meeting at Saratoga on the 9th of September, 1885, and its object is "the promotion of historical studies in this country . . . . which shall foster not merely American history, but history in America. . . . . It will open its ranks to historical specialists and active workers everywhere, whether in this country or in Europe, in State or local historical societies, or in any isolated individual field." We feel sure that many such interesting papers will be contributed to this most liberal association.

A touching account of the life of a singularly ill-used woman,[14] Most of us have read in the newspapers the details of the various legal proceedings in which she was engaged, and some of us have perhaps

[13] Papers of the American Historical Association, Vol. I. No. 4. "The Louisiana Purchase in its Influence upon the American System:" a Paper presented to the American Historical Association, September 9, 1885. By the Right Rev. C. F. Robertson, D.D., Bishop of Missouri. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1885.

[14] "Autobiographical Sketches." By Annie Besant. London: Freethought Publishing Co. 1885.

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been inclined to place too severe a construction upon the purely literary connection that subsisted between her and Mr. Bradlaugh, or to listen too readily to the roar of calumny that assailed them, on the publication of the notorious "Fruits of Philosophy." Now, however, that the conflict is over, and it is possible to consider the facts without passion or prejudice, it will readily be admitted by any impartial person that although the judgment of the Master of the Rolls may have been as a dry matter of law technically correct, yet in truth that judgment under the forms of justice inflicted a cruel wrong upon a tender mother and a spotless wife in depriving her of her children, not on account of any moral fault (for her opponents had sought in vain for a speck upon her purity), but wholly and solely in regard to her speculative opinions. Let us hope that her sufferings have not been in vain, and that she will be the last in our own or any future generation to incur such a penalty for a matter of opinion. Her book is very pleasantly and moderately written, and we can confidently recommend it to our readers.

It cannot be said that the value of the "Memorials"[15] of the devoted young medical missionary, Harold Schofield, lies in any literary merit which they possess, but in the fact that, piece of patchwork though the book is, it nevertheless succeeds in giving the impression of a remarkable man, conspicuous for his ability, animated by the loftiest motives, and capable of a very high degree of self-sacrifice for a noble cause. Undoubtedly the men are very few who, after an equally distinguished student career, would be satisfied to bury themselves in a remote province in a foreign country where, according to the estimate of the majority of mankind, the honour to be gained was little, and the worldly profit less, but such was the more than cheerful, the glad choice which he made when past the first flush of youth, and after gaining such distinction during his course of study at the Manchester, London, and Oxford Universities, as made eminent success at home almost a certainty. The following passage from the preface of the book seems characteristic of its subject. Dr. Schofield's brother writes:—

After the book was compiled I came across two papers of interest. The one was written for his wife, who had the greatest difficulty to induce him to give it to her, and contains a list of his scholarships, amounting to nearly £1,500. The other MS. was a small bit of torn note-paper inserted in a portfolio containing over forty certificates of honour from the Victoria University, certificates of the London University, showing he was first in the honours list in zoology, and third in honours in geology, palæontology and classics, and also containing all his numerous diplomas. On the paper was written, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble."

This passage is really too modest in its recital of the honours which he won. A more complete account of the matter is contained in the

[15] "Memorials of R. Harold A. Schofield, M.A., M.B. (Oxon.), late of the China Inland Mission, First Medical Missionary to Shan-Si, China." Chiefly compiled from his Letters and Diaries by his brother, A. T. Schofield, M.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

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obituary notice taken from the *Lancet*, and printed on p. 241 of the volume. Dr. Schofield was besides something more than a mere student, he found pleasure in the activities of life also; even his holiday excursions were marked by enterprise as well as some degree of boldness, and many companions testify to his bright and happy spirit. His life career having been chosen and entered upon with such unselfish motives and with such high hope of accomplishing its aim, it is melancholy to reflect that it was prematurely ended three short years afterwards, when its useful and beneficent character was becoming daily more apparent.

The life of a first-rate man who was a conspicuous figure in the stirring times of Charles I. and Cromwell could hardly fail to be interesting, and Mr. Morris Fuller's scholarly work [16] is worthy of his eminent ancestor. We are glad to see that the book is already in its second edition, as it is not only a standard but a popular work; one that appeals to the student of ecclesiastical biography and to the general reader, who will be delighted with the character of the genial old preacher and writer and attracted by his quaint wit and wisdom. The Church of England has had many men of great humour among her clergy, as indeed other Churches have also had, and Fuller belonged to the class of which Sydney Smith and Archbishop Whately are modern instances, rather than to the sarcastic school of which Swift is the most illustrious type. His humour is full of sense and good nature, and the tone of his mind was high and reverent. Charles Lamb has said that the writings of Fuller are usually spoken of as "quaint" with sufficient reason; for, "such was his natural bias to conceits, that I doubt not upon most occasions it would have been going out of his way to have expressed himself out of them—above all, his way of telling a story, for its eager liveliness, is perhaps unequalled." Lamb adds that his works are now little read, except by antiquaries; and indeed they are not very generally accessible, though the author of the Life now before us has edited a volume of his "Pulpit Sparks," collected from various old libraries. Mr. Morris Fuller, however, gives a very lucid and interesting description of his hero's best works in the course of his narrative, along with admirably selected extracts, which may well tempt the reader to go to the fountain-head. Macaulay has pointed out that the cause of humanity gained greatly in the times of the Puritans, and that certain cruel sports, such as bear-baiting, were put down; but he says that the reason of this was, not that the sport gave pain to the bear, but that it gave pleasure to the beholders, and was therefore sinful. Now Fuller, in advance of his age, took a different view. In his "Holy State," he says that an animal's "dumbness is oratory to a conscientious man; and he that will not be merciful to his beast is a beast himself." His opinions on education were equally enlightened and sound. He pleads

[16] "The Life, Times, and Writings of Thomas Fuller, D.D., the Church Historian." By the Rev. Morris Fuller, M.A., Rector of Ryburgh. In two volumes. Second Edition. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

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strongly for cultured persons only undertaking the high duties of teaching the young:

> There is scarce any profession in the Commonwealth more necessary which is so slightly performed. The reasons whereof I conceive to be these: first, young scholars make this calling their refuge; yea, perchance before they have taken any degree in the University, commence schoolmasters in the country, as if nothing else were required to set up this profession but only a rod and a ferula.

One is reminded of Mr. Tulliver's liberal education, which consisted of "the alphabet at one end and the birch at the other." In "The General Artist," Fuller gives a thoughtful scheme for study, including English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, logic, rhetoric, mathematics, history, &c.; and, after giving his advice on these, he points to their being only means to an end. He counsels the student to "keep a place for the diamond to be set in: I mean for that predominant profession of law, physic, divinity, or State policy, which he intends for his principal calling hereafter." The student's reading, he holds, should have made his "fancy so nimble that as soon as he heard any subject, he was able to speak to it." He commends history, like Carlyle, to all, whether scholars or general readers, on the ground that the man who does not know the past cannot judge the probabilities of the future. Such a being, he says, has "a crick in his neck," and cannot look behind him. "Without history a man's soul is purblind, seeing only the things which almost touch his eyes." Fuller's greatest work, the "Worthies of England," was not published till 1662, a year after his death. He thus sets out the design of the work:

> England may be compared to an house not very great, and the several shires may properly be resembled to the rooms thereof. Now, as learned Master Camden and painful [Fuller uses this word for painstaking, or careful] Master Speed, with others, have described the rooms themselves, so it is our intention, God willing, to describe the furniture of those rooms; such eminent commodities, which every county doth produce, with the persons of quality bred therein, and some other observables coincident with the same subject. Know then that I propound five ends to myself in this book. First, to gain some glory to God. Secondly, to preserve the memories of the dead. Thirdly, to present examples to the living. Fourthly, to entertain the reader with delight. And lastly (which I am not ashamed publicly to profess) to procure some honest profit to myself.

Of this book we cannot do better than quote the opinion of Professor Rogers, that "perused as an amusement, there are few in the English language which a man, with the slightest tincture of love for our early literature, can take up with a keener relish." Of the moderate and manly part that Fuller took in the troubles of his times we have not space to speak at present, and must refer our readers to Mr. Morris Fuller's admirable work. At first he pleased neither Cavaliers nor Puritans; but Samuel Taylor Coleridge has paid him this tribute of respect: "Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced, great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men." Mr. Morris Fuller has

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so thoroughly entered into the spirit of his subject, that his political opinions of the leading events connected with his ancestor's life seem tinged with the feelings of the time. Whilst we cannot quite agree with all his views, they give a living zest to his writing, the style of which is throughout admirable. The book is one of enormous research. Of the hundreds of characters placed before the reader in the course of the Life, the author gives most interesting notices, and of one (Bishop Davenant) he has published an admirable life. Indeed, the worst fault we can find is with the Index, which gives a totally inadequate guide to this important work as a book of reference.

The high reputation of the late Dr. Birch [17] deserves in our opinion something better at the hands of his son than a few biographical notices cut from the leading journals and hurriedly strung together. A well-digested detailed history of the life and labours of one of the greatest of modern antiquaries would be a most valuable contribution to literature, and we hope to hear that such a work is in course of preparation.

Mr. Ralph Disraeli has rather disarmed criticism of his eminent brother's letters [18] by his short and sensible preface, in which he admits that their tone might be thought egotistical, but that they were written without thought of publication, and to a sister who fully believed in the writer's powers. Mr. Disraeli has also omitted everything that could give pain to any one, and all purely private matter. We do not therefore know what the letters have lost in piquancy; but, as they remain, they are interesting and racy reading, as might be expected. They exhibit, moreover, some of Lord Beaconsfield's best characteristics—a genuine love for his sister and family, and a happy and good-natured disposition. They are not "great letters" in any sense; nor can they for a moment be compared to the charming letters another eminent man of Hebrew stock addressed to a sister. There is no such high tone or interest about them as attaches to Mendelssohn's letters to his sister Fanny. The reader will, however, be at once impressed with the fact that these letters are written by a clever man to one not only held in affection but in reverence. And that Sarah Disraeli amply deserved these feelings is evident from her father's allusions to her, in the prefaces to his "Curiosities," "Amenities," and "Miscellanies of Literature." He says, speaking of his threatened blindness: "Amid partial darkness, I am not left without a distant hope nor a present consolation; and to her who has so often lent to me the light of her eyes, the intelligence of her voice, and the careful work of her head, the author must ever owe the 'debt immense' of paternal gratitude." When one remembers that Lord Beaconsfield's letters were many of them written to brighten and

[17] "Biographical Notices of Dr. Samuel Birch." By W. De G. Birch. London: Trübner. 1886.

[18] "Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister, 1832–1852." London John Murray.

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amuse his then old parents, and the sister who was doing so much for them, they appear in a very pleasant light. It need not be said that there is plenty of sarcastic wit. The following will serve as samples: "Charley Gore said that Lord John often asked how I was getting on at Wycombe. He fished as to whether I should support them. I answered, 'They had one claim upon my support; they needed it,' and no more." "Murray says that authors who write for posterity must publish on their own account." After his first election: "I begin to enjoy my new career. I find that it makes a sensible difference in the opinion of one's friends; I can scarcely keep my countenance." "Lord Francis Egerton spoke with all the effect which a man of considerable talent, backed by the highest rank and £60,000 per annum would naturally command." "Pakington was confident, fluent and commonplace and made a good chairman of Quarter Sessions speech. 'It is the best speech he will ever make,' said Sugden, 'and he has been practising it before the grand jury for the last twenty years.' However, I supported him very zealously, and he went to bed thinking he was an orator, and wrote to Mrs. Pakington, I have no doubt, to that effect." Here is Lord Beaconsfield's first introduction to the lady who became his wife: "I was introduced, by particular desire, to Mrs. Wyndham Lewis, a pretty little woman, a flirt and a rattle; indeed gifted with a volubility I should think unequalled, and of which I can convey no idea. She told me that she liked silent, melancholy men. I answered that I had no doubt of it." Mr. Disraeli had such evident enjoyment in his entrance to "Society" that his reader cannot fail to share it and be amused by his impressions. He writes in February 1833:

> I met the Nortons and Charles Mathews, who was very amusing. Yesterday I dined with the Nortons; it was her eldest brother's birthday, who, she says, is the only respectable one of the family, and that is because he has a liver complaint. The only lady besides Mrs. Norton was her sister, Mrs. Blackwood, also very handsome and very Sheridanic; she told me she was nothing. "You see Georgie's the beauty, and Carry's the wit, and I ought to be the good one, but then I'm not." I liked her exceedingly, besides she knows all my works by heart. Mrs. Norton sang and acted and did everything that was delightful. Old Mrs. Sheridan is my greatest admirer; in fact, the whole family have a very proper idea of my merits (!) and I like them all.

The letter in which Mr. Disraeli describes his celebrated first speech in the House of Commons is interesting. He had anticipated his statement to the House, that a time would come when he would be heard, some years before, in a letter dated February 7, 1833, where he writes: "Heard Macaulay's best speech, Sheil and Grant. Macaulay admirable; but, between ourselves, I could floor them all. This, *entre nous*. I was never more confident of anything than that I could carry everything before me in that House. The time will come." The letters we like least are those about the quarrel with O'Connell. On this subject Mr. Disraeli tells his sister: "The general effect is the thing, and that is, that all men agree I have shown pluck." When he wrote that, Mr. Disraeli was not in possession of the "giftie to

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see ourselves as others see us." It was notorious that O'Connell had killed a man named D'Esterre in a duel, in 1815, and had been so shocked by what had happened, that he had vowed never to fight again. Some severe criticisms appeared in the papers at the time, and Mr. Disraeli melodramatically vowed eternal hatred to O'Connell, which, to judge by his after-mention of him in his letters, we are happy to believe he did not feel. The letters contain one or two pleasant allusions to Mr. Gladstone, especially in an account of a Royal Academy dinner, where Mr. Disraeli sat "between Gladstone and Sydney Herbert. . . . . It went off very well, Gladstone being particularly agreeable." Unfortunately, these interesting chatty letters come to an end in 1852, just when their talented writer's career became most notable, his sister, after their father's death, having lived in or near London. In spite of their many excellences, the correspondence leaves an impression that their writer looked upon politics as a sort of superior game of skill, in which he had to pose for certain parts.

There is no profession in which success is so much due to enthusiasm as medicine, and the biography of eminent doctors,[19] is a *λαμπαδηφορία*, in which the sacred torch of the healing science is handed on from holder to holder, ever gaining brightness as it changes hands, in spite of the breath of obstruction and superstition which constantly threatens it, as when Harvey's professional prosperity was seriously injured by the publication of his "Treatise on the Heart and Circulation," and Simpson's application of chloroform in operations was opposed as irreligious and "a decoy of Satan." Mr. Bettany's book begins with Linacre and Caius, one the founder of the Royal College of Physicians, and the other the introducer of the practice of dissection; and it comes down quite to our own times, to Erasmus Wilson, Toynbee, and John Simon. In Caius's time the bodies of two criminals a year were sufficient for all the dissecting done in London, and when the demand became greater, the state of the law, which made it almost impossible to gain possession of subjects for dissection legally, had the usual effect of prohibitive laws which do not rest on the basis of the common conscience; that is, they simply raised the price, and did not stop the traffic. Sir Astley Cooper himself said that there was no one whom he could not dissect if he wished; and Hunter managed to secure the body of O'Brien, the Irish Giant, which is now in the museum in Lincoln's Inn, on its way to be sunk in the sea, which the deceased had expressly desired in order that his bones might be saved the fate which overtook them. The absolute prohibition of anti-vivisection would only produce a similar result. No surgeon could believe that the performance of an experiment like that on the antlers of a deer, which showed Hunter how to supersede the then generally fatal methods of operating in cases of aneurism, was morally wrong; and the desire to

[19] "Eminent Doctors: their Lives and their Work." By G. T. Bettany, M.A., B.Sc. Two vols. Hogg.

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further knowledge and benefit humanity, would overcome the duty of obeying the law, not without some weakening of the moral sense, which is the infallible result of over-legislation. Neither volume bears a date on the title-page, an omission which we are sorry to see is not infrequent, and often renders the identification of editions difficult.

BELLES LETTRES.

OUT of several volumes of verse bearing different titles, which she has published in America, Mrs. Piatt has made a selection, and presents them to the English public as "Mrs. Piatt's Poems."[1] They are for the most part graceful compositions embodying some tender thought or delicate fancy. Their source of inspiration is to be found in the earlier poems of Mrs. Barrett Browning, and they recall both Adelaide Proctor and Christina Rosetti to our memory. In dealing with her subject, Mrs. Piatt lacks clearness and precision, and without sinning deeply she does not pay sufficient heed either to the necessities or to the refinements of metre. We should esteem her powers as a writer of verse far higher if she were to make a less liberal use of the colloquial parenthesis. Doubtless such expressions as "I think," "I fear," "you know," are convenient for metrical and other exigencies, but they are, after all, clumsy expedients for concealing poverty of thought, and want of command of verse. Many of Mrs. Piatt's verses are concerned with the sayings and doings of children. We are of those who hold that both the pathos and the humour of the nursery should be reserved for home consumption, but for those who think otherwise with regard to the "kingdom of heavenites," as Coleridge called babies, we can safely recommend Mrs. Piatt. Among the more striking poems in this volume are "A Voyage to the Fortunate Isles," "The Longest Death-Watch," and "Twelve Hours Apart." We select for quotation a double quatrain, entitled "Broken Promise."

After strange stars, inscrutable, on high,
  After strange seas beneath his floating feet,
After the glare in many a brooding eye,
  I wonder if the cry of "Land" was sweet?

Or did the Atlantic gold, the Atlantic palm,
  The Atlantic bird and flower, seem poor, at best,
To the grey Admiral under sun and calm,
  After the passionate doubt and faith of quest?

Students and admirers of Walt Whitman will read "Towards

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[1] "Mrs. Piatt's Poems." A Voyage to the Fortunate Isles, and other Poems. By Sarah M. B. Piatt. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Paternoster Square. London. 1885.

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Democracy,"[2] with patience as well as amusement, but to those who "call the master Beelzebub," we cannot commend the all too faithful disciple. The poem, if it be a poem, consists of a series of disconnected rhapsodies, interspersed with catalogues of places, and descriptions of men and women under various social aspects. The moral of the piece, if moral there be, is that the world and all that is therein is God, and the working-man is His prophet. We extract what we humbly conceive to be the pith of "Towards Democracy."

Grave and strong and untamed.
This is the clear-browed, unconstrained tender face, with full lips and bearded chin, this is the regardless defiant face I love and trust.
Which I came out to see, and having seen do not forget.

* * * * * *

There was a time when the sympathy and the ideals of men gathered round other figures;
When the crowned king, or the priest in procession, or the knight-errant, or the man of letters in his study were the imaginative forms to which men clung;
But now before the easy homely garb and appearance of this man as he swings past in the evening, all these others fade and grow dim. They come back after all and cling to him.
And this is one of the slowly unfolded meanings of democracy.

In reply to which we would urge the plea that although the cowl does not make the monk, neither does the absence of the cowl; and that formality and unreality are natural to the offspring of Adam, and are not inherent in forms of government.

Once our author condescends to break into rhyme, and gives us some really charming lines addressed to Squinancy-Wort.

WHAT HAVE I DONE?

Many an age agone,
Before man walked on earth,
I was. In the sun I shone;
I shook in the wind with mirth;
And danced on the high tops looking out seaward,
Where I had birth.
Thick footed monsters came,
And into the darkness went,
In ponderous tournament,—
Many an age agone.
But on the high tops I dwelt ever the same,
With sisters many a one,
Guiltless of sin and shame!
What have I done?

What have I done? *Man* came,
Evolutional upstart one!

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[2] "Towards Democracy." Copyright, 1885. By Edward Carpenter. Manchester: John Heywood, Deansgate and Ridgefield; London: 11 Paternoster Buildings. 1885.

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With the gift of giving a name,
To everything under the sun.
What have I done? Man came
(They say nothing sticks like dirt),
Looked at me with eyes of blame,
And called me squinancy-wort.
* * * *
Yet there is hope. I have seen
Many changes since I began;
The web-footed beasts have been
(Dear beasts!) and gone, being part of some wider plan.
Perhaps in his infinite mercy God will remove this Man!

"Babylon Bound,"[3] a Morality by Stanley Weall, is a most disappointing production. In numerous detached passages the author proves himself to be possessed of wit and style, and in the choruses he displays considerable lyrical powers. But what is the upshot of the whole? *Davus sum, non Œdipus.* Something is portrayed as in a glass darkly, but the author affords no interpretation to the bewildered spectator. Against such wilful and weariful obscurity, such elaboration of enigmas, we protest in the name of all the Muses. Of the other poems, "The Man in the Moon," which describes the gradual extinction of life on the earth from the absorption of heat, is the simplest, the clearest, and by far the most powerful. Mr. Weall, in straining after originality, is throwing away his undoubted powers as an able writer of verse.

Of "Waifs and Strays"[4] we will say but little. They are evidently the composition of an amiable lady, and they are quite harmless, but they do not appear to us to merit publication.

"Consolation and other Poems,"[5] by Abraham Perry Miller, are the expressions in simple but pleasing verse of those moral and religious sentiments which, in their recurrence to gentle and thoughtful minds, have all the charm of novelty, and impel them to poetical effort. Mr. Miller, if he is something less than a poet, can express himself in metre correctly and harmoniously, and without any slavish imitation of contemporary models. In his longest poem, "Consolation," there are some fine lines descriptive of a thunderstorm, which, if space allowed, would bear quotation. Perhaps the most original of his verses are the following lines to a Whistler:—

He never sings, but whistles as he goes,
Nor written song nor symphony he knows;
But in those strains, what music has its birth,
Into the common air of common earth!
What heavenly fountains, deep and far away,
Send up such bubbles to the light of day.
* * * *

[3] "Babylon Bound: a Morality, and other Poems." By Stanley Weall, B.A. London: Elliot Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, E.C. 1886.

[4] "Waifs and Strays, and other Lays." By Mrs. J. Taylor Cross. London: Swan Sonnenschein, Le Bas & Lowry, Paternoster Square. 1886.

[5] "Consolation, and other Poems." By Abraham Perry Miller. New York: Brentano Bros. 1886.

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If the divine sweet sounds he makes were caught,
And into one befitting song were wrought;
The world would laugh and weep as ne'er before,
And sing the witching song for evermore.

But Mr. Perry, although an American, is by no means possessed of humour, or he would hardly address a young poet as "My Splendid Friend"! or describe St. Anthony Falls as the "Grandmother of Waters!" or essay the following metaphor—

Our hearts are eggs, and God must break the shell,
To get the treasure which He loves so well.

Gems like this remind us of Gifted Hopkins, and of our honoured guest, The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, who created him a "joy for ever."

"Reynard the Fox,"[6] by A. D. Ainslie, is a pleasant and readable translation into a loose ballad metre of Goethe's well-known version of the "Reineke Fuchs," "that universal household possession and secular Bible," as Carlyle has named it, of European peoples. In his preface, Mr. Ainslie briefly recounts the several versions of the Legend from the Twelfth Century Reinardus Vulpes, to the Low German Version of "Reineke de Fos," published in 1498. We venture to predict that the present translation, with its easy tripping style and happy presentation in modern guise of old-world humour, will do much to make this "World's Book" better known among English speaking people.

Under the title of "Essays in the Study of Folk-Songs,"[7] the Countess Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco has brought together a number of scattered monographs on the primeval unlettered poetry of European nations. The Folk-Song, earlier even than the Folk-Tale, has its origin deep down in the heart of things. The joy of harvest or the vintage, the wonder and delight of the maiden to her lover, the inborn mysterious passion for depicting the "gods in the likeness of men," taught mankind to "lisp in numbers." It would seem that every nation under heaven has expressed the first and simplest thoughts of the human heart with a marvellous sameness, and that whatever else may come and go, at the peasant's fireside, and in the nursery of prince and peasant, the old songs, the old prayers, linger and abide. "The White Paternoster," the well-known prayer to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John itself, very possibly a Christian adaptation of some primeval celebration of the hidden powers of night, survived the Reformation, survived Methodism, and will survive the penny press and the school-board. In a series of masterly essays, none the less ably, because clearly and pleasantly put together, the Countess Martinengo-

[6] "Reynard the Fox," after the German Version of Goethe. By A. Douglas Ainslie. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

[7] "Essays in the Study of Folk-Songs." By the Countess Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco. London: George Redway, York Street, Covent Garden. 1886.

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Cesaresco brings both wide reading and personal knowledge to bear on such subjects as Nature in Folk-Songs; Sicilian Folk-Songs, Greek Songs of Calabria, and Folk Lullabies. A book at once so attractive and so instructive is a rare treat, and we heartily commend it to the notice of our readers. The numerous translations of Folk-Songs which are scattered broadcast through this delightful volume, are rendered with unusual skill and grace. We give as a specimen the following translation of the evensong of Polish children:—

The stars shine forth from the blue sky;
How great and wondrous is God's might;
Shine, stars, through all eternity,
His witness in the night.

O Lord, Thy tired children keep;
Keep us who know and feel Thy might,
Turn Thine eye on us as we sleep,
And give us all good night.

Shine, stars, God's sentinels on high,
Proclaimers of His power and might;
May all things evil from us fly:
O stars, good-night, good-night!

"In Quest and Vision"[8] Mr. W. S. Dawson discourses pleasantly and sensibly, though not without a touch of affectation, on Wordsworth, Shelley, George Eliot, and modern poets generally. On the whole, we are at one with Mr. Dawson. We agree with him in thinking that Shelley's conduct to Harriet Westbrook was an offence past all forgiveness; that Wordsworth's message was one of consolation and peace; and that George Eliot's intellectual renunciation of Christianity was made and sustained by an effort. We hold, too, with almost all that he has to say on the disastrous effect of religious doubt and pessimistic views on modern poetry. The questioning, despairing attitude is not favourable for the robuster and saner efforts of genius. Active revolt against all forms of faith, or the hope-illumined struggle of faith with doubt, or sunny unquestioning faith, are all favourable conditions for the development of poetic genius; but the spirit that doubts past hope, and yet bewails its discrowned deities, will spend its strength in empty and unavailing threnodies. On the other hand, we take exception to the charge of "pestilent obscenity" being brought against Sterne in common with Congreve and Swift. Such a union of names argues a want of ethical as well as literary discrimination. Again, it is an entire mistake to say of Wordsworth, that when he turned his face northward he knew that he was going to live as a peasant among peasants. Simply and hardly no doubt he lived in the little cottage at Townend, but not as a peasant. Lastly, we cannot let pass without protest such a phrase as "the light tintinnabulation of Mr. Thomas Moore." When modern culture ever

[8] "Quest and Vision." By W. J. Dawson. London: Elliot Stock, 62 Paternoster Row. 1886.

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produces a lyric worthy to be named in the same breath as "Oft in the Stilly Night," then, and not till then, may culture take up its parable against Anacreon Moore.

In his introduction to "Essays on Poetry and Poets."[9] Mr. Roden Noel discusses the philosophic value of poetic intuition, and he maintains that the moods and aspects of external nature betoken the presence "of something far more deeply infused," which it is the privilege of the poet to perceive and know by virtue of his inspiration. "Poetry," he says, "does not tell pretty lies for the sake of amusement, but penetrates to the heart of things." The primrose by the river-brim had secrets of her own, communicable to Wordsworth and his kind. The "wayward indolence" of the "short-lived foam," which Keats was the first to celebrate, is of the nature of human caprice, and bears witness to the real, though invisible presence of the *anima mundi*. But surely it is possible to observe and apprehend the outside world by the light and in the light of human personality, and yet to be conscious all the time that "we receive but what we give, and in our lives alone doth nature live. The existence of an informing and indwelling world-spirit depends on far deeper considerations than the chance resemblances between the motions of nature and of men. Of the long and carefully written essays which follow, on Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth, we cannot speak at length. In spite of some affectation of style, inseparable it would seem from literature of this kind, Mr. Noel displays a close knowledge of the authors whose writings he discusses, and a discriminating appreciation. He never writes only to depreciate, and he never praises for the purpose of detracting from the fame of a rival author. On the whole, the essay on Lord Tennyson appeared to us to reach the highest standard of criticism. By way of discovering an error: it was surely Wordsworth, in the "Leech Gatherer," who speaks of Chatterton as "the marvellous boy." When Coleridge wrote his monody on the death of Chatterton, he was "a marvellous boy" himself, and would not so have described a brother bard.

Translations of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Litany,[10] &c., into Greek iambics, the Te Deum into hexameters, and of variou well-known hymns into iambic dimeters, will commend themselve only to the curious in such matters. Many of these renderings—that of the Lord's Prayer, for instance—appears to be simple, idiomatic, and exact; but except as a *tour de force*, we fail to see the object of such composition. Doubtless to Mr. Chatfield the work has been a labour of love.

The Delegates of the Clarendon Press issue an edition of Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel,"[11] with notes and preface by W. Minto. An

[9] "Essays on Poetry and Poets." By the Hon. Roden Noel. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Paternoster Square, London.

[10] "Litany and Hymns in Greek Verse." Translated by Allen W. Chatfield, M.A. London: Henry Froude, Amen Corner.

[11] "Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel." Edited, with Preface and Notes, by W. Minto, M.A. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1886.

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interesting account is given in the preface of the "inception of the poem," together with critical remarks on the metre (the suggestion of which, as Scott admitted, was due to Coleridge's, then unpublished, "Christabel"), the supernatural machinery, and the diction of the poem. The notes abound in historical details and graphic descriptions of the scenery of Teviot and of Tweed. A map of the district, which the editor calls Scott-land—*i.e.* the land of the Scott clan—is affixed.

Messrs. Simpkin and Marshall issue a reprint, with facsimile title-page of "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedie of the Tempest,"[12] from the original copy printed by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount, 1623.

An edition of the first twelve books of the "Iliad" of Homer,[13] with introduction and critical notes by Walter Leaf, will be welcomed by scholars. In the introduction, after dealing with the text and the scholia, Mr. Leaf goes on to discuss the vexed question of the origin of the poem. He maintains that, while the Μῆνις Ἀχιλλέως, the work of "Homer" himself, is the original poem, yet that certain accretions, such as the story of the exploits of Diomede, may be by the same hand; and he concludes that while the "whole of the first book, half the second, the greater part of the next five, and the eleventh, may be the work of one poet, yet that the eighth and ninth books must be assigned to a second author, and the tenth to yet another." The notes are in English, and are suitable to advanced scholars who are not German students.

We have also to acknowledge an edition of the "Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles,"[14] with notes, commentary, and translation in English prose. In addition to a critical introduction, to which is attached a map of Colonus and the neighbourhood, there is an excursus on manuscripts and editions, a metrical analysis, an appendix with Greek and English indices. The English translation is printed on the opposite page to the Greek text. It would be difficult to say too much of the marvellous completeness of this noble edition.

We can do no more than acknowledge the second volume of "Cicero's Letters,"[15] with a commentary and introductory essay by Robert Yelverton Tyrrell. In the preface the editor calls attention to the fact that his is the first edition of the letters of Cicero, or of any part of them, which has been able to make use of the Codex Turonensis and Codices Harleiani for the recension of the text. Affixed to the historic essays, which are of the highest interest, there is a lengthy excursus on the Harleian Codex No. 2682.

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[12] "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedie of the Tempest." Published according to the true original copies. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

[13] "The Iliad." Edited, with English Notes and Introduction, by Walter Leaf, M.A. Vol. I. Books I.–XII. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

[14] "Sophocles: the Plays and Fragments." With Critical Notes, Commentary, and Translation in English Prose by R. C. Jebb. Part II. "The Œdipus Coloneus." Cambridge: at the University Press. 1885.

[15] "The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero." With Commentary and Introductory Essays by Robert Yelverton Tyrrell. Vol. II. London: Longmans, Green & Co., Paternoster Row. 1886.

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We have also received a second volume of Professor August Fick's redaction of the Iliad of Homer,[16] into its original Œolic form.

"Il Libro dell' Amore,[17] by Marco Antonio Canini, is an anthology (of 700 pages) of Italian love poems, together with a vast number of love poems of all ages and all peoples, which are translated into Italian. An art of love, indeed, but destined rather for immortal lovers.

We received too late for notice in the April number of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, a folio copy of "Early Christian Symbolism."[18] This beautiful volume consists of illustrations of the well-known designs affixed to early Christian tombs in the Catacombs. The drawings, which are engraved on copper, were collected by the late W. H. Palmer, and are in part a reproduction and rearrangement of the plates of Bosio and Arizghi as reprinted by Bottari, and in part are original sketches from the walls of the Catacombs. The designs are arranged under heads: as "The Rod," "The Dispensation," "The Woman," "The Eucharist." This work, which was left by the late Mr. Palmer in a state approaching completeness, fell into the hands of Cardinal Newman, who committed the task of editing and arranging to Father Northcote and Canon Brownlow. Their task has been executed with care and judgment. We need hardly say that, both as regards selection of designs and the suggested interpretations, that the editors approach the subject from the point of view of Roman Catholic divines.

"The Colloquial Faculty for Languages,"[19] by Walter Hayle Walshe, M.D., consists of three parts. In the first he contends that, contrary to the generally received opinion, the power of learning to speak and write any foreign language fluently and correctly is a faculty so rare as to be exceptional. In the second part he seeks to assign to this exceptional faculty a physical cause, and in pursuance of his argument gives in outline a history of the varying fortunes of the doctrine of cerebral localization. The third part is an inquiry, conducted on the same principles, into "The Nature of Genius." The second and third divisions will afford agreeable and instructive reading for all who are gifted with "a liberal curiosity"; but only a physiologist can really weigh the arguments put forward, far less pronounce upon them. It is, then, to the first section that we shall confine our remarks, and without hazarding an opinion on the "local habitation" of "The Colloquial Faculty for Languages," we unre-

[16] "Die Homerische Ilias," nach ihren entstehung betrachtet und in der ursprüngiichen sprachform liederhergestellt von August Fick. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht's Verlag. 1886.

[17] "Il Libro dell' Amore." Da Marco Antonio Canini. Venezia: Libraria Colombo Coen e Figlio. 1885. London: Trübner & Co.

[18] "An Introduction to Early Christian Symbolism." By the late William Palmer, M.A. Edited, with Notes, by the Revs. J. Spencer Northcote, D.D., and W. R. Brownlow, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Paternoster Square. 1885.

[19] "The Colloquial Faculty for Languages. Cerebral Localization, and the Nature of Genius: Tentamen Physiologicum." By Walter Hayle Walshe, M.D. London: J. & A. Churchill, New Burlington Street.

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servedly endorse Dr. Walshe's judgment as to the extreme rarity of the faculty itself. He distinguishes three kinds of linguistic faculty: the philological, the scholastic, and the colloquial. The possession of the first hardly, he thinks, "seems to signify anything specific, or strictly differentiated in the nature of its cerebral factors; mental aptitudes which will successfully grapple with intellectual problems as a class, will not be baffled utterly by those occurring within the range of philology." In the second variety, which we have termed the scholastic, he places "analytical grammarians and word-critics," and he classes them as belonging "in a humbler fashion to the previous group." "Far different," he proceeds to say, "is the case of the third variety of linguistic aptitude—that for readily assimilating and practically utilizing colloquial languages of the day. Herein lies a faculty peculiar, special, differentiated in a very striking degree—one which is the occasional, if rare, endowment of the otherwise non-intellectual, in some sort well-nigh brainless; one which cannot in its fulness be secured by any amount of toil—nay, which seems repelled in some varieties of organization by straining efforts to attain it." In the next chapter he passes in review the various recorded instances of consummate linguistic accomplishment, from Mithridates, King of Pontus—who is reported to have spoken twenty-two different dialects—down to our own time, when all previous performances "sink into insignificance before the culminating wonder of Cardinal Mezzofanti's perfect management of forty languages, with their dialects." But Dr. Walshe misdoubts such phenomenal achievements, and asks, "Before what courts of competent native examiners have these wonderful linguists appeared, and with how many such courts have they passed muster?" He thinks, as we do, that it is a very rare thing for a man to have a thorough practical knowledge of one other language besides his own, and if his knowledge approaches perfection it is little less than a wonder, only to be accounted for by extraordinary gifts developed by exceptional opportunities. This discouraging estimate is borne out in the work before us by a host of examples of the ludicrous errors into which some of the greatest writers, both French and English, have fallen, in their attempts to express themselves in a language not their own, or even to catch its true sense when written. Victor Hugo's complicated and colossal blunder is worth quoting. "Au moment," he writes, "où nous écrivons ces lignes, un coup d'équinoxe vient de démolir, sur la frontière d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse, la falaise Première des Quatre, *First of the Fourth;*" which means, being interpreted, "The Firth of Forth"—though how it came to be on the English border, or to be converted into a cliff, and finally to be demolished by an equinoctial gale, is more than we can explain.

In "Ecclesiastical English,"[20] which is a sequel to the "Revisers' English," by the same author, Mr. Washington Moon makes a damaging

[20] "Ecclesiastical English." By G. Washington Moon, Hon. F.R.S.L. Hatchards, 187 Piccadilly. 1886.

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onslaught on the English of the learned authors of the Revised Version of the Old Testament. He undoubtedly proves his case against them, though we cannot help thinking some of his objections hypercritical. As regards the correct use of "naught" and "nought" we cannot agree with him. Mr. Moon says we have no such word in English as "naught," in the sense of "naughty;" but he surely forgets the words of Ophelia ("Hamlet," iii. 2): "You are naught, you are naught!" Nought, meaning "nothing," should, we are persuaded, be spelled with an "o"—not, as he would have it, with an "a." That this is in accordance with ancient usage is, to our mind, proved by the general employment throughout the North of England of the word "nowt" for "nothing," as illustrated in the proverb, "Nowt's nivver i' danger." To return to Mr. Moon's indictment against the Revisers, we must confess that their work has never inspired us with much enthusiasm. We want no elaborate arguments to convince us that "the old is better."

"The Nîti Literature of Burma,"[21] a collection of ancient proverbs and maxims from Burmese sources, translated into English by Mr. James Grey, is to an ordinary reader more curious than interesting. The proverbs and maxims are not, for the most part, very striking or pithy. To enter into their spirit one must be deeply versed in the habits, customs, and tone of thought of the races amongst whom they have originated.

"The Philosophy of Art"[22] consists of translations from the German of Hegel's "Introduction to the Scientific Study of Æsthetics," and of Dr. Michelet's "Philosophy of Art and the Science of Æsthetics," together with a laudatory and hortatory preface by W. Hastie, B.D. We are grateful for these translations, which will enable the English student to study the science of æsthetics at its fountain-head. We cannot, however, bring ourselves to believe in the theory set forth by Mr. Hastie in his preface, that art is destined to be the inspiring and guiding influence of the future, and that, like theology, its secrets are with the initiated few, to whom the multitude must come for instruction and support. That art has been and will be the delight, the consolation, and the enlightener of men we doubt not; but that it is destined in some mysterious fashion to embrace and overshadow all human life and effort, we believe to be a dream.

"The Education of the Artist"[23] is a translation (and a very good one) by Miss Clara Bell from the French of M. Ernest Chesneau. M. Chesneau, like most French writers on art, has this signal superiority over German art-teachers, that at least one can understand

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[21] "Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; or, the Nîte Literature of Burma." By James Gray. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1886.

[22] "The Philosophy of Art." By Hegel and C. L. Michelet. Translated from the German by W. Hastie, B.D. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1886.

[23] "The Education of the Artist." By Ernest Chesneau. Translated by Clara Bell. London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne: Cassell & Co., Limited. 1886.

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him. His opinions are clearly formulated, so that we can either give or withhold our assent *en connaissance de cause;* and so long as he treats of matters within the range of his real knowledge and observation he commands something more than a mere assent to his propositions. We feel that he is speaking words of wisdom, and we listen with respect and admiration. But when he falls back upon what he regards as first principles the case is widely different. He babbles of "the soul," its mutability or immutability, its immortality, &c. In short, he lays down, as fundamental principles of art, a series of flimsy and unverifiable speculations on subjects of which he, like the rest of mankind, is necessarily profoundly ignorant, and which, moreover, have really no practical bearing on art. The important part of M. Chesneau's teaching is his insistance on originality in art to be attained by studying nature at first hand, and by avoiding slavish copying of the antique. We are entirely of one mind with him in mourning over the decay of national and local schools of painting, and in deploring the rapid spread of that dreary cosmopolitanism which in art, as in many other things, is passing over Europe like a blight, and effacing all variety of local colouring. It is some comfort to an Englishman that, according to M. Chesneau, our country forms the one exception to the universal decadence of art throughout Europe. "There is but one nation," he says, "of whom it can be said that it is improving on its past, and that is artistic England."

No doubt "A Bibliography of the Literature relating to Charles Dickens and his Writings" [24] is a valuable and all but necessary implement to bibliophiles, and every part of Mr. Kitton's volume will have more or less charm for devoted admirers of Dickens. But for us the only section of Dickensiana which possesses much interest is the "Critical." It is undoubtedly amusing, and to some extent instructive, to look through the contemporary criticisms of the earlier works of "Boz," and note how the new departure in fiction was received before the name of "Boz," and a little later of Dickens, became consecrated by success. One writer in an American periodical (*The Southern Literary Messenger*, May 1837) lashes himself into rage over the pseudonym of "Boz"—why, it is impossible to surmise or even to imagine; but he positively foams at the mouth, treating the harmless *nom de plume* as an offence against decency and good manners. Then there is a slashing critique from the *Saturday Review* (Dec. 17, 1859), containing some grains of justice and good sense floating in a sea of gall. But the two really good criticisms of Dickens's works —at once appreciative and just—are from *The National Review* (Oct. 1858) and from THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW (April 1866). The former, which is the more laudatory of the two, is from the pen of the late Walter Bagehot. Both are weighty, acute, sympathetic, and yet unsparing—just what literary criticism ought to be, but so seldom is.

[24] "Dickensiana: a Bibliography of the Literature relating to Charles Dickens and his Writings." Compiled by Fred. G. Kitton. London: George Redway, York Street, Covent Garden. 1886.

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"Thoughts on Life,"[25] by S. S. Copeman, belongs to a class of books which we confess to regarding as an infliction. A great or striking or humorous thought on life or on death either, for that matter—in short, on any subject—is welcome when it comes incidentally in the midst of other matter. But a whole book made up of "thoughts" on one subject, by a variety of writers of all degrees of merit and demerit, is literary food of a kind which we find unappetizing and difficult to assimilate.

"The Book Lover,"[26] by James Baldwin, Ph.D., is a wise and pleasant little volume. In it the praises of books are celebrated in the words of some of the greatest authors, ancient and modern. It contains, too, the best counsel, drawn from the same sources, on the choice of books, which we have ever seen brought together; for, in place of arbitrarily formulated lists of titles, or schemes of reading too vast and ambitious to be practically useful, it offers sound principles by which each reader may choose for himself. Towards the end of the volume lists are appended of standard works in most departments of human knowledge.

The leading feature of the book market of the present year is the enormous increase of translations of the novels of great foreign authors. We have taken this fever in England, and "nothing is hid from the heat thereof." We have translations of Balzac, Zola, Daudet, and all the great realistic writers. No doubt there are translations and translations, and some are better than others; but the best are but poor substitutes for the originals. At this moment we have to notice English versions of the work of Ary Ecilaw. "Roland, or the Expiation of a Sin"—and "The Romance of a German Court,"[27] attributed, with how much of truth we know not, to the morganatic wife of the Duke of Hesse. In the latter, under the flimsiest veil, events are narrated which to an English reader are only a shameful scandal. The "Romance," taken only as a story, is interesting enough, although too profoundly sad for wholesome or pleasant reading. "Roland" is inferior in quality, and the translation, though conscientious, is too literal. It wants dignity of style, and too often sinks into the colloquial and commonplace.

"In the Light of the Twentieth Century," by "Innominatus,"[28] is something of the same type as "The Diothas," which we noticed some time ago; but it differs from that curious forecast, or *jeu d'esprit*, whichever it may be held to be, in two particulars. The author of "The Diothas" was in full accord with modern ideas, and revelled in

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[25] "Thoughts on Life, from Modern Writers." Edited by S. S. Copeman. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. 1886.

[26] "The Book Lover: a Guide to the Best Reading." By James Baldwin, Ph.D. London: G. P. Putman's Sons, King William Street, Strand; and John Stark, Busby Place. 1886.

[27] "Roland; or, the Expiation of a Sin." By Ary Ecilaw. "The Romance of a German Court." Translated from "Le Roi de Thessalie." Two vols. London: Remington & Co. 1886.

[28] "In the Light of the Twentieth Century." By "Innominatus." London: John Hodges, Soho Square. 1886.

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his dream of their vast development, which he placed in an all but immeasurably distant future. "Innominatus," on the contrary, dislikes and distrusts a great part of the current thought and sentiment of the day, and seeks to discredit them by picturing their outcome at a period not more remote than the next century. The metaphysical jumble which he presents as the coming religion of the cultivated minority rather reminds one of Lord Dundreary's puzzle about his mother, his "old nurse," and his "Brother Sam," which ends, as will be remembered, by his asking, in hopeless bewilderment, "Then, who the devil am I?" The little volume contains much clever and acute reasoning. One sentence is especially memorable for its truth and for its terse wording. It is: "Obscurity is the atmosphere in which false philosophies live."

"Inquirendo Island,"[29] by Hudor Genone (evidently a *nom de plume*), is a quaint and clever book. In a short preface, in which occur such phrases as "the pestilential marshes of superstition," "the cold glaciers of reason," and "the fertile table-land of common sense," the author tells us that it is a satire, but will not, he hopes, "be found wanting in a spirit of full reverence for the essential truth of God's Universe." He is evidently not without misgivings on this point, and begs his readers not to judge his work without taking into account what he calls his "postface." This to us explains nothing. That the book is a satire is evident enough, and its satire is unmistakably directed against all the recognized schools of Christian thought. High Church, Low Church, Roman Catholicism, as well as various forms of Protestant Dissent, are all cleverly and delicately caricatured under the diverse queerly named sects of the Inquirendo Islanders. What is the residuum which the author exempts from satire is not so clear. The preface and "postface," taken in connection with the story itself, seem to us little more than an attempt at the favourite but impossible feat of "having your pudding and eating it." But from the *belles lettres* point of view, this is a matter of quite secondary importance. It is not as an allegory, nor as a satire, that we value the book, but as an ingenious and interesting story, something in the same *genre* as "Gulliver's Travels" and "Peter Wilkins," but with a dash of romance that makes one think of "Young Lochinvar." Read in this spirit, "Inquirendo Island" must be pronounced a complete success.

"Dagonet the Jester"[30] is a graceful little work. The scene is laid in an English village, and the story—a very slight one—opens during the struggle between Charles I. and his Parliament, and closes soon after the Restoration. These public events are, however, but distantly alluded to. All the principal actors are humble villagers, sheltered by their obscurity from the storms of civil war, but suffering the gloomy and disquieting influence of the new opinions. Dagonet, with his whimsical sayings and his light laughter-loving nature, may stand

[29] "Inquirendo Island." By Hudor Genone. New York and London: G. P. Putman's Sons. 1886.

[30] "Dagonet the Jester." London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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as the representative of that frank, harmless gaiety, which Puritanism so sternly repressed that it has ceased to be a national characteristic. The uncongenial gloom is fatal to the poor jester. The story of his luckless life and pitiful death is touchingly told. The style and language of the narrative are vaguely archaic—not modern English, certainly, but not by any means the exact language of the period. This is the great flaw in an otherwise delicately executed work.

"Notes from another World,"[31] by Lord Granville Gordon, is a volume of stories of considerable merit. The writer is supposed during his lifetime to have entered into an engagement with a friend —a young lady—that whichever of them died first should send to the survivor news from the land of shades. Accordingly, he collects and transmits to his earthly correspondent the life history of such of the spirits around him as seem to him to have a story worth telling. The plan of the work is at once fantastic and lugubrious; but the tales are clever, spirited, and infinitely varied.

"Indian Summer,"[32] is one of Mr. Howells' charming and subtle analytical studies. It is a story, but, like all his stories, its interest depends far more on the causation of incident by the mingling and clashing of various skilfully portrayed types of human character, than on anything striking or dramatic in the incidents themselves. In "Indian Summer" the analysis of character is almost entirely effected by means of conversations—of all methods the most difficult and the most artistic. By dint of hearing them talk, the whole group of persons represented becomes thoroughly known to us; and we think of them, not as characters in a book, but as real, living men and women, on whose qualities, peculiarities, and inconsistencies we speculate as though they were our intimate acquaintances. The scene of this unsensational yet most interesting and even poignant drama is laid in Florence, which, whether as regards its winter climate or its society, Mr. Howells does not paint in very glowing colours; but the *dramatis personæ* are one and all Americans.

We have received with great pleasure a new novel in three volumes by Mrs. Oliphant, whose name is a household word among us, and whose perennial spring is inexhaustible. "A Country Gentleman and his Family"[33] has all her old unmistakable characteristics. As usual, her thread is spun to the finest gossamer, and after reading through the three long volumes we wonder what spell has held us. The book is not one of her best, but that perhaps is due to her choice of untoward and unattractive characters; for we see no diminution of power, no loss of accuracy, in her delicate depicting of scenes and people.

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[31] "Notes from another World." By Lord Granville Gordon. London: Remington & Co., Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1886.

[32] "Indian Summer. A Novel." By William D. Howells. One vol. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1886.

[33] "A Country Gentleman and his Family." By Mrs. Oliphant. 3 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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The anonymous author of "Mrs. Peter Howard"[34] has judiciously named his book, for the whole interest of the story centres in this most charming and delicately drawn character. "Mated with a clown," and forced to lead a life repugnant to her, Millicent Howard dreams on as she has always dreamed—a pure and spotless creature, bent upon doing her duty, and scarcely complaining even to herself of her distasteful surroundings, till at length she meets her fate, and then her soul is stirred to its depths. But before all things she is *honnête femme*, and bravely battles with the temptation. Finally, however, goaded beyond endurance by the brutality of her husband, she is on the point of flying from her home when her husband is crippled for life by a carriage accident, and by his bedside she takes a last farewell of the man she loves. The subordinate characters are effectively and humorously drawn; and in closing this eminently readable book we gladly seize on the idea that the future yet holds possibilities of happiness for Millicent.

"Demos"[35] is an unusually good novel: a great variety of characters, of all classes and of both sexes, are admirably delineated. Richard Mutimer, the representative of socialistic democracy, is a careful and finished study. Each successive development of his disposition and tendencies, brought out by unexpected changes of fortune, is clearly the logical outcome of given circumstances on a given idiosyncracy. Several others among the persons represented are no less skilfully and successfully portrayed. In female character the author of "Demos" is singularly successful: of this, the wife, the mother, and the sister of Mutimer—women of types utterly diverse from each other—afford a striking proof. The plot, too, is good, the incidents naturally produced, the *dénouement* likely, and at the same time powerful and dramatic. What the author's opinion may be on the "social question" is not perhaps of great importance from the purely literary point of view from which we regard works of fiction; but he is certainly not a socialist, nor even an ardent democrat.

Mr. Marion Crawford's "Tale of a Lonely Parish"[36] seems to promise through its title the sort of thing it really is—a very tame not to say dull story, in which the very small circle of individuals of whom the "Lonely Parish" consists, live and move exactly in the same groove day after day and year after year—saying and doing the same things evermore. Their little eccentricities of person and manner are incessantly referred to—so that one only thinks of them as the man with the "smooth hair," or the lady with the violet eyes, &c.; and so the reader yawns on through the two volumes. Yet there is matter towards the end of the book which is more than sufficiently *saisissant*. We suppose Mr. Crawford wishes to prove

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[34] "Mrs. Peter Howard." Two vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1886.
[35] "Demos: a Story of English Socialism." Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1886.
[36] "A Tale of a Lonely Parish." By F. Marion Crawford. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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that even a lonely parish may be the arena of the most startling events. Why not?

Mr. Christie Murray's "Aunt Rachel,"[37] though by no means a thrilling romance like "Rainbow Gold," is yet a most charming idyllic picture, in which the figures are all more or less sympathetic. It is a curious fact that whenever the violin is a prominent feature in a story, it at once refines and elevates both players and listeners, and their whole lives are modified by its mystic influence. Such is the case in the present work, where the Staffordshire villagers who form the string-band at Barfield meet and practise in their garden on summer evenings, making melody of no slight merit and wanting no other enjoyment. Christie Murray has the power of drawing his readers along with him, and his inimitable rendering of the local dialect gives a comic cast to his writing which is irresistible.

Another musical novel—but this time in a minor key—"A Left-handed Marriage,"[38] by Mrs. Oscar Beringer, is a disastrous story from beginning to end. Its purpose is, we conclude, to show what fatal consequences may arise from morganatic marriages, and what serious complications are likely to accrue to the unacknowledged issue. In the present instance the son falls in love with his own father's morganatic wife! The book is dedicated to the Abbé Liszt, who is a sort of *hors d'œuvre* amidst the unpalatable food which Mrs. Oscar Beringer has set before us.

"Fortune's Wheel,"[39] now published in three volumes, originally appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* as a serial, which may be held to be a warrant that it does not fall before a certain standard. In effect, it deserves very favourable mention. Without being great, it is an eminently pleasant book. The style is above mediocrity; there is a never-failing supply of lively and amusing incidents, and nearly all the characters are genial and sympathetic—some extremely well-drawn and lifelike. Mr. Innes Shand has perhaps a weakness for airing his knowledge of French—sometimes in literal translations of French idioms, as when he talks of a general "save who can," or of one of his personages launching himself "in full Bohemia;" but oftener in quotations of well-known, not to say hackneyed French phrases. But after all, this is a venial fault, so long as the French quotations are correct. Let us hope that "*Tu là voulu*" and "*Il n'y a que le premier pas 'que' coûte*" and "*Les chronicles du jour*" are printer's errors.

The hope that we expressed in our notice of Mr. Fargus's posthumous work, "A Cardinal Sin," that the supply might be perennial, seems in a fair way of being fulfilled. Evidently Hugh Conway's magic desk is inexhaustible. It has now given us "Living

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[37] "Aunt Rachel: a Rustic Sentimental Comedy." By D. Christie Murray. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

[38] "A Left-handed Marriage: a Story of Musical Life." By Mrs. Oscar Beringer. Two vols. London: Remington & Co., Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1886.

[39] "Fortune's Wheel: a Novel." Three vols. By Alex Innes Shand. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

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or Dead,"[40] a three-volume novel, which, though not equal to "A Cardinal Sin," is both interesting and entertaining, and bears all Mr. Fargus's *marques de fabrique*, even to his little verbal solecisms, such as the use of "like" for "as," &c.

Coming after such books as "Unknown to History" and "The Armourer's Apprentices, "Chantry House"[41] falls flat. Enchanting as are Miss Yonge's mediæval romances, it must be confessed that her tales of modern every-day life are apt to be twaddling.

"Buried Diamonds,"[42] though not remarkable for literary skill, is nevertheless an unusually well-planned story, of unflagging interest throughout, and here and there manifesting considerable dramatic power. There are two heroines, both of whom are learned and both equally well drawn. Indeed, every character in the book is a well-sustained individuality; their peculiarities are not arbitrary, but typical, and have therefore the effect of making them so real and natural that they seem to be personal friends of the reader, and it is with a friendly solicitude that he follows them to the end of their troublous career.

"The Curate's Wife"[43] is an unimportant and inferior novel. It is not well written nor interesting, and it wants refinement. For our own taste, we would rather have an over-romantic, or even a sensational novel, than an utterly dull *terre à terre* story like "The Curate's Wife."

"Crime and Punishment"[44] is the English name of a so-called "Russian realistic novel," produced in English by Messrs. Vizetelly. The first title is accurately descriptive, but we do not see how it can be called "realistic." To us it seems rather to be phantasmagoric. Hardly one of the characters acts or speaks like a sane person. If it is a realistic presentation of Russian life and character, human nature in Russia must be strangely unlike human nature everywhere else. Not but what there are many natural touches scattered here and there throughout the story; but there is a general want of intelligible relation between action and motive, and an imperfect adaptation of means to ends, noticeable in a greater or less degree in every personage put on the scene; and this gives to the whole book a strange air of unreality, even to the verge of incoherency. It is not like real life either in Russia or anywhere else; it is like a wild, feverish dream. Nevertheless it is powerful, and not without a certain weird fascination.

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[40] "Living or Dead: a Novel." By Hugh Conway. Three vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

[41] "Chantry House." By Charlotte M. Yonge. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

[42] "Buried Diamonds." By Sarah Tytler. Three vols. Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1885.

[43] "The Curate's Wife: A Story of Country Life." By J. E. Panton. Two vols. London: George Redway, York Street, Covent Garden. 1886.

[44] "Crime and Punishment: A Russian Realistic Novel." By Fedor Dostoieffsky. London: Vizetelly & Co. 1886.

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In "Court Royal"[45] we have what is a rarity in contemporary English fiction—a novel really admirable from nearly every point of view. It contains deep thought, vivid and powerful characterization, cleverly conducted plot, and besides all this, is permeated and embellished by that indescribable charm and fascination which not only rivet the attention of the reader, but secure his goodwill, and thus blunt the edge of criticism. The genesis of the book is thus summed up by the author in his preface:

> Two types, in two groups, are opposed to each other; each group represents a set of ideas, social and moral; the one coming on, conquering, overwhelming; the other disappearing, and likely soon to be looked back upon as having become extinct in the moral world, like asceticism and mysticism. There are two heroines, each the focussing of the good qualities of the two groups; and two heroes, each the concentration of the infirmities of the same.

Without entering into detailed criticism of the work, which would involve telling the story (an easy plan of reviewing a book, but unfair, in our opinion, both to author and reader), we will confine our comments to the "argument," as it used to be called, which we have given in Mr. Baring-Gould's own words. To begin with, we doubt the approaching extinction of "asceticism and mysticism." Both are, we think, inherent principles of human nature. Men, no doubt, love pleasure; but, strange to say, they also love torture, if self-inflicted and needless. While as to mysticism, we see no sign of its abatement —merely of its transformation. How can it die while the limits of human knowledge are so circumscribed and the realms of the unknown so infinitely vast? So, too, we are by no means sure that the old ideas which Mr. Gould has labelled "feudal Christian morality" are so near dying out as he supposes. Ideas and schemes of life die hard, even when they are false; but when they have more value than those which seek to supplant them, we may be pretty sure that there will be transformation or blending rather than destruction. The new conquering idea is, according to Mr. Gould, unchecked individualism. But is it not rather late in the day to treat "individualism" as the dominant current in the modern stream of thought? Is not individualism itself seriously threatened by socialism under one form or another? More than once in the course of the story we find the author complaining that "the time is out of joint." It is a singular characteristic of the present time that some, nay most, of the greatest thinkers in England and America, as well as on the continent of Europe, distrust and disapprove the drift and tendency of popular opinion. One word in conclusion as to Mr. Baring-Gould's characters. We have already commended them *en bloc*, but we cannot close without a separate tribute of admiration to "The Lady Grace" (who "focusses the good qualities" of the expiring group). She is to our mind one of the sweetest and truest personations of female character to be found

[45] "Court Royal: A Story of Cross Currents." By the Author of "Mehalah," "John Herring," &c. Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co., Waterloo Place. 1886.

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in modern fiction: ideal, but yet natural. All the ducal family are wonderfully well rendered. The opposing heroine is interesting, but much less natural. Several of the less important personages are too clever to be quite in keeping; but this, though a fault, is a good fault. At any rate, it is as unavoidable by some writers as is its direct opposite by the vast majority.

We can give no higher praise to Mr. Hardy's new book, "The Mayor of Casterbridge,"[46] than to say it is a worthy successor of "Far from the Madding Crowd." There is the same consummate art in describing persons and places; the same aptness and picturesqueness of expression, the same under-current of sly humour, which have gone far towards forming Mr. Hardy's charming *accent personnel*. The character of Henchard is a grand study, which has not, so far as we recollect, its prototype in fiction. Whether it is an imaginary creation or a real personality, it is drawn with infinite skill.

"The Bliss of Revenge,"[47] by T. Evan Jacob, is a work of some power and merit, but it is coarse in texture. The good people are too good; the bad, unmitigated fiends. The author is evidently an agnostic, though he does not proclaim himself such; but his hero and heroine are agnostics, and advanced radicals of the modern school to boot. The villain of the story is a clergyman, and the author takes occasion to inveigh against bishops, to sneer at kings and nobles, to claim land as national property; in short, he flaunts the revolutionary programme that usually nowadays accompanies and disfigures religious unbelief. It is a pity we have not more unbelievers of the school of Strauss—rational in their attitude towards the known and the unknown. But these are matters of opinion, and do not militate against the excellence of the book as a work of art. From that point of view its defects are, as we said before, a certain coarseness of execution, and besides, a general atmosphere of unreality—what is called in French *un air emprunté*.

"My Destiny,"[48] by L. A. S. Carew, is a story of an incredibly weak, silly girl, supposed to be told by herself—a supposition which is not contradicted by anything in the style or manner of its telling.

Miss Rowsell's old-world romance, "The Silver Dial,"[49] is a sombre affair. It tells of the time when the curious clock at Strasbourg was made, and the story is interwoven with the fabrication of the clock; but, through an entire lack of local colouring, it fails to interest the reader. The three volumes follow a sort of crescendo movement as to their bulk. The first is barely of the ordinary size, the second is

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[46] "The Mayor of Casterbridge: the Life and Death of a Man of Character." By Thomas Hardy. Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co., Waterloo Place. 1886.

[47] "The Bliss of Revenge." By T. Evan Jacob. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. 1886.

[48] "My Destiny; or, Lady Musgrave." By Laura S. Carew. One vol. London: Bevington & Co., John Street, Adelphi. 1886.

[49] "The Silver Dial." By Mary C. Rowsell. Three vols. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

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stouter, and the third positively obese. This peculiarity has an odd effect; it seems as though the book had gradually grown fat and middle-aged before its birth.

"The Right Honourable,"[50] the joint production of Mr. Justin McCarthy and Mrs. Campbell Praed, is an extraordinary jumble of society, politics, and cosmopolitan conspiracy. The two gifted collaborateurs seem to possess between them an entire acquaintance with all human affairs. They are equally at home in the council chambers of Ministers of State and in the most secret meetings of Nihilists. In drawing-rooms and in "slums" they are equally in their element, and always with a mysterious air of being behind the scenes and knowing more than the *profanum vulgus*; yet, strange to say, all their descriptions—of society especially—bear the stamp of being written by "outsiders." Then, too, they mix up reality with unreality; thrust the shadows of their own creation into juxtapcsition with the best known names in contemporary politics. Yet in spite of these very real and obvious flaws, "The Right Honourable" is very readable, and the story is interesting.

Another work of Mr. Justin McCarthy's which has reached us is a new edition of "Camiola."[51] We sincerely regret that our space—already overcrowded—precludes our entering into any discussion of the merits of the story. However, a new edition need not be introduced to the public as a new work.

Mr. McCarthy's little shilling volume, "Doom,"[52] contains a clever short story; painful and not very new in its machinery, but well treated. It relates the tragic fate of a young Englishman who is murdered (perhaps Mr. McCarthy would call it "executed") on board a Cunard steamer, by a Nihilist agent, as a *faux frère*. Much of the background is pleasant, and "Jack Harris," who "had taken the eighteenth century under his special protection, seeming to regard it as one unchanging period," is an amusing portrait (for it can hardly be called a caricature) of a well-known personality. "Captain Judge," too, the philosophic commander of the Cunarder, is a humorous sketch. He had not much time for reading, and having long ago made up his mind that Shakspeare was the best reading possible, he reads nothing else, and talks to himself in quotations. But all these pleasant touches are darkened by the hideous nightmare of Nihilism, which sprawls all over the picture and overshadows everything.

Evidently the author of "Link by Link"[53] considers her subject too solemn and too dramatic for ordinary treatment. It begins with a

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[50] "The Right Honourable: a Romance of Society and Politics." By Justin McCarthy, M.P., and Mrs. Campbell Praed. Three vols. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1886.

[51] "Camiola: a Girl with a Fortune." By Justin McCarthy, M.P. New Edition. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1886.

[52] "Doom! An Atlantic Episode." By Justin Huntly McCarthy, M.P. London: Chatto & Windus. 1886.

[53] "Link by Link." By Cecil Courtney. One vol. London: Bevington & Co. 1886.

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prologue, and the story is carried on in scenes instead of chapters. The prologue opens with a fearful murder and burglary, the perpetrators of which are not discovered for ten years after. A case of mistaken identity then occurs—too improbable to be excusable even on the plea of the exigencies of the story. The plot is clumsily wrought, and the "links" by no means well-forged.

"The Wayfarers,"[54] by W. Ashworth Taylor, is what French writers term *une étude d'analyse*. It turns entirely on dissection of motives and the mutual action and reaction of varying types of personality. It is a thoughtful book, but its thought is that of the moralist, and still more moral vivisector, rather than that of the social reformer or of the politician. As may be guessed, its tone is not gay; indeed, there is not a bright or exhilarating chapter throughout the two volumes. But it contains a choice collection of careful studies of diverse types of humanity, few of them very salient, and none wildly eccentric, but each showing that individuality which comes only of being drawn from the life. The style in which it is written is far above the average. Altogether, it is a work which commands no small meed of admiration, but it is not very pleasant reading.

"The Fall of Asgard,"[55] by Mr. Julian Corbett, is a romance founded on ancient Norwegian history. As is shadowed forth by the title, it turns upon the fall of the old heathen gods by the forcible introduction of Christianity—a work commenced by Olaf Trygvasson, and completed by his godson, Olaf Haroldson, surnamed "The Thick." Many of the characters are historic—*e.g.*, the two evangelizing kings, Grimkel the bishop, Sigvat and Bersi, the scalds or bards, Earl Swend and his sister, and Einer Thambarskelmir, who may be said to figure as the villain of the piece. But Gudrun, and Thorkel her son, who are the principal personages in Mr. Corbett's romance, are his own creations, and very admirable creations they are—in strict keeping with the times in which they are placed, and with the real characters among whom they move, yet informed with a breath of modern romanticism which gives them interest for readers of our own day. Gudrun may be said to typify that conservative instinct of womanhood which is especially manifested in all that pertains to religion. Thorkel is hard to move to any great or abiding zeal either for the old gods or the new; but he worships his mother, and sacrifices himself first to protect and afterwards to avenge her. We know not whether it will suit the taste of the general public, but to us "The Fall of Asgard" is not only a finely executed piece of work—which is, we think, beyond dispute—but delightful reading.

Miss Laura E. Richards fully redeems the promise of her title,

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[54] "The Wayfarers." By W. Ashworth Taylor. Two vols. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

[55] "The Fall of Asgard: a Tale of St. Olaf's Days." By Julian Corbett. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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"The Joyous Story of Toto,"[56] It is "joyous," and the illustrations by E. H. Garrett are so frolicsome and rollicking that they heighten the effect of the *joyeusetés* of the letterpress.

"Humour in Animals,"[57] by W. H. Beard, is a handsome volume, profusely illustrated. We like the spirit in which it is conceived; but we cannot help thinking the author puts too much distinctly human thought into the minds of his beasts. They think, no doubt, but "how" must ever remain a mystery.

"Dame Britannia and her Troublesome Family"[58] belongs to a class of literature to which we are not warmly attached—the political pamphlet in the form of a familiar story. Events, too, have gone so fast as to leave the author of "Dame Britannia" in the rear. Nevertheless, the little *brochure* is worth reading, for it contains some home-truths of which it is wholesome and profitable to be reminded.

"Hamlet's Note-book,"[59] by William D. O'Connor, is another of many wearisome and futile attempts to prove that Shakspeare's works were written, not by him, but by Bacon. Even if we had ample space at command, we should decline to occupy it with a discussion so "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable."

Mr. Fleay's "Life and Work of Shakspeare"[60] is Shakesperian literature of a very different order. It is too important a work to be hurriedly reviewed at the tail-end of our section; so we reserve it for leisurely perusal, and careful notice in our next issue.

The Society papers boldly attribute the authorship of "Le Roi de Thessalie"[61] to the so-called morganatic wife of the Duke of Hesse; but without pinning our faith to the assertion, we will examine what internal evidence in its favour is to be found in the work itself. To begin with: "Le Roi de Thessalie" is evidently not written by a Frenchman. There is a certain unfamiliar ring in its turns of phrasing which, for the most part, helps to create that freshness and unconventionality which are marked characteristics of its style; but here and there we come upon clumsiness of construction amounting sometimes to obscurity, such as would assuredly be avoided by any Frenchman who possessed such literary ability as is displayed in the work under consideration. Next we may notice the intense sympathy and admiration which the author invariably manifests for his heroine. Now, a cynical Burmese proverb tells us that there is "no love like

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[56] "The Joyous Story of Toto." By Laura E. Richards. With Illustrations by E. H. Garrett. London and Edinburgh: Blackie & Sons. 1886.

[57] "Humour in Animals: a Series of Studies in Pen and Pencil." By W. H. Beard. London and New York: Putnam's Sons.

[58] "Dame Britannia and her Troublesome Family—especially Pat." London: Sampson Low. 1886.

[59] "Hamlet's Note-book." By William D. O'Connor. Boston and New York: Houghton & Co. 1885.

[60] "A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakspeare, Player, Poet, and Playmaker." By Frederick Gard Fleay. London: John C. Nimmo, King William Street, Strand. 1886.

[61] "Le Roi de Thessalie." By Ary Ecilaw. Paris: Alphonse Lemerre. 1886.

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self-love;" and readers of M. Zola's "Nana" will remember that, among all her passionate and devoted admirers, none was so adoring as Nana herself—a touch which always seemed to us to reveal M. Zola's profound knowledge of the type he there portrays. Again, Ary Ecilaw undoubtedly desires to paint his heroine, Nadjeska Ivanowna, as an ideal woman, and if he fails it is because his ideal is hopelessly false. We must imagine Nadjeska as beautiful and fascinating as her author chooses to represent her. He says so, and we must take his word for it. But when it comes to a question of moral perfection, we can compare her recorded acts with the array of lovely qualities that she is credited with. And what do we find? At the outset of her career, when first introduced into the world, she secretly engages herself to a young man who is her frequent partner at balls, knowing all the while that a family arrangement has been all but concluded by which she was destined to be the wife of the Prince de Mineleko. Then, when her father ruins himself at the gaming-table, she saves him from well-deserved dishonour by throwing over her lover, and bestowing her hand on Prince Mineleko, and she commits this breach of faith with a variety of aggravating circumstances. She never, either personally or by letter, explains to her sacrificed lover the supposed necessity of the sacrifice—never even announces to him her change of plans. And when De Mineleko loyally informs her of the natural jealousy of his disposition, and charges her, if she has ever loved another man, *not to accept his offer*, she marries him under false pretences, assuring him, by what the author calls "un mensonge pieux," that she had no previous attachment. A year later, when she again meets Waldemar de Heiligenthal, her former lover, she cares neither for him nor her husband; for, dazzled by the admiration of the Roi de Thessalie—a widower of forty-five, while Nadjeska is twenty—she has once more transferred her facile love. We will not follow her story to its sad *dénouement*. Touching and poignant that *dénouement* surely is, but, after all, just and well-deserved—the legitimate, almost necessary, outcome of all that led up to it. We will remark, in conclusion, that "morganatic marriage" is a farce, a contradiction in terms; for the essence of marriage is that it cannot be dissolved at the caprice of one of the contracting parties, nor even of both. What is the worth of a marriage which can be broken by the intervention of a former mother-in-law, however exalted her rank? Of the indecency of dragging into publicity the private affairs of royal personages we have spoken elsewhere (in noticing the English translation of "Le Roi de Thessalie"), and we only allude to it here as affording one more argument for the suggestion, that the book was written by the aggrieved Nadjeska herself.

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THE

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REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1886.

ART. I.—AMERICAN RESOURCES AND THE AMERICAN EXHIBITION.

1. *Statistical Abstract of the United States for* 1885.
2. *Reports on the External and Internal Commerce of the United States for* 1883, 84, 85.
3. *Reports of the Tenth Census of the United States.* 1880.
4. *The Mineral Resources of the United States.* 1883–4.
5. *Production of the Precious Metals in the United States.* 1885.

THE approaching American Exhibition, to be opened in London in May, 1887, by the President of the United States, by telegram and cable from the White House, is likely to mark a new era in the commercial and industrial relations of the two greatest nations of the Anglo-Saxon race. Hitherto, the manufacturers of the United States have not come very prominently to the front in any Exhibition held on European soil. They have, until lately, had their hands sufficiently full in meeting the constantly increasing requirements of their own country. They have also, in a large majority of cases, deemed it to be a hopeless task to endeavour to compete with the cheap labour of Europe, especially in the production of commodities the cost of which is largely, if not almost entirely, made up of that element. Hitherto, accordingly, they have only been very mildly aggressive. They have been, for the most part, content to enjoy a practical monopoly of their own protected markets. Those markets have,

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indeed, expanded with such amazing rapidity that it has in many cases taxed the uttermost resources of American industrials to fulfil their requirements. But latterly, a high protectionist tariff and dear labour notwithstanding, American commodities have become more largely adopted and more highly appreciated in the world's markets generally. The efforts of Americans are not now limited, as they once were, to their own vast territories. Their aspirations and their endeavours have taken a wider range, and their horizon is bounded only by the widest and grandest possibilities. Their avowed ambition and their most serious aims are alike directed to active competition with the mother country. To this rivalry they are impelled by many powerful considerations. It is not a mere question of the possible margin of profit to be got on transactions effected in European markets. *That*, no doubt, is a main factor of which the shrewd American is not likely to lose sight. But the United States, like other protected countries, are not necessarily compelled to export at a profit. Protected from foreign competition in their own markets, the Americans can afford to dispose of their surplus produce at a relatively very low price—perhaps at a price that is generally under the cost of production; and it is with competition so organized and regulated that European manufacturers are likely to have to deal in the future. There is, besides, a question of *amour propre* exercising a powerful influence on the American mind. The most consuming passion of Yankeedom, from time immemorial, has been to "lick all creation." If this feat cannot be accomplished on the merits of the transaction, it must anyhow be achieved, if only in order to show the unbelieving economists of the parent land that successful rivalry in neutral markets is not necessarily incompatible with the maintenance of a tariff that avowedly protects special industries at the expense of the general body of consumers.

Probably very few European manufacturers are aware of the extent to which they are already affected by American competition in the markets of the world. The prevailing notion appears to be that the United States are a raw-material producing country only, and that their "manifest destiny" is to supply Europe with the food requirements that we cannot provide at home. There could hardly be a greater mistake. American manufactures have been exported more largely year by year, until they now represent more than 16 per cent. of the whole exports of the country. Between 1860 and 1870, the exports of American manufactures were almost stationary—that is to say, they only rose from 45 to 47 millions of dollars; but between 1870 and 1880 they increased from 47 to 79 millions of dollars; and in the course of the next five years they amounted to over 117 millions of dollars.

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Of agricultural products exported, the value rose from 256 millions of dollars in 1860 to 361 millions in 1870, and to 685 millions in 1880; while in 1885 there was a fall to 530 millions of dollars. In other words, agricultural produce fell from 79·3 per cent. of the total value of American exports in 1870 to 72·9 per cent. in 1885, while manufactured commodities increased within the same period from 10·5 per cent. to 16·1 per cent. of the whole exports of the country. It should be borne in mind that this increase of value is not synonymous with increase of volume. In the later period there was a much lower range of prices, so that, if increase of volume were alone to be considered, it would be much more remarkable.

The question will naturally be suggested, In what particular branches of industry is American competition most severe and effective? Here is a list of some of them, selected at random, for the years 1870 and 1885:*

Statement showing Value of Exports of American Manufactures for 1870 and 1885.

	1870. 1 = 1,000 dols.		1885. 1 = 1,000 dols.
Agricultural implements	1,068	...	2,561
Chemicals, drugs, and dyes	3,118	...	4,806
Clocks and watches	589	...	1,345
Copper and brass and manufactures thereof	674	...	5,985
Cotton manufactures	3,787	...	11,836
Flax, hemp, and jute ditto	536	...	1,314
Machinery	1,913	...	3,794
Saws and tools	310	...	1,108
Sewing machines	2,233	...	2,898
Locomotive engines	341	...	732
Leather	111	...	8,539
,, manufactures	562	...	1,153
Musical instruments	267	...	941
Household furniture	1,245	...	2,128
Manufactures in wood	1,367	...	2,651
,, of iron and steel	13,483	...	12,592

These figures indicate, in a general way, the particular branches of industry in which the United States have made the greatest progress. They are, however, very far from exhausting the list. The fact is, that the inventory is practically inexhaustible, since there is scarcely a manufactured article that can be named of which an export record is not found in the "strange eventful history" that tells the tale of America's commerce with the rest of mankind.

But there is still another aspect of the problem that remains

* "Report on the Foreign Commerce of the United States for 1885," p. 34.

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to be considered. It may be supposed that this large exportation of manufactured goods took place for the most part to regions that were more accessible to United States' industrials than to those of their European rivals—perhaps to countries that specially favoured American manufacturers, or to States that were of such insignificant importance as not to be worthy the consideration of that *grand seigneur* the European ironmaster or cotton-spinner. Nothing of the sort. The countries that lie most closely adjacent to the factories and workshops of the United States are those of South America and Canada; but the former only received 16·9 per cent. and the latter 8·4 per cent. of the total exports of American manufactures in 1885. The Central American States, again, together with Mexico and British Honduras, whose geographical position would seem to render them an easy prey to the astute Yankee, only took 1·6 per cent. of his manufactures. What, then, has become of the remainder? "Tell it not in Gath!" It has been received by the very countries that most affect to deprecate American competition, and whose cheap labour and ancient industrial prestige have been regarded as a shield and defence from any possible encroachments on the part of a country which is not only over three thousand miles distant, but which is said to artificially raise the cost of all manufactured commodities to her own people by an average tariff duty of over 45 per cent. on all that she imports. Great Britain and Ireland have taken 27·2 per cent. of all the exports of manufactured goods from the United States in 1884, and 56·8 per cent. of the total exports of crude or partially manufactured commodities. Germany, another industrial rival, took 7·8 per cent. of the total American exports of manufactures, and 8·3 per cent. of the exports of crude or partially manufactured articles. To the English industrial this, no doubt, is a hard saying. He finds himself confronted, "brow to brow," on his own soil by a nation that utterly rejects his economic system, and will scarcely give him a chance in return. He sees his own exports to America dwindle and attenuate from year to year, while American exports are obtaining a firmer footing in spite of his own struggle for supremacy in home markets.

In the history of nations, there is no record of such a remarkable industrial development as that which has been witnessed within the last fifty years in the United States of America. That development applies equally to population, to agriculture, to manufactures, to wealth, to facilities for transportation, to mineral resources, and to every other material adjunct of power and greatness, save and except only the control of, or prominent participation in, the general carrying trade of the world. It is the product of a single generation, in all its most important and

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essential features. It has been worked out coincidently with, rather than because of, an economic system that has tended to the general disadvantage of the community, while building up and consolidating individual industries and greatly enriching individual manufacturers. It has revolutionized all the chief characteristics of agricultural and industrial life in Europe, and has become the dominating factor in the commercial interests and prospects of the parent nation. There is every reason why we should seek to understand and trace both the causes and the effects of this singular movement. With the aid of certain well-known and reliable statistical and historical records, we may perchance succeed in throwing some light upon the complicated and mysterious phenomena that have secured for the United States the controlling place in the economics of both the Old World and the New.

In the United States it is not unusual to find the phenomena to which we have just called attention attributed to two pre-eminently powerful influences—the first, that of the undoubtedly unique natural resources of the country; the second, that of the operation of a protectionist tariff. With reference to the latter we may have something to say by-and-by. The agricultural and mineral resources of the United States have never, however, been called in question, and with this less vexed and debateable problem we shall proceed to deal.

Manifestly, the first characteristic of the material resources of the United States that claims the attention of the economist or the historian is the enormous wealth of virgin soil. The national estate consists of over three millions of square miles, or twenty-five times the size of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Over this immense territory every description of product, and every variety of mineral, are found. The climate is generally good, and the soil is generally fertile. There are, indeed, as great extremes of heat and cold as are to be found in any country, or in any empire, either ancient or modern, the climatic conditions at command ranging from the ice-bound shores of Alaska to the tropical groves of Florida. The average range of temperature, however, admits of the growth of all the cereals that are in considerable request in Europe, and the vast grazing plains of Texas, California, and Nevada, furnish the inhabitants of Europe with a great part of their meat supplies, and appear to be destined to fulfil this economic mission to a still more considerable extent in the time to come.

One important influence in the development of the agriculture of the United States has undoubtedly been the adoption of labour-saving appliances on a large scale. Another and perhaps a not less potent factor has been the reduction of the cost of

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transportation. The conjoint effect of these two influences has been that the United States have been steadily reducing the cost of producing, as well as the export prices of, the commodities that they have been supplying to Europe, and Europe has reciprocated this advantage by taking American produce in constantly increasing quantities. The movement has been a curious and an interesting one. The value of the wheat-growing land in the United States has been steadily rising over a number of years. This is especially true of land that is situated within reasonable distance of the ports of New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco. The price of wheat has therefore been falling coincidently with a steady rise in the most essential of the conditions of production. The course of labour has followed largely the course of land values. The general range of labour cost is much higher to-day than it was a few years ago. This disadvantage has been met, and successfully combated, by getting more product out of a given amount of labour. American agricultural machinery owes its superiority and its effectiveness to American economic requirements. The inventiveness of the Yankee has been stimulated and perfected by the necessity imposed upon him to meet the cheap labour of Europe in neutral markets, and beat it. There is consequently no country in the world where labour-saving machinery is employed to the same extent as in the United States. Steam ploughs, which will do the work of ten men and twenty horses, are quite in general use. Double-furrow ploughs, which allow of a saving of 100 per cent. in manual labour and 25 per cent. in horse-power, are also common. The influence of the American reaping-machine has been equally marked in the same direction. The fact is, that in the United States no agriculturist who wishes to get on can afford to dispense with the aid of machinery, whereas in many parts of Europe, and even of Great Britain, mechanical aids to husbandry are still conspicuous by their absence.

It has been due to the economies thus practised that, in spite of the growing scarcity and dearness of good wheat lands, their constantly increasing distance from the great centres of distribution and consumption, the imposition of much heavier local and imperial burdens, and, finally, the greater cost of labour, the American farmers have been able to produce their principal crops at less cost to-day than they have ever done before on the same scale of magnitude. Mr. Edward Atkinson, in his able *brochure* on "The Railroad and the Farmer," shows the effect of this movement, and especially of the reductions effected in the rates of transportation, in the following graphic form, as it affects the period 1869–84. It will be observed that in the last-named year the average cost of the commodities specified was less than in

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any years in the series except 1878–79, which were years of intense depression :—

Cost of 20 *barrels of flour,* 10 *beef,* 10 *pork,* 100 *bushels wheat,* 100 *corn,* 100 *oats,* 100 *pounds butter,* 100 *lard, and* 100 *fleece wool, in New York City, at the average of each year, compiled by months, in gold, compared graphically with the decrease in the charge per ton per mile on the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad during the same period.*

Year.	In Gold.
1869	$632.68
1870	776.02
1871	735.33
1872	675.92
1873	662.50
1874	748.54
1875	696.40
1876	651.74
1877	751.95
1878	569.81
1879	568.34
1880	631.32
1881	703.10
1882	776.13
1883	662.11
1884	621.75

Decrease in the Charge per Ton per Mile, N.Y.C. & H.R.R.R.

Year.	In Gold.
1869	1·78 cts.
1870	1·64 „
1871	1·40 „
1872	1·41 „
1873	1·38 „
1874	1·31 „
1875	1·11 „
1876	·94 „
1877	·97 „
1878	·92 „
1879	·79 „
1880	·88 „
1881	·78 „
1882	·73 „
1883	·91 „

Freight charge in year 1855, in gold, 3·27 cts.

Statistics furnished by Mr. Dodge, the statistician to the United States Department of Agriculture, enable an answer to be given

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to the oft-repeated question, At what price is it possible to grow wheat at a fair rate of profit in the United States? He shows that, over a period of twenty-three years, in the State of Illinois (the largest wheat-growing State in America) the cost of production has averaged 83 cents per bushel, and the average realized value has been 1.06 dol.* This means that the wheat which has been produced in that State has cost the producer about 26*s.* 7*d.* per quarter at the place of production over an average sufficiently comprehensive to afford reliable data. But in 1885 the average price of wheat per bushel at New York was within 3 cents of the cost of its production in Illinois.† Where is the margin for profit in these figures? The average *Gazette* price of British wheat during the year 1885 was only 32*s.* 10*d.* per imperial quarter. This price is within 6*s.* 1*d.* of the average export price of American wheat at New York in the same year, and, as this figure is not much more than the average cost of Transatlantic freight for the same year, the profit remaining to exporters, after commissions, &c., have been paid, must have been very small indeed. It is true that in States west of the Mississippi the cost of raising wheat is not so large as in Illinois. Mr. Dodge puts the average at 50 to 67 cents per bushel. At the former figure the wheat would, of course, be grown at 16*s.* per imperial quarter, or just about one-half the average price of wheat in England in 1885. But, although this is much under the average returned for Illinois, it must not be forgotten that the difference is largely absorbed by the greater cost of transport to the markets of Europe. It is clear, indeed, that the business of wheat growing cannot be uniformly successful, since Mr. Dodge expressly states that, for seven of the twenty-three years to which his calculations apply, there was an absolute loss incurred, although over the whole period the net profits realized have averaged 22 per cent.

There is not much prospect of wheat continuing to be grown in and exported from the United States at the rates that have prevailed over the last two years. The farmers of that country have only been able to realize an average profit of 22 per cent. over a period during which their exported surplus sold at 35*s.* to 45*s.* per imperial quarter, as against only about 27*s.* in 1885 at New York.‡ Between 1871 and 1883 the average annual price of wheat in Great Britain ranged from a maximum of 58*s.* 8*d.* to a minimum of 41*s.* 7*d.* The average over the

* "Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States for 1882," p. 309.

† "Foreign Commerce, Immigration, and Tonnage of the United States for 1885," p. xx.

‡ This statement is made on the authority of the Statistician to the United States Department of Agriculture.

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whole period was close on 50*s*. Nothing has happened to justify the remarkable drop from 41*s*. 7*d*. in 1883 to 32*s*. 10*d*. in 1885. Land and labour are just as dear now as they were in 1883. Railway charges have not been greatly reduced in this short interval, and the effects of reductions in ocean freights must have been very trifling indeed on a quarter of grain or flour. The cost of production in the largest wheat-growing State is likely to be the ultimate controlling factor in the determination of price, and, if we are correctly informed that that cost is within about 6*s*. per quarter of the price quoted in England, we may depend upon it that the cultivation of wheat on so low a margin of profit—or possibly no profit at all—will not be persevered in by a people who are nothing if they are not commercially shrewd and capable. Should these rates continue, a large extent of wheat-growing land is likely to be thrown out of cultivation in America. The effect of this step would most probably be an immediate rise in prices. But, in any case, both England and her colonies cannot too sedulously cultivate the methods of husbandry and those labour-saving appliances that have given the United States their pre-eminent position in supplying the food requirements of European nations.

But the industrial and manufacturing resources of the United States are scarcely less wonderful than their immense agricultural development and possibilities. It is this feature of the country's growth that Europe will require to watch and anticipate in the future. It is in this direction that the people of the United States appear to be hastening on, to quote the words of Sydney Smith, "with rapid and irresistible pace, to the highest eminences of human grandeur."

The idea of rendering the United States a great industrial nation, and enabling them, as far as possible, to produce within their own borders all the various industrial products that they require, is not by any means a new one. It was an integral and important part of the programme formulated by Alexander Hamilton in the first American Congress. The development of home manufactures was, indeed, the watchword of the majority of those who were elected to sit in that Assembly; and, even at that early date, every city of any size had its society for the encouragement of home manufactures and the discouragement of imported commodities. When John Adams was on his way to become Vice-President of the United States, the town of Hartford presented him with a roll of cloth from its own looms; and it was regarded as a matter of just pride and good omen that when he took the oath of office he was clad from head to foot with garments of American manufacture.

From that day to the present hour there has always been

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a powerful party in the States pledged to the development of home industry. That party has generally been strong enough to secure the maintenance of a high tariff on imports. Up to 1835 the tariff averaged 40 per cent. and upwards on all dutiable imports. In 1834 the relaxation of the tariff was commenced, and for the next ten years the average *ad val.* rate of duty imposed on *all* imports into the United States was not one-half of what it had been during the previous decennium. This relaxation notwithstanding, the imports did not materially increase. Their net value was returned at 83¼ millions of dollars in 1833 and at 88 millions in 1842. The ten years ending 1850 witnessed a higher average tariff in operation, but the imports had in the meantime more than doubled, and between 1850 and 1860 their value rose from 164 to 336 millions of dollars. The greatest importations since that time took place in 1882, when goods of the value of 716 millions of dollars were received into the country, of which 505 millions were dutiable and 211 millions were free. The average rate of tariff duties over the whole was 30 per cent. *ad val.*; on dutiable commodities only, the average tariff imposed was 42·7 per cent. *ad val.* Imports, therefore, have increased in spite of the imposition of a high range of tariff duties, and, what is not a little puzzling, they have often increased the most when the tariff has been the highest.

There is, as we have seen, nothing more remarkable in the commercial annals of the United States than the growth of their export and import trade with different nations. The course of both imports and exports has been very fluctuating, and in those fluctuations those who can read between the lines may trace the salient facts in the industrial and commercial history of the country. So far back as 1835, the United States were exporting 115¼ millions of dollars' worth of commodities, while their imports amounted to a total value of 136¾ millions of dollars. In 1838, for the first time, the exports exceeded the imports, and the race between imports and exports was kept up with constantly varying fortunes until 1876, when the exports rose at a jump from being 19½ millions behind the imports to being 79½ millions in front of them. Since then the exports have exceeded the imports regularly, and in one memorable year (1879) by as much as 264½ millions of dollars. Three years later the excess of exports had fallen to only 26 millions of dollars, and in the latest year for which we have official returns (the year ending June 30, 1885) the exports amounted to 745¼ millions and the imports to 577½ millions of dollars, giving an excess of exports of 164½ millions, or nearly 30 per cent. The difference between the two items is, however, much more

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than it seems on the face of it. It must not be forgotten that the imports are taken at the ports of import, and therefore with the ocean freight added, while the exports are returned *plus* railway transport from the place of production to the port of shipment, but *minus* Transatlantic freights. The latter item should be deducted from the imports in order to give the two items strict relevancy and parallelism, and, this done, it is probable that the exports would rise to an excess of nearer 60 than 30 per cent. over the imports.

The progress of imports was most marked between 1865 and 1872, when they rose from 238¾ to 642½ millions of dollars. That of exports was most remarkable between 1872 and 1882, when the annual value rose from 444 to 902¼ millions of dollars. The last-named figure was, indeed, the greatest that has been reached in the export trade of the United States; but it does not necessarily represent the greatest volume of business, since prices were much higher in 1881 than in 1885, when the value of the exports had fallen to 742¼ millions of dollars, or a decrease of 17 per cent. on the value of 1881. The fall of values in the same period is shown by the following selections of average export prices of articles of domestic produce as officially returned by the Secretary of the Treasury * :—

	Average Prices in 1881.		1885.
	Dols.		Dols.
Indian corn, per bushel . .	0.55·2	...	0.54
Wheat, per bushel . . .	1.11	...	0.86
Wheat flour, per barrel . .	5.66	...	4.89
	Cents.		Cents.
Cotton, per pound . . .	11·2	...	10·6
Leather „ . . .	22·6	...	19·8
Mineral oil, per gallon . .	10·3	...	8·7
Bacon, per pound . . .	9·3	...	7·9
Beef, salted, per pound . .	19·8	...	16·8
Cheese, per pound . . .	11·1	...	9·3

The facts just stated afford some clue to the development of the industries of the United States. But much remains behind.

There can be no question that, whether it is mainly owing to the operation of the protectionist tariff on which they set so much store, or whether it is owing to their unique natural resources, or whether it is mainly due to their own energy and enterprise, the manufacturing industry which the Americans have built up within the last thirty years is in every way a noteworthy achievement. Within that period the gross value of the product of American manufacturing industry has increased by

* "Report on the Foreign Commerce of the United States for 1885," p. xx.

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426 per cent., or, in other words, it has advanced from 1,019 to 5,369½ millions of dollars. Within the same period, the capital invested in American industries has increased by 423 per cent., the actual figures being 533¼ millions of dollars in 1850 and 2,790¼ millions of dollars in 1880. In the several industries followed in the United States as a whole, the total amount paid as the wages of labour rose from 236¾ millions of dollars in 1850 to 948 millions of dollars in 1880—an increase of 300 per cent.; and the number of hands employed in the same industries increased, within the same interval, from 958,000 to 2,732,000—an increase of 185 per cent.

The number of establishments engaged in manufacturing industry is by no means a true criterion of the extent of the business transacted, since one large establishment may turn out as much as a hundred small ones. But the tendency in the United States, as in other countries, has been to increase the size of all factories, works, and mines, and, bearing this in mind, the following statement of the increase of factories as between 1850 and 1880 is instructive:—

State of	Number of Establishments in 1850.		1880.
Maine	3,974	...	4,481
Massachusetts	8,852	...	14,352
Rhode Island	864	...	2,205
New York	23,553	...	42,739
New Jersey	4,207	...	7,128
Pennsylvania	21,605	...	31,232

Industrial development has chiefly occurred in the North Atlantic group of States; but in the Northern Central group the advance has been almost equally remarkable. Ohio, for example, has advanced from 10,622 to 20,699; Indiana, from 4,392 to 11,198; and Illinois, from 3,162 to 14,549. In the Western group, California has made the greatest strides, with an increase from 1,003 to 5,885 establishments.

The growth that the United States as a whole have exhibited as a manufacturing nation, during the thirty years ending with 1880, is set forth in the following statement, compiled from the Census records:—

	1850.		1880.
Number of works	122,589	...	251,104
Capital invested	$532,131,000	...	$2,775,412,000
Hands employed	955,377	...	2,718,805
Wages paid	$235,971,000	...	$941,325,000
Value of raw materials	$553,320,000	...	$3,381,701,000
Value of product	$1,015,879,000	...	$5,341,838,000

In regarding these figures, it will be noted that the annual value of the finished product per *employé* comes out as 1,064 dols. for

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1850 and as nearly 2,000 dols. for 1880. In the interval there was a very great reduction in the realized selling price of almost all manufactured commodities; and, if this reduction could be correctly assessed, it is probable that the annual product *per capita* in 1880 would, at the same range of prices, be nearer 3,000 than 2,000 dols., which means that, in the interval of thirty years, the mechanical aids to labour in the United States have been so greatly perfected and improved that one man was able to produce in 1880 about three times as much as he could in 1850, and that, too, with shorter hours of labour and a larger proportion of juvenile workers. It is manifestly a difficult matter to fix the details of this industrial revolution. There is not a single industry into which labour-saving contrivances have not been introduced, and are not being still further imported from year to year. "Economy of labour" is the great watch-word with American industrials. By-and-by, Europe is likely to be called upon to take up the same parable. If the range of wages keeps as relatively high in Europe as at present, it is possible that the United States will find a footing in many quarters where that has hitherto been denied to them. Dear labour is, of course, only a relative term. If a man who is paid 60*s.* per week is enabled by the aid of mechanical appliances to perform the labour of three or four men at 30*s.* per week each, his labour is manifestly the cheaper of the two. It is time that Europe had taken this fact more closely to heart.

In attempting to compute the character and extent of the manufacturing resources of the United States, we are necessarily compelled to resort to statistics that are now a little out of date, although they are the only returns of the kind that are available. We refer to the data collected for the tenth Census of the United States, and applying to the year 1880. Since that time there has undoubtedly been a very great development of all important industries. With regard to some we are able to measure the progress attained in the interval. We know, from official sources, that the production of coal has increased from 70 millions of tons in 1880 to over 100 millions in 1885; that the production of pig-iron has advanced from 4¼ to over 5 millions of tons; that the production of Bessemer steel has grown from 1 million to more than 1½ million of tons; that the value of the silver produced has grown from 39 to 49 millions of dollars; and so with other measurable commodities. These items of increase may be considered as fairly typical of the progress that has taken place with regard to the industries dealt with in the following tabular statement (which applies to the year 1880) since they were enumerated:—

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Statement Showing the Statistical Position of the Principal Industries of the United States in 1880.

INDUSTRY.	Number of Establishments.	Number of Hands Employed.	Value of Materials. Dollars.	Value of Products. Dollars.
Agricultural implements	1,943	39,580	31,531,170	68,640,486
Blacksmithing	28,101	34,526	14,572,363	43,774,271
Boots and shoes, including custom work and repairing	17,972	133,819	114,966,575	196,920,481
Bread and other bakery products	6,396	22,488	42,612,027	65,824,896
Brick and tile	5,631	66,355	9,774,884	32,833,598
Carpentering	9,184	54,138	51,621,120	94,152,139
Carriages and waggons	3,841	45,394	30,597,086	64,951,617
Clothing, men's	6,166	160,813	131,363,282	209,548,460
Do. women's	562	25,192	19,559,227	32,004,794
Cooperage	3,898	25,973	18,441,064	33,714,770
Cotton goods	1,005	185,472	113,765,537	210,950,383
Drugs and chemicals	592	9,545	24,380,566	38,172,658
Dyeing and finishing textiles	191	16,698	13,664,295	32,297,420
Flouring and grist-mill products	24,338	58,407	441,545,225	505,185,712
Foundry and machine-shop products	4,958	145,351	103,845,083	214,378,468
Furniture	5,227	59,304	35,860,206	77,845,725
Iron and steel	1,005	140,978	191,271,150	296,557,685
Leather, curried	2,319	11,053	59,806,509	71,351,297
Do. tanned	3,105	23,812	85,949,207	113,348,336
Liquors, distilled	844	6,502	27,744,245	41,062,662
Do. malt	2,191	26,220	56,836,500	101,058,385
Lumber, planed	1,203	15,289	24,477,543	36,803,356
Do. sawed	25,708	147,956	146,155,385	233,268,729
Marble and stone work	2,846	21,471	12,748,345	31,415,150
Mixed textiles	470	43,373	37,227,741	66,221,703
Paper	692	24,422	33,951,297	55,109,914
Printing and publishing	3,467	58,478	32,460,395	90,789,341
Saddlery and harness	7,999	21,446	19,968,716	38,081,643
Sash, doors, and blinds	1,288	21,898	20,790,919	36,620,325
Shipbuilding	2,188	21,845	19,736,358	36,800,327
Silk and silk goods	382	31,337	22,467,701	41,033,045
Slaughtering and meat-packing, not including retail butchering establishments	872	27,297	267,738,902	303,562,413
Sugar and molasses, refined	49	5,857	144,698,499	155,484,915
Tin ware, copper ware, and sheet-iron ware	7,595	26,248	25,232,281	48,096,038
Tobacco: chewing, smoking, and snuff	477	32,756	34,397,072	52,793,056
Do. cigars and cigarettes	7,145	53,297	29,577,883	63,979,575
Woollen manufactures, all classes	2,689	161,557	164,371,551	267,252,913
Totals	194,539	2,005,647	2,654,702,809	4,101,889,676

It is a matter for regret that there is no similar statement available for the United Kingdom with which these figures can be compared, nor, indeed, for any other country. The United States stand alone in their comprehensive and valuable system of collecting industrial statistics, and they enjoy, in consequence, the manifest advantage of a more complete knowledge of their industrial circumstances and relations than any other nation in the world. But it is still likely to be some time before the manufacturing industry of the United States is equal in variety

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and importance to that of the United Kingdom, which had an enormous start in the race. So far as the distance between the two countries can be expressed in numbers, it may be referred to the standard of the comparative proportions of the whole population of each that are engaged in manufacturing pursuits. In the United Kingdom, the industrial class was returned in 1881 at 7,999,529, or 23 per cent. of the whole population; while in the United States the corresponding figures (but applying to the year 1880) were 3,837,112, or 7·6 per cent. of the whole population. Agriculture, on the other hand, absorbed only 2,650,677, or 7·5 per cent. of the population of the United Kingdom, as compared with 7,670,493, or 15·3 per cent. of the population of the United States.

As regards mineral resources, it appears that in respect alike of gold and of silver the United States now take the lead of all the producing countries in the world. Dealing with the year 1883, as the latest for which we have authentic returns, we find that the United States produced gold of the value of 30 millions of dollars, as against 26½ millions of dollars produced by Australia and 23¾ millions of dollars produced by Russia. No other country in the world produces 4 million dollars' worth of gold per annum. In regard to silver, the transcendent richness of American mines is still more remarkable, the value of the product of 1883 having been 46¼ millions of dollars, as compared with 29½ million dollars' worth produced by Mexico and 16 million dollars' worth produced by Bolivia—these being the only other large silver-producing countries. Of the total gold product of the world, amounting to about 20 millions sterling per annum, the United States contribute about 32 per cent. Towards the total silver product, amounting to 114¼ millions of dollars, or about 23 millions sterling, the United States contribute, as already stated, 46¼ millions of dollars, or about 40 per cent.

It is computed that since 1845 the total quantity of gold and silver produced in the United States has not been less than 2,298½ millions of dollars, or about £462,000,000. Of this large quantity, not less than 331 millions sterling were represented by gold. Within recent years, however, the production of gold has been decreasing, while that of silver has been on the increase. The maximum production of gold was attained in 1852–3–4, when the average annual product was over 60 millions of dollars. The average annual product for the last three years has not been over one half of this quantity. The product, however, varies greatly from year to year, having been as much as 51 millions of dollars in 1878 and not more than 39 millions in the following year. Of silver, the quantity produced has steadily increased. Up to 1867 it had not exceeded in any one year a value of 13

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millions. Ten years later it had increased to over 45 millions, and in 1884 it was about 49 millions of dollars. These figures represent a more than corresponding increase in quantity, since the price of silver fell, between 1872 and 1884, from $60\frac{5}{16}d.$ to $50\frac{3}{4}d.$ per ounce, or, put in another way, the ratio of gold to silver rose from 1 to 15·63 in 1872 to 1 to 18·57 in 1884.

The position of the United States with regard to its currency is not less desirable than it appears in some of the other aspects of material progress to which we have referred. Between 1873 and 1885 the coin in circulation outside of the Treasury rose from 75 millions to 481 millions of dollars, being an advance *per capita* from 1·80 to 8·33 dols. Within the same interval, the paper currency in circulation rose from $712\frac{3}{4}$ to $837\frac{1}{4}$ millions of dollars, being a decrease from 17·10 to 14·15 dols. *per capita.* The gold coinage in circulation in the United States now amounts to $610\frac{1}{2}$ millions of dollars, being 23 million dollars more than the gold coinage of the United Kingdom. The specie circulation in the United States amounts to an average of 19·39 dols. *per capita,* or practically the same as that of the United Kingdom; but the paper currency is, of course, very much greater, being in the United States 17·41 dols. per head, as against only 5·61 dols. in Great Britain.*

It scarcely needs that we should speak of the great amount of conjecture that must necessarily enter into any calculations concerning the absolute wealth of a nation. This observation is peculiarly applicable to a country like the United States, which has no general system of assessment of incomes, as we have in this country, for income-tax purposes. Nor is it easy even in England, where capital is so largely subject to taxation, to arrive at an exact estimate of the property or capital at any given date, there being so very many different descriptions of capital, and such a multiplicity of investments. In 1878 Mr. Giffen † calculated the total capital of the country in the fiscal year 1874–5 at 8,548 millions sterling, of which 6,643 millions were assessed to income-tax, leaving 1,905 millions for property not so assessed. The greater part of the assessed property was, of course, in the form of houses and land, the capitalized value of the former, according to Mr. Giffen's allowance of fifteen years' purchase, being 1,419 millions, while that of the latter, allowing thirty years' purchase, was 2,007 millions, making together 3,426 millions out of a total estimated assessable capital of 6,643 millions.

* Burchard on "The Production of Gold and Silver in the United States" (1884).

† Recent Accumulations of Capital in the United Kingdom: *Journal of Statistical Society* for 1878, p. 5.

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These figures, as we have stated, apply to 1874–5, since which time considerable changes have taken place in almost every direction. The nominal value of land in the intervening eleven years has considerably diminished, while that of house property has largely increased. What the actual decrement has been in land values it is impossible to say. The latest income-tax returns available—those for 1884–5—make it appear that the reduction of land income has only been about a million and a half, which, calculated at thirty years' purchase, would give a capital decrement of about 44 millions sterling. In considering these figures, however, two obvious reflections occur—the first, that the assessments, being based on three-yearly periods, do not fairly reflect the actual condition of things in 1884–5, when the income from land is generally believed by experts to have been much under that given by the Income Tax Commissioners;* the second, that, as it has been the almost unvarying tendency of land to increase in value, and especially so in countries where there is so dense a population and so limited an area as in Great Britain, the decrement of value, whatever it may have been as between the two periods referred to, is not likely to be otherwise than temporary.

But if, as is only too evident, there has been a serious temporary fall in the value of land, and the annual income therefrom, the decline has been much more than compensated by the enhanced value of house property, from which, between 1874–5 and 1883–4, the increased income has been about 33 millions, being equal to an addition of about 495 millions to our national wealth, if capitalized at the low figure of fifteen years' purchase. So far, therefore, as the income-tax returns go, they show an increase of wealth, in houses and land alone, of not less than *four hundred and fifty millions* during the last ten years.

When we come, however, to compare the two periods in respect of the income from other sources, there is less reason for satisfaction. In 1873–4 the national assessable income from mines was returned at £14,108,000, which, at only four years' purchase, represented a capital sum of £56,432,000. In 1883–4 the assessed income from this source had dwindled to a fraction over 7 millions sterling, which, at the same rate of purchase, represented a capital sum of only 28 millions, so that, on this showing, the national income of Great Britain from her greatest and most stable industry has diminished by exactly one-

* If we only consider that the average price of wheat during the three years 1881–3 was 44*s.* per quarter, while that for 1883 was only 41*s.* 7*d.* and that for 1884, 35*s.* 8*d.*, the decrement of income will be manifest.

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half. It would, of course, be absurd to suppose that the capital embarked in our mining industry has been depreciated or entirely lost to this extent. On the contrary, the greatly increased output of coal, iron ore, and other minerals in the interval could only have been secured by a considerable increase in the aggregate capital embarked in mines. The difference between the two periods has probably a twofold origin—both profits and capital were unduly inflated in 1874–5 as the result of the "boom" that immediately preceded that period, while in 1883–4 they have been unduly depressed in consequence of a temporary very low range of prices and absence of profits.

It is important to compare the statistics of the accumulated wealth of the United Kingdom with those that apply to the United States. In the latter country, the Census authorities have endeavoured to estimate the increase of wealth as between one period and another since 1840. For this purpose, they have taken an inventory of all the land, houses, factories, stocks, and other properties, real or personal, throughout the country. There are obvious difficulties, and great liability to error, in any calculation of this kind. Too much reliance must not, therefore, be placed on the figures. But, for whatever they may be worth, they are here presented for decennial periods since 1840, as compiled for Census purposes, and published in Census reports :—

Wealth of the United States, Absolutely and Relatively to Population, 1840–80.

Years.	Population.	Total Wealth.	Average Property to each Person.
1840	17,069,000	$3,764,000,000	$220
1850	23,191,000	7,136,000,000	307
1860	31,500,000	16,159,000,000	510
1870	38,558,000	30,069,000,000	776
1880	50,155,000	43,642,000,000	870

It would, of course, have been more satisfactory had it been possible to compare exactly parallel periods; although, even so, it is doubtful whether the general result brought out would have been much different. As it is, the figures show, for whatever they may be worth, that the population of Great Britain, during ten of the most prosperous and eventful years that the world has known, has enjoyed as large a share of that prosperity as their "kin across sea," in spite of the economic system that tends artificially to increase both the cost of living and, as an inevitable consequence, the general rate of wages.

In calculating the material resources of the United States, we must not lose sight of the fact that the huge debt which was accumulated during, and in consequence of, the war is in process of being rapidly extinguished. That debt, at one time, amounted

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to as much as 2,773½ millions of dollars. Since 1836, the country has paid off 1,384 millions of this amount, or about 20 millions of dollars a year, in addition to meeting the interest on the debt and the current expenses of the Government. The annual revenue of the country has risen from about 4 millions of dollars in the time of Alexander Hamilton to about 320 millions of dollars at the present time. Within a few years, at the present rate of progress, the United States should have paid off practically the whole of their debt, and then their resources will be increased by the difference between their entire absence from imperial indebtedness and the 750 millions sterling of debt that still hangs like a millstone round the neck of the parent country.

In addition to the National Debt of the United States, there are three other classes of obligations, distinguished as State, county, and municipal debts. These unitedly amounted in 1870 to 868 millions of dollars, and in 1880 to 1,048 millions of dollars. At the latter date the total indebtedness of the United States, both local and imperial, was 3,168 millions of dollars, being equal to about £13 per head of the whole population.

We have scarcely left ourselves space to speak, as we should like to have done, of the possible effect on the future of American industry of the magnificent coal resources, navigable highways, and unique railway facilities that the country can boast. The coal resources of the United States are calculated to be many times greater than that of any European country except Russia. The internal waterways of America provide a cheap and convenient means of transport that no other country can rival; and railway enterprise has been carried to such a point of development that scarcely any district is without its railways, while the rates and fares are lower than those of any other country of industrial importance.

There is, however, another side to the picture, which it would be idle and impolitic to ignore. The Americans have failed to retain their place on the ocean as they have maintained it on land. They possessed not so many years ago one of the finest merchant navies in the world. Baltimore clippers were, indeed, distinguished everywhere as the first of their kind. American shipbuilders not only had a large, but they actually possessed the largest, share of the world's shipbuilding trade up till about the time of the American War. From that date, the place occupied by the United States among the shipbuilding and shipowning nations of the world has been relatively decreasing in importance.

As a fact of this sort can never be so well brought home as by the aid of actual figures, we shall proceed to quote a few of the more prominent statistics of the shipbuilding and shipowning

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interests of the United States from the most authentic official publication of that country.*

In the year 1861, according to Mr. David Wells, the shipping tonnage of the world was divided as follows:—

The United States . .	5,539,000 tons
Great Britain and her Colonies	5,895,000 ,,
All other nations . . .	5,800,000 ,,

With the exception, therefore, of Great Britain and her dependencies, the United States had at that time a maritime power equal to that of all the rest of the world, including the nations of Continental Europe. Since then, however, the relative position of the United States and the United Kingdom has been very much changed, and only one-sixth of the whole American trade abroad is now carried in American bottoms.

The place then held by the United States as a shipbuilding nation was equally marked. In 1860, 214,797 tons of shipping were produced in America, which was a tonnage in advance of that produced in any other country in the same year. Four years later, the tonnage of new shipping produced in the United States had increased to 415,740 tons, which was an increase of nearly 100 per cent. With the exception of the year 1873, when, under the stimulus of high prices in Europe, American shipbuilders were able temporarily to obtain a large influx of orders, this was the greatest tonnage launched in the United States in any one year. In 1880, when normal prices and relations had been restored, the tonnage launched on American waters did not exceed 157,000 tons, while that launched in Great Britain had risen to over 1,200,000 tons.

In the meantime, the United States have yielded up their pride of place absolutely to the United Kingdom. The American shipbuilding trade is now limited almost exclusively to the production of wooden vessels for their own requirements. Of iron vessels they have never, in any one year, produced more than 44,000 tons, as compared with an annual average production over the last ten years of nearly three-quarters of a million tons in the United Kingdom.

It is to the substitution of iron and steel for timber vessels, and the high cost of producing these metals in the United States, that the decay of the American shipbuilding and shipowning trade has been attributed. If this is not the sole, it is at any rate a leading, factor in the case. The United States can rival any nation in the world as regards cheap timber, which, being a natural product, does not represent, *per se*, a high amount of

* "Statistical Abstract of the United States" for 1885.

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labour; but it is quite otherwise with iron and steel, in the cost of which labour is by far the most important element.

There is now a revival of interest in the question of re-establishing, or endeavouring to re-establish, the shipbuilding industry of the United States. Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, one of the most prominent of American free-traders, has prepared a Bill which is directed to this end. The shipbuilders of America have naturally interested themselves greatly in the subject, and from a communication which Mr. N. M'Kay, one of the leading shipbuilders of New York State, has addressed to Mr. Hewitt, it would seem that there must be very radical changes indeed before there is the least chance of English shipbuilders being affected by the competition of America. Mr. M'Kay has several definite proposals with a view to the restoration of prosperity in the shipbuilding industry of the United States. One of these is a free register; another, that all the materials that enter into the construction of steamships should be admitted into the United States free of duty; and another, that shipbuilders should be paid a bounty by the United States Government, to be regulated by the difference between the cost of labour in that country and in Europe. The extent to which America is now handicapped in regard to the shipbuilding industry is shown in the following figures, supplied by Mr. M'Kay:—

Statement showing the Cost of Material and Labour in the Shipbuilding Industry in England and in the United States, respectively, with difference in favour of England.

	Cost of Material per ton, and Labour per day, in England.	Cost of Material per ton, and Labour per day, in the United States.	Difference in Cost of Material per ton, and Labour per day, in favour of England.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Steel plates	6 12 0	14 11 4	7 19 4
Iron plates	5 0 10	10 1 3	5 0 5
Steel beams	7 13 8	13 8 4	5 14 8
Steel angles	5 14 6	11 5 3	5 14 8
Iron beams	6 12 0	13 8 10	6 16 10
Iron angles	4 13 8	10 1 3	5 7 7
Pig iron	2 1 10	3 16 0	1 14 2
Propeller-shafts	13 8 10	26 17 8	13 8 10
Iron rivets	6 9 8	12 6 6	5 16 10
Steel rivets	7 13 8	16 16 0	9 2 4
Machinists' wages, 1st class	0 6 5	0 11 5	0 5 0
,, ,, 2nd class	0 5 5	0 9 4	0 3 11
Rivetters' ,,	0 5 9	0 9 4	0 3 7
Boilermakers' ,,	0 6 4	0 9 4	0 3 0
Labourers' ,,	0 5 0	0 7 3	0 2 3
Holder-on ,,	0 4 1	0 8 4	0 4 3
Flangers' ,,	0 7 0	0 13 6	0 6 6

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These differences are, on the face of them, quite sufficient to explain the disabilities under which American shipbuilders at present labour. Whether, and to what extent, they will ever be got rid of, remains to be seen. But there can be no question about this, that if, by a change in their economic system, by the closer adoption of British methods and ideas, or by any other process, the American people can once more recover their lost supremacy as shipbuilders, they will have overcome almost the only obstacle that lies in the way of their ultimately taking up the proud place of the greatest industrial nation in the world.

We have already indicated that the American Exhibition to be held in London next year is likely to exercise an important influence in assigning to the United States their just place in the economy of industrial nations. It is possible that that influence may be very much more considerable than any one now anticipates. The great consuming nations of Europe have scarcely as yet been brought face to face with the possibilities of American industry. They have scarcely even had an opportunity of becoming aware that the United States are an industrial nation at all. It is true that the Centennial Exhibition, which was held in Philadelphia in 1876, afforded, to those who were so minded, the chance of ascertaining the capabilities of the country, and of applying the infinitely varied forms of American ingenuity then placed on view. But that Exhibition, after all, was visited by only a fraction of the teeming multitudes of Europe. In 1876, a journey to the United States was deemed to be a much more serious and important undertaking than it has since become. Not only so, but the industries of America had not then been developed to anything like the same extent as they now are. The last ten years have witnessed a greater transformation and a more remarkable development in all the essential features of American manufactures than any previous period. The conditions of transportation have been enormously facilitated and cheapened, labour has been rendered more productive, mineral resources not then known of have been successfully and largely utilized, and many other economic circumstances have been radically altered. The Centennial Exhibition must not, therefore, be accepted as an epitome or criterion of the manufacturing capabilities of the United States at the present time.

The forthcoming American Exhibition in London will be likely to achieve two notable results. It will intensify the rivalry and competition of the two greatest of Anglo-Saxon communities in all industrial pursuits, and will prove to the world, in possibly

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a higher degree than even International Exhibitions have done, that

> "Peace hath her victories
> Not less renowned than War,"

But it will do much more than this in bringing the two peoples into more intimate contact than hitherto, and thus inspiring that mutual regard and esteem which the evidence of great achievements in the arts that tend to the general well-being and amelioration of the human race never fails to inspire. Americans know a very great deal more about Englishmen than the people of this country do about the United States. This is perhaps nothing more than natural. The traditions, ancestry, and, to a large extent, the history of the United Kingdom are the common property of the United States up to a certain point. Where the two nations cease to have these in common, they continue to retain that admiration for each other's attainments and capabilities that the people of Anglo-Saxon stock have ever accorded to those who merit such recognition, however keen the rivalry in business, however conflicting the individual interests, however different their views and practice in regard to fiscal affairs, however opposed in the popular sentiments as regards imperial politics. It is this feeling of admiration and esteem that has led the English people to form a council of welcome in order that they might enable their American cousins to have what they themselves are accustomed to describe as "a good time." That council embraces hundreds of the best names in the country. It is composed of archbishops, dukes, earls, baronets, members of the House of Commons, presidents of the Chambers of Commerce, the mayors of all the chief towns, the most distinguished *savants*, and, indeed, a galaxy of the most notable names in every department of literature, politics, science, art, and industry. Probably a more magnificent council of welcome has never been formed in Great Britain for any purpose whatsoever, and there is a certain heroic fitness in such an organization having been got together with the singleness of purpose that manifestly belongs to so all-embracing and heterogeneous a body. It matters not that the United States are our rivals and competitors in many hard-fought industrial battles. It is even forgotten, or at any rate overlooked, that for many years America has endeavoured to limit her imports of British produce by a tariff that has been specially contrived, in many cases, to press harshly on certain of our chief manufactures. Our equivocal relations with the Pilgrim Fathers of the United States a century ago have also been consigned to oblivion. All that we care to remember is that we are, in the glowing words of Canning, "united by a common lan-

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guage, a common spirit of commercial enterprise, and a common regard for well-regulated liberty;" and this bond of union has hitherto served, and will continue to serve, to cement the friendship of the two countries, in spite of minor differences as to economic laws, or that commercial rivalry which, whatever its effects on the fortunes of individuals or of nations, can only be attended with advantage to the world at large.

We have dwelt so fully on the more general subject of the resources of the United States that we have left ourselves very little space to speak of the second part of our subject—the influence of the forthcoming Exhibition in reference thereto. That influence will necessarily be more or less according as the American people enter into the matter with heartiness and a determination to put their "best foot foremost" or the reverse. That they are not likely to feel a languid interest, or act a lukewarm part, may be regarded as sufficiently proved by the co-operation that has already been organized. The President of the United States is the honorary president; Mr. Washburne, formerly American Minister at Paris, is the acting president; and the board of management includes such well-known names as Pullman, of palace-car celebrity; Mackay, the "Silver King;" and Goshorn, who had the general organization of the "Centennial." There are many other leading American names on the list of the directing council, every one of them being a guarantee of thoroughness in his own department of work and influence.

As to the general character and scope of the ensuing American Exhibition, we are told by its organizers:—

It is proposed to arrange the Entrance Hall so that the European visitor shall take leave of his native soil, and shall temporarily be in, and commence his visit to North America from, the harbour of New York, with the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty, and the striking features of the eastern entry to the United States, around him.

On leaving "New York Harbour," the visitor's first excursion will be through the various States across the continent to San Francisco—from the Atlantic to the Pacific seaboards. He will have the opportunity of inspecting collections illustrating the wealth and civilization of the entire country from east to west, from north to south.

The railway routes and the picturesquely diversified scenery of the agricultural, pastoral, forest, and mining States will be illustrated by paintings, plans, and products. The material resources and characteristic social conditions of the various parts of the vast territory extending from Ocean to Ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico will thus be exposed to view, and offer exceptional facilities for comparison.

The condition of the respective agricultural, grazing, mineral, and manufacturing localities will be particularly shown, and in a manner

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which will be intelligible and interesting to all, whilst the state of development and the undeveloped resources of the various sections will be brought under the visitor's notice in such a form as will enable him to establish a trustworthy basis for judgment as to their respective advantages.

It is intended that this shall be one of the most valuable, instructive, and entertaining features of the Exhibition.

This comprehensive method of diffusing a knowledge of the vast resources of large portions of the North American continent will most assuredly exert a marked effect upon its future relations with other countries, the future investments of European capital, and the trade and commerce of the United States with the Old World and with the British and other colonies.

If anything further were required to prove that the American Exhibition in London will be a practical and well-managed undertaking, we may find it in the statement that

The Manufacturing Department of the Exhibition will comprise the development in every branch of that inventive genius which, in the United States, has reached so high a point, and, so far as possible, it is proposed to present the various processes in working order, by the aid of electricity, steam, gas, or hydraulic power.

A separate hall will be devoted to the handicrafts pursued by white, Chinese, Indian, and negro men and girls. The labour-saving machinery, by which manual toil is reduced to a minimum, will be plentifully exhibited. The systems of working the great railways and canals, the oil wells, and the coal and silver mines will be shown, together with the machinery and organization by which American manufactures are produced. Not only sightseers, but manufacturers, landowners, commercial men, farmers, all who are interested in stock-raising, and all who think of emigration, will find much to study in the Exhibition. Some of its results will, therefore, certainly be to increase the investments of capital in American enterprises, to attract a higher class of settlers to the United States, and to augment the export trade of America, while affording to Europeans and visitors from the colonies a unique opportunity of obtaining much valuable information of a most varied and useful character.

Awards will be made on the recommendation of juries composed of eminent Englishmen in each profession, trade, and branch of industry represented.

A number of the best known American artists in Europe and America have undertaken to furnish the Fine Art Galleries, and amongst many other works will be portraits of the most prominent personages—soldiers, preachers, politicians, lawyers, bankers, inventors, merchants, writers, and actors—of the United States.

An admirably situated strip of land, exceeding an acre in area, and separated from the rest of the Exhibition buildings, has been reserved for the Art Department, and it is very gratifying to have the assurance of the National Academy of Design, which holds in the United States the high position enjoyed in the United Kingdom by the Royal

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Academy, that its officers will use their best endeavours to make the Art Department as complete and comprehensive as possible.

"America in Miniature" would not be complete without an effort to combine recreation with instruction. It is best in these matters to have as little hypocrisy as possible. Where one person cares for the exhibits, probably half a dozen prefer the agreeable accompaniments; nor can they be blamed for a taste so natural. The council have, therefore, from the inception of their work, while bestowing every attention upon the technical and educational purposes of the Exhibition, been mindful of the necessity of providing such forms of legitimate recreation as shall conduce to render a visit to the American Exhibition entertaining as well as instructive; and these will include not only excellent music and cheerful surroundings, but many novelties not hitherto enjoyed by Europeans. The site selected will furnish ten or twelve acres of grounds for these purposes, and afford ample space, also, for the display, in climatic sequence, of exclusively American conifers, and other plants, shrubs, and flowers, including an avenue commencing with those found in the Northern and Eastern States, and ending with those of the Southern and Western States.

The Exhibition will include a Californian wine-shop; Florida fruit stores; an Indian village; Indian canoe-makers and mat-weavers; ice-drink pavilions and bars; restaurants, with the products of the Eastern and Pacific coasts, of the Northern and the Southern States, characteristically prepared and served by white and coloured male and female cooks and waiters, will help to mark the peculiarities and variety of American social development.

To this we may add that, through the medium of the American Exhibition "Buffalo Bill," and his remarkable show of the "Far West" will be introduced for the first time to a British public.

There are two aspects that are likely to specially commend the forthcoming Exhibition to the consideration and approval of Americans. The one is that of *amour propre;* the other, that of self-interest. Possibly, indeed, these two actuating principles may not be stated in the order of their relative importance; but, however that may be, both points of view are sufficiently manifest. America has done great things in the way of developing her resources, and improving her position in the race for industrial preferment, since the Old World has had an opportunity of estimating her progress by outward and visible signs. She has largely revolutionized the industries as well as the agriculture of Europe within the last ten or twelve years. It is natural that her people should be proud of what they have achieved, and should desire to make their works manifest to the eyes of Europe, even although they had no prospect of gain whatsoever. But they *have* such a prospect, and it is a powerful stimulus to their endeavours that they should already have attained that high measure of success in the world's economy to which we have referred.

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Art. II.—Napoleon's Early Manhood.

1. *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier.* Paris. 1858, *et seq.*
2. *Lettres de Napoléon à Joséphine.* Paris. 1833.
3. *A Selection from the Letters and Despatches of the First Napoleon.* By the Hon. D. Bingham. London. 1884.
4. *Tour in the Netherlands, &c.* By C. Tennant. London. 1824.
5. *Intinéraire de Napoléon Bonaparte depuis son départ de Corse jusqu' à son arrivée à Longwood.* Par C. Dolly. Paris. 1842.
6. *Bonaparte et son temps.* Par le Colonel Th. Jung. Paris. 1880.
7. *Mémoires du Maréchal de Marmont.* Paris. 1859.
8. *Dictionnaire Napoléon.* Par M. Damas Hinard. Paris. 1854.
9. *A Short History of Napoléon I.* By J. R. Seeley, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. London. 1886.

OF the writing of books about Napoleon there is, and will be, no end. The visitor of that lordly pleasure-house of the mind, which lies beneath the great dome of Bloomsbury, finds two enormous volumes* filled with the mere titles of books about him which are there stored. And that store, which is still none too complete, is being constantly increased. We may, indeed be sure that there will be no break in the Napoleon literature. Not only did the Emperor achieve more than any other mortal man; not only was he a prolific and able writer; not only did he utter "good things" that in their number and their pregnancy surpass those of any wit; in addition to these claims on the attention of posterity, there is that in his career, and in his personality, which endows him for ever with fascinating interest. Every day brings to light some new incident of that all-pervading activity. Every day modifies our views of the

* Even in his ashes live their wonted fires. The *mânes* of the great Emperor still war upon us unhappy English. The Napoleon section of the British Museum Catalogue is in a terribly confused state, and forms the single blemish which we have noticed in the almost perfect administration of that splendid library.

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influences of that activity on after times. The Europe of to-day still bears the impress of the mould that Napoleon made for her. Himself inexhaustible as a subject, he furnishes besides illimitable matter for thought and discussion. His history is the history of the world, not only during his own life, but for generations to follow. At the present time, especially in the country that he ruled, it is the fashion to see nothing but his crimes. Of these, in truth, there were more than enough. No *apologia* can ever make Napoleon I. a man of principle, or other than perfectly selfish. But a man may be a great ruler and a great doer without possessing a tender conscience, even without having any prepossession in favour of truthfulness. There are, indeed, those who think tenderness of conscience a defect in a ruler in the present state of the world. It is certain that under no other conditions could the wholesome results of the revolution have been so successful and so rapidly diffused as they were by Napoleon, by his very policy of insolence and outrage.

It has been too much the custom among commentators on Napoleon to depict him under some abstract personification. One tells that Napoleon was the Revolution; another declares that he was a system; and the many—with not more vagueness, perhaps—discover that Napoleon was this, that Napoleon was that, that Napoleon was the other. We have long considered that Napoleon was very essentially the man Napoleon. All his achievements are marked strongly with his individuality, with his personal opinions, wishes, and interests. His qualities, good and bad, are all emphatically human, though they generally show themselves in more than human force. It may be said without injustice that he was of the earth earthy. For these reasons, in the brief notes which we now lay before our readers, we shall endeavour to show Napoleon the man in his period of development.

The books named at the head of this paper form but an infinitesimal portion of those which he who would study Napoleon with some thoroughness must read. Countless facts more or less accurately reported, countless sketches drawn with more or less resemblance, countless judgments of more or less justice, are stored in the myriad histories and memoirs which have appeared in the present century. We have named only a few books which appear to us of special utility or value, either from intrinsic trustworthiness or from the position or character of the writer. Most important of all is the vast collection of "Correspondance" published under the auspices of Napoleon III. Here the great Emperor speaks for himself; we see him in the actual transaction of business, and learn how he controlled allies, enemies, brothers, servants. He could scarcely

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have anticipated that documents of such infinite detail would ever see the light; we are therefore able to read the great mass of these papers in a spirit very different to that in which we approach his public State-papers or the dictations of St. Helena. Unfortunately this monumental work has the defects as well as the advantages of its high origin. Only the head of a great State could have gathered together and brought out such a collection; but the head of a State is tempted to consider other interests besides those of historic truth; and a very slight examination of the "Correspondance" shows that it omits many valuable papers which might have seemed discreditable to Bonapartism. Moreover, it professedly excludes all documents of a purely personal or domestic nature; and, as we have said, Napoleon the prince cannot be properly separated from Napoleon the man. The volume of "Lettres à Joséphine," though published anonymously, may be accepted as authentic, because the Imperial Commission for the "Correspondance," who must be taken as knowing its original source, received it as such, and printed from it all letters having any bearing on public matters. It is, indeed, an open secret that it was published by Joséphine's daughter, Queen Hortense. Captain Bingham's "Selections from the Letters of Napoleon" is a very useful book, as is also the same author's "Marriages of the Bonapartes," a work which, though treated somewhat disparagingly in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW a few years ago, has proved a mine of gossipy information to more recent writers. Captain Bingham's choice of letters is very good, and his connecting commentary is also excellent; and, if he will accept a hint, and will in his next edition append to each document the source from which he has taken it (after the manner of the "Correspondance"), he will add enormously to the value of his labours. Tennant's "Tour," an ordinary book in other respects, contains eight letters addressed to Joséphine in 1796, of which the author became possessed by purchase. Scott quotes from them in his "Life of Napoleon," but they appear to have been overlooked by later writers, with the exception of Captain Bingham. Aubenas, indeed, in his "Histoire de l'Impératrice Joséphine," quotes one of them from Scott, and three others from another source. These three letters, he says:

> nous ont été communiquées par le Baron Feuillet de Conches dont on connaît la science et l'autorité en matière d'autographes. . . . . le Baron F. de C. à exécuté de sa main, sur les originaux, la copie, &c.

Now, we have no doubt that the originals "en Angleterre," from which the baron made his copy, are the printed pages of

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Mr. Tennant. And our suspicion is confirmed by the fact that the baron—whose authority was so well known—published shortly before his death, in 1873, a mass of correspondence between Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and Madame Elisabeth, the chief part of which Von Sybel has conclusively proved to be forged. The baron's authority, however, is perhaps stronger when he copies a printed book without acknowledgment than when he deals with autographs in his own possession; and there can be no doubt that Tennant's letters are genuine. He prints them in facsimile, and they are obviously the work of him who possessed the strongest will and the worst handwriting of men since Cadmus. Mr. Tennant's attempt to decipher the letters, a task which must have been difficult even for Napoleon's correspondents, is far from successful. A hasty examination, however, of these facsimiles is sufficient to prove that Napoleon, if not already *supra grammaticam* at that early period of his career, was at least too hurried in the intervals of subduing Lombardy and preparing for Wurmser to fulfil the minuter requirements of French orthography, or even of French grammar. Occasionally Tennant is obliged to leave an absolute *lacuna* owing to the writer's illegibility; and we are bound to own that we have in no case been able to fill up such gaps from the facsimile. Dolly's "Itinéraire" is an invaluable little book of a score or two of pages, which purport to give the place at which Napoleon spent every day from his boyhood. Considerable use of this work has enabled us to decide one or two doubtful dates (the day, for instance, on which the boy Heine saw Napoleon, and drank in the inspiration for the wondrous portrait in the "Buch Legrand"), and has revealed to us only one error, which is evidently merely clerical. Of Colonel Jung's book it is not pleasant to speak. He will not admit that Napoleon could be certified as having been born on a certain day without suggesting fraud and wide-spread conspiracy; and this suggestion seems to have procured for his book a sale that it would hardly have won on its own merits. Colonel Jung has discovered that the certificates of the births and baptisms of Napoleon and his brothers and sisters, or rather the existing copies of them, are inaccurate or inconsistent. Such copies as there are purport to be copies of certificates by ecclesiastics; and those who have ever had occasion to study an English parish-register know how carelessly such registers were kept. What then shall we say of a man who charges a whole family, and many other persons, with fraudulent conspiracy, merely because he cannot now find good registers in a wild and distant island like Corsica, of a period (one hundred and twenty-five years ago) when that island was, and had long been, in a state of

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civil war? The crime which Colonel Jung alleges against the Bonaparte family is this: that, whereas, according to him, Napoleon was born at Corte in January 1768, and Joseph at Ajaccio in 1769, the family fraudulently interchanged these dates in order to represent Napoleon as under ten when admitted to the *Ecole Militaire* at Brienne in 1779, and so created the erroneous impression, which has hitherto prevailed. But why should Charles Buonaparte have lied about the age of his sons? He had doubtless a nomination that was available only for a boy under ten; why then did he not send him who was really born in 1769, Joseph, according to Colonel Jung? Even a Buonaparte of the Jung pattern would have inclined in favour of truth when other things were equal. To talk of the "vocation" of boys of that age is ludicrous; Joseph was certainly vigorous enough to attain his seventy-sixth year; why then should he not have been sent to Brienne? And what are the documents on which such a charge is made? The baptismal certificate which was deposited with the young Napoleon at Brienne in 1779 still exists. It was certified by the Superior Court of Corsica in 1776, and records the baptism in July 21, 1771 of "Napolione, nato li quindici Agosto del mille sette cento sessanta nove" (August 15, 1769). This document, which was actually in the hands of the French Government (where it still is) before any of the other documents quoted by Colonel Jung even purport to have been written, he pronounces to be a forgery. And why? Because at Paris there is a certificate dated 1782, in which a priest certifies that, at Corte on January 8, *one thousand and sixty-eight* (the *seven hundred* is obviously omitted in error), he baptized a child born on the previous day, to whom was given the name of *Nabulione*, and because another copy of the same certificate names the child *Joseph Nabulion*, and gives the date of the eighth of January, seventeen hundred and sixty-eight. Now these three documents are the only ones which purport to be in any respect contemporary documents, or copies of such. The oldest records Napoleon as born in August 1769. It was deposited at a public institution, where it would in all probability be closely examined. There is not a shadow of improbability in its statement. The two other documents purport to be of much later date, to have been written indeed after the forgery of the older document, but before the death of Charles Buonaparte, who would doubtless have taken all possible steps to destroy the evidence of his crime; further they are inconsistent with one another on the all-important detail of the name. The impeachment then of the Brienne document is only a ridiculous exhibition of blind malice. Colonel Jung, it is true, finds inconsistencies in the ages given by Napoleon and Joseph at their respective marriages. Joseph asserted on that occasion

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that he was *originaire d'Ajaccio*, but he produced no evidence, as Corsica was then in the hands of the enemy (the English). Napoleon's marriage certificate (March 9, 1796) bears the words: "Après avoir fait lecture de l'acte de naissance de Napolione Buonaparte, qui constate qu'il est né le 5 février 1768." Now the same certificate understates Joséphine's age by four years, obviously for a reason which would also account for the exaggeration of the bridegroom's age; it moreover ignores the fact of her being a widow. If, as is certain, a child was born to Charles and Letitia Buonaparte, on January 7, 1768, they clearly had no child born on February 5 in that year. We have no doubt that, in the haste of his marriage and the preparations for his Italian command, Napoleon, unable to procure his birth-certificate, either gave a false one, or perhaps (in spite of the words of the marriage certificate), none at all. We may be sure that so soon after the convulsions of 1792–4, and in the height of a war against nearly all Europe, the French authorities could not have been very difficult as to certificates from wild and distant parts of the territory of the Republic. To sum up then: of the five documents which Colonel Jung quotes, that which is the oldest and universally received, and which records the birth of Napoleon in August, 1769, is contradicted by *only* one other, the obviously incorrect marriage-certificate; and the whole of the other four are hopelessly inconsistent with one another. We do not think that the certificates of 1782 are necessarily fraudulent. It seems to us perfectly natural that an elderly clergyman who certifies in 1782 as to what he did in 1768 should make mistakes: the more so as we find that Colonel Jung himself, in a book written expressly to settle the birth-dates of the Buonaparte children, actually blunders so far as to assign to Charles and Letitia Buonaparte three separate children, born in 1767, 1769, 1771 respectively, who are all named Marie Anne; a fact which we are sure he will regret in his less anti-Bonapartist moments. Let us turn to a more agreeable work, a work that is fair and kindly in tone though written by a man who, above all others, would have been justified in speaking harshly of Napoleon. For Napoleon did his best to brand this writer to all time as a traitor. Marshal Marmont, however, was one of those soldiers who could not, even in the time of enmity, turn upon the chief who had helped him to all his fame. He knew Napoleon at his best and at his worst. He writes of him with dignity and justice. He did not allow his book to appear during his lifetime. It is therefore more free from personal bias, and more useful, than the memoirs of any other of those who were about Napoleon. M. Damas Hinard's "Dictionnaire Napoleon" is a very interesting compilation of the Emperor's utterances on

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all sorts of subjects, alphabetically arranged. It appeared before the "Correspondance" was published. If it were continued to the present date, it would be a book of considerable utility; and it would be still more valuable if the utterances of St. Helena, which, when they are authentic, are rarely the real expression of Napoleon's mind, were either banished entirely or relegated to a separate part of the book. It remains only to mention Professor Seeley's book, which is an amplification of his sketch of Napoleon in the new edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." It is very short, a merit which those who have read his "Life of Stein," would hardly expect in a work by Professor Seeley. It is a criticism rather than a biography, and is a criticism of considerable justice. The author has, however, given himself over to several theories which are hardly borne out. Had he contented himself with saying that the basis of Napoleon's character changed little before the period of the second marriage, we should have agreed with him; but to maintain that Napoleon was one and the same man from the beginning to the end of his career is a hopeless task. Equally wrong appear to us Professor Seeley's theories, that the Napoleonic system of politics was merely a continuation of the paltry personal intrigues which form the history of Europe in the eighteenth century, and that Napoleon subdued Europe, not in order to gain universal dominion, but only in order to annoy England.

No one will attempt to study Napoleon without reading the histories of Thiers and Lanfrey, works which require no comment at the present day. Both were, no doubt, written with a tendency; and both, no doubt, show signs of this fact. But the industry of Thiers, his admirable opportunities, and above all his clearness both of thought and expression, an element in which he resembled the great man of whom he wrote, lend to his book a permanent value. And so it is with Lanfrey in the opposite camp: prejudiced he, as well as Thiers, undoubtedly is, but his great quality as a critic preserves his work from absolute injustice.

As we have already said, Marmont appears to us to be the most just of all the writers on Napoleon who knew him closely. The man who writes about another man with whom he has been in close relations is generally the least trustworthy of authorities, with the exception of the man who writes about himself. Marmont, however, was influenced neither by fear nor favour, and a passage from his "Memoirs" affords an excellent text for a discourse on the Emperor. There were in Napoleon, he tells us, two men:

> the first, thin, sober, of prodigious activity, insensible to privations . . .

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kind, just, susceptible, of affection true. The second, fat, and heavy, sensual, and occupied with his own ease to the point of making a most important matter of it . . . . careless and afraid of fatigue, *blasé* on everything, indifferent to everything, believing the truth only when it suited his own passions, interests, or caprices; of a satanic pride and deep contempt for men, relying on his fortune, on what he called his star. . . . His mind was still the same, the vastest, the broadest, the deepest, the most productive that ever existed: but there was no longer any will, no longer any resolution, but a changeableness which resembled weakness.

It is only by such a theory that we can bring into anything like harmony the beginning and end of this extraordinary man, and reconcile the coarseness of his later despotism with the affection which during his whole life he was able to compel from those about him. We would, indeed, go further, and declare that Napoleon's life should be contemplated in three distinct epochs: his youth down to his attainment of supreme power; the period of his sovereignty; and lastly, the melancholy years at St. Helena, which will, we fear, prove only more and more ignoble when officialism allows its records to see the light. We shall here speak of Napoleon's nature in the first of these periods.

In spite of Colonel Jung, we shall hold that Napoleon was born at Ajaccio, on the 15th of August, 1769, in the same year with Wellington, ten years after Pitt and Nelson, the second of the eight children of Charles and Letitia Buonaparte who grew up. For many years before his birth Corsica had been warring for her independence against the Genoese republic. In 1768, France purchased of the republic its rights over the island, and speedily suppressed the resistance headed by Paoli. Charles Buonaparte had been a patriot as long as the struggle could be maintained. He then threw in his lot with the French, and received his reward in 1771. In that year Louis XV. commanded the selection of 400 of the chief families of the island to be admitted as of French *noblesse*, and that of Buonaparte was among the favoured few. It was owing to this fact that the young Napoleon was in 1779 admitted to the military school at Brienne, in which nobles only were received. Among his brother cadets he appears to have been of a moody disposition. He seems to have had serious views from an early age, and the contrast of his own poverty with the circumstances of his richer comrades so affected him at times that he implored his father to remove him. Many of those comrades must have shuddered in after-life at the reflection that they had given the future Emperor the absurd nickname of *Paille-au-Nez*, which they vainly imagined to be a play upon the name Napoleon. In 1785, Napoleon quitted Brienne for the *Ecole Militaire* at Paris, and at the end of the year received his

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commission in the artillery regiment of La Fère. The next four years he spends in various garrisons, twice receiving leave of absence for several months, in which he visits Corsica. During this period he prints one or two small works, a "Dialogue on Love," and "Letters on the History of Corsica," written in the tawdry and hollow style of an imitator of Rousseau. His native island was still the home of his thoughts and of his hopes. A chief place in it would apparently have then satisfied his ambition. His idol Rousseau had been deeply affected by the long struggle of the Corsican patriots; and he somewhere has words, which are pertinently quoted by Professor Seeley, to the effect that he thought it likely that this little island would one day astonish Europe. This prophecy may have encouraged the youthful Napoleon to seek fortune in the troubles of his island home, even if he already had forebodings of the wider stage on which he was to act. However that may be, Napoleon contrived to spend the time between September 1789 and February 1791 in Corsica, and to return there in September of the latter year. The patriot Paoli was still alive, and had hoped in 1789 to procure from the National Assembly the independence of the island. In this endeavour he had Napoleon's warm sympathy. The desired boon was, however, refused; and Corsica became a French department, with Paoli for its head. Napoleon now devoted his energies to obtaining the command of the National Guard in Corsica. He allied himself with Paoli, and published a very bitter letter to Buttafuoco, who had been instrumental in transferring the island to the French king in 1768, and had, a score of years later, represented the nobility of the island in the States General. At last, after actually seizing the person of the French Commissioner for organizing the National Guard in Corsica, Napoleon obtained the desired command. As a result he disobeyed orders to return to Paris in January 1792, and was cashiered. The island soon became too hot to hold him, and in May he found it advisable to repair to Paris, and endeavour to explain his conduct. In the dearth of trained officers caused by the emigration, he was restored to the army with the rank of captain. He speedily returned to Corsica. Paoli was again endeavouring to break off the connexion with France, and Napoleon now became his opponent, and the supporter of the Convention. In the summer of 1793, Paoli received a summons to appear at Paris before the bar of the Convention, and called in the aid of the English. As a supporter of the French Government, Napoleon fled, and established his mother, brothers, and sisters at Marseilles. He now wrote the "Souper de Beaucaire," an imaginary conversation between a soldier and three citizens of Southern France. The ultra-Republican tone of the pamphlet recommended its author

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to the younger Robespierre, then representing the Convention in the South. In the latter part of 1793 Napoleon took a leading part in the expulsion of the English from Toulon. In the following summer, he was sent by Robespierre on a diplomatic mission to Genoa. Immediately afterwards the two Robespierres were executed, and, as their adherent, Napoleon was for the second time suspended, and was even imprisoned for a few days. Fortunately his papers afforded no grounds for severe measures, and he was released. After some brief service on the Italian frontier, and in an unsuccessful attempt to wrest Corsica from the English, he was ordered to join the army of the west. This change by no means pleased him. Accompanied by his *aides-de-camp,* Marmont and Junot, he repaired to Paris, and found one pretext after another for delaying obedience. He laid before the government a proposal to send a mission to Turkey, in order to reform the military system of this natural ally of France. He was presently employed at the War Office, where he drew up a plan of a campaign for Kellermann, then commanding in the North of Italy. On September 25, 1795, he was, for the third time, struck off the list of the army. Ten days later, on the 13th Vendémiaire, or 5th October, his fortunes were founded. The sections of Paris having threatened to rise against certain provisions of the Constitution of the year III. (1795) which established the Directory, the Convention resolved to quell the revolt by force. General Menou, having failed in the task, was replaced by Barras, a politician but no soldier. Barras appointed Napoleon his second in command. The latter provided himself with cannon, and by a sparing but resolute use of them, succeeded in suppressing the revolt. He thus saved the Convention; and, in return, he was made Commander of the Army of the Interior. Barras, whom he had laid under a deep obligation by his success, became in a few weeks a member of the first Directory.

We have run rapidly through this earlier part of Napoleon's career without comment, because it is for the most part obscure and doubtful. The first years are naturally almost unrecorded; and injudicious writers of memoirs have increased the obscurity by misstatements. Napoleon himself at St. Helena was often deliberately misleading in his references to his youth. We have now, however, reached a point at which we begin to receive abundance of historical light. Up to this point there had been no certainty as to Napoleon's nationality, his politics, or even his profession. As late as 1793, he was still more Corsican than French. When he definitely adopted the French side, he threw himself into the ultra-Jacobin party, although he had been educated as a noble at the expense of the French king. An

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officer who had been dismissed from the army three times within ten years from the date of his first commission, he could hardly feel very confident of his career as a soldier. Now, however, all is changed. We find him at the age of twenty-six holding high office under the most moderate and stable government that France had seen since the beginning of the revolution; and his office is in the profession of arms, in which he has already made a decided mark. From this time his career was one of unbroken prosperity until he attained his apogee. Had the young general yet shown any sign of the moral qualities which marked his manhood? Yes. In weighing the alternatives of action on the 13th Vendémiaire he already showed that resolution and belief in himself which was subsequently, perhaps, his strongest characteristic. As he himself said in later years "how could he devote himself to be the scapegoat of so many crimes to which he was a stranger? .... The defeat of the Convention would be the triumph of the foreigner; it would seal the shame and slavery of the country. This sentiment, his twenty-five years, his confidence in his powers, and his destiny decided him." The early writings which we have mentioned are crude enough, but they prove the literary feeling (or shall we say, the literary ambition?) which he always cherished; and they show many signs of his strong ideality. Lastly, Napoleon had already given evidence of that kindlier side of his nature which all his insolence, his selfishness, his triumphs, his unmatched sorrows, could never quite obscure, and which earned for him to the last love and devotion that are difficult for us comprehend. During the early years of poverty and danger he had shown himself a most affectionate son and brother. His father having died in 1785, he became in boyhood the mainstay of his family. He helped them, not only from his scanty purse, but also with his brain, devoting much time to the education of his brother Louis. With Joseph, who remained to the end his favourite brother, he maintained an ample and most affectionate correspondence, which harmonizes perfectly with a remarkable exchange of feeling between the brothers long after in 1806, when Joseph wrote:

> The glorious Emperor will never make up to me for the Napoleon whom I so loved, and whom I hope to meet again in Elysium, as I knew him twenty years ago.

And Napoleon answered:

> I regret that you hope to meet your brother only in Elysium. It is clear that at forty he has not the same feeling for you as at twelve; but he has a more real, a stronger feeling for you.

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And let it be remembered that his first thought in his first elevation was to send large sums of money to his family, and to provide posts for his brothers. It was only when degraded by the gross egotism of his later life that he could say, "I love no one, except Joseph a little, and him only because he is my elder brother."

Napoleon now began to enjoy some of the pleasures which attend power and wealth. All that was loveliest and liveliest in Paris thronged around Barras; and in his house the young general made his first acquaintance with the Creole widow, Joséphine Beauharnais. She was not beautiful; her reputation was not quite unspotted; she was six years older than Napoleon. Nevertheless, she inspired him with a passion which appears almost comic in its ardour, and which opens up to us that part of his disposition which was least selfish. They were married in March 1796, Napoleon having received the chief command of the army of Italy a fortnight before, and leaving his bride for the seat of war two days afterwards. It has often been said that this was a *mariage de convenance*, that Barras gave Napoleon the command as a price of ridding him of Madame Beauharnais. Even Marmont says that Napoleon thought that he was making "by this marriage a greater step in the social order than when, sixteen years later, he shared his bed with the daughter of the Cæsars." Barras did undoubtedly use his influence, both in furthering the marriage, and in procuring the command. It is, however, easy to prove that the marriage was one of passionate love on Napoleon's side. Joséphine, with her Creole laziness, was calmer, was even a little timid. Shortly before the marriage she had written to a friend:

> I admire the courage of the general, the extent of his knowledge of all sorts of things, &c. But I am frightened, I admit, at the empire which he seems to wish to exercise over all around him. . . . . Barras says that, if I marry the general, he will procure him the command of the army of Italy. Yesterday Bonaparte, speaking to me of this favour, which, though not yet granted, already excites the envy of his brethren in arms, said, "What need have I of protection? They will all be too happy one day if I will grant them mine. My sword is on my side and with it I shall go far."

Was this boast a mere piece of ordinary self-assertion, or was it a prophetic self-confidence? In his later years the Emperor stated that it was only after Lodi that he felt that he might become a leading actor on the political stage. It may be remembered that to Joséphine, too, it had been prophesied in childhood that she should wear a crown and end unhappily. This fact is beyond doubt. Alison distinctly asserts that he heard it in

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1801, three years before the coronation. And Lewis Goldsmith published it in 1810 when it had been fulfilled only in part.

Here, by way of contrast to Josephine's calmness, is a letter to her from Napoleon. It is undated, but as it is addressed to Madame Beauharnais, it must have been written shortly before their marriage. The spelling is odd; so is the confusion of *tu* and *vous*:*

I awake full of thee. Thy portrait and the memory of the intoxicating evening of yesterday have left no rest to my senses. Sweet and incomparable Josephine, what a wondrous effect (*quell effet bizzare*) you work on my heart! . . . . Thou wilt start at noon and I shall see thee in 3 hours. Meanwhile, mio dolce amor, receive a thousand kisses, but give me none, for it burns my blood.

This is certainly the letter of a lover, not that of a man contemplating a marriage of interest. After marriage, his letters from Italy are even more ardent. Three weeks after he left her he writes:—

I put my hand on my heart, your portrait is there. I look at it and for me love is absolute happiness, and everything smiles except the time that I see myself absent from my love. . . . . By what art have you been able to captivate my faculties to concentrate my moral existence in yourself. It is a charm, my sweet love, which will end only with my life. To live for Joséphine, that is the history of my life. . . . To Barras, Sussi, Madame Tallien kind regards; to Madame Chateaurenard the ordinary civilities; to Eugène and Hortense real love.

Adieu. I devote my sleep to you. Sleep consoles me. It places you at my side. I lock you in my arms. But on waking, alas! I am 300 leagues away from you. Kind regards to Baras (*sic*), to Talien (*sic*), and his wife.

I am not satisfied. Your last letter is cold as friendship. I do not find in it that fire which illumines your look. But how absurd of me; I found that your earlier letter oppressed (*opresait*) my soul too much. . . . . I wished for colder letters, but they give me the iciness of death, the fear of not being loved by Joséphine. The idea of finding her inconstant. . . . . But I am making troubles for myself. I have so many real ones that I need not create more. . . . . You do not speak of your wretched stomach; I hate it. Adieu.

In April and May, while subduing the Sardinian king and fighting at Lodi, he presses her to join him for a short time. She is in bad health; and as she hesitates, fearing the long journey

* In subsequent letters he invariably uses *tu*. We have used the ordinary English form in our translations.

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and, perhaps, the clash of arms, he yields to the jealousy which besets him so often, and he writes to Carnot:

I am in despair. My wife does not come. She has some lover who detains her at Paris. I curse all women.

In June he wrote again to Joséphine, and mentioned a hope the realization of which would have altered the destinies of the world:

My life is a perpetual nightmare (*cochemar*). You are ill! You are *enceinte*, and I cannot see you! This idea confounds me. I imagine that you have sent for (*fait appeller*) Hortense. I love this amiable child a thousand times more since I think she can console you a little. As for me there is no consolation. . . . . Your portrait and your letters are incessantly before my eyes. All my thoughts are concentrated in your alcove, in your bed, on your heart. Your indisposition occupies me night and day.

On the 26th of June (Joséphine, as it happened, had started from Paris on the day before) he writes:

Some day perhaps when I see you—for I do not doubt you are still at Paris—I will show you my pockets full of letters which I have not sent you because they were too stupid. . . . . You were to start on the 24th of May. Simpleton that I was, I named the 13th, as if a pretty woman could abandon her habits, her friends, and Madame Tallien, and a dinner at Baras' (*sic*), and a new piece at the theatre, and Fortuné (*a pet dog belonging to Joséphine*), yes, Fortuné, you love him much more than your husband: for the latter you have only a little esteem. . . . . But laugh at me, remain at Paris, have lovers, let everybody know it, never write—well I will love you ten times more. This is not madness. But do not tell me that you are ill—and then your illness? and then the little one who stirred so much as to cause you pain? But you have passed Lyons! You will be at Turin on the 28th!

In reading these letters we recognize the influence of Rousseau, and also of *Werthers Leiden*, which Napoleon had studied through and through, as he himself told Goethe. But while he was inditing these tender epistles, General Bonaparte wrote other papers of a very different nature. On taking up the command in March, he issued his famous appeal to the ambition and greed of his troops, which gives a foretaste of the reckless want of principle which in later years he evinced when he disposed of lands and peoples:

Soldiers, you are ill-fed and almost naked. The Government owes you much: it can do nothing for you. Your patience, your courage do you honour, but they bring you neither gain nor glory. I am going to lead you into the most fertile plains of the world; you will find

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there large towns and rich plains, you will find there honour, glory, and wealth.

We may condemn this proclamation as grossly immoral; we may say that it was an absurd one to address troops who were engaged in carrying out the principles of the Edict of Fraternity; but, as an excitement to the soldiers to regard their General as their Providence, it was irresistible. Napoleon held out the same bait of profit from the war to the Directory, which he knew to be in constant need of money. By this means he secured the retention of his command, and that under conditions of independence which no other general of the Republic enjoyed. He tells them that he should want some millions from the Duke of Parma:

He will make you proposals of peace. Do not come to conclusions at once, so that I may have time to make him pay for the campaign.

The Directory eagerly entered into the spirit of these proposals. Works of art were almost as welcome as money. One of their despatches to the General suggests that:

If Rome makes advances, the first thing to require is that the Pope orders at once public prayers for the prosperity of the French army. Some of his fine monuments, his statues, his pictures, his medals, his libraries, his silver madonnas, and even his bells, will compensate us for the expense which your visit to him will have cost us.

Being too sensible and too economical to waste the cost of freight on worthless goods, the General writes on the 6th of May:—

It would be useful if you sent me three or four known artists to select what it is advisable to take and send to Paris.

But the General will tolerate plunder and violence only on behalf of the State. He "sees with horror the frightful pillage to which perverse men abandon themselves." It makes him "blush to be a man." He orders the generals to shoot officers or men who gave a bad example; and, as this is not done with sufficient severity, he, in an order of the day, points out the danger of pillage, and bribes the soldiers by a promise to levy contributions on the countries which would enable him to issue half their pay in silver.

Early in May the Directory announced to the General its intention of dividing his army. One half was to remain in the North under Kellermann, while Bonaparte, with the other half, marched on Rome and Southern Italy. This despatch reached him just as he was gaining the battle of Lodi. That victory, he said in after years, caused in him the first thought of high

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ambition; this passion manifested itself at once in a disposition to resist the proposals of the Directors, both as to the division of his command and as to the expedition to the South; and at the same time to put up no longer with the *Commissaires du Gouvernement*, who were such a thorn in the side to other generals of the Republic. Four days after Lodi, he writes to the Director Carnot:—

If you impose on me hindrances of all kinds, if I have to refer all my measures to the Commissioners of the Government . . . do not expect any more good . . . It is indispensable that you have a general who has your confidence entirely. If this be not I, I will not complain; I will double my zeal in order to earn your esteem in whatever post you may entrust to me. Each has his own way of waging war. General Kellermann has more experience and will wage it better than I. But both together we should wage it very badly.

This letter was long discussed by the Directors. They saw that the triumphant general was becoming a power, and feared for their own authority in the *prestige* of so many victories. As Bonaparte continued to send home reports of further successes, and further remittances of money and other treasure, they were forced to yield. On May 28, they accept the general's proposals and leave him the greatest latitude. He gives no more hints of resigning until a year and a half later; on the other hand, we find him very soon (July, 1796) writing to a *Commissaire du Gouvernement* as follows:—

The demand which you have made, Citizen Commissioner, on General Van is contrary to the instructions which the Government has given me. I beg you to keep henceforward within the limits of the functions which are assigned to you by the Government of the Executive Directory; otherwise I should be obliged to forbid obedience to your demands by an army order . . . I know well that you will repeat the remark that I am going to act like Dumouriez. It is clear that a general who has the presumption to command the army which the Government has entrusted to him, and to give orders without permission from the Commissioners, cannot be anything but a conspirator. BONAPARTE.

Here we see plainly enough the spirit of the First Consul, who so completely overshadowed his two colleagues, and of the sovereign who could brook no equal. But the letter not only shows the strong will and self-confidence of the man; it proves a wondrous courage, if we take into consideration the relations between the generals and *Commissaires du Gouvernement* at times shortly anterior to its date.

In July he received the longed for visit of his wife, who remained with him for about a week. It was then, apparently,

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that Joséphine's indifference to her husband ceased, and that the fire of his love, and the glory of his achievements forced from her that affection which never ended, and which never allowed Napoleon's affection for her to end, until her death. Fortunate is the man who possesses the love of a woman who has a good heart and a good head; and such Joséphine undoubtedly had. If not beautiful, she was graceful and attractive; if not talented, she was full of tact and good sense. It may be that we have to overlook errors in the earlier part of her career; but it should be remembered that that portion of her life was passed in a period when neither religion nor any other standard of conduct was recognised. Joséphine was never below the average of those about her; we have indeed many reasons for placing her above them; and more than this we have no right to demand from any human being. With her kindliness and grace, then, and with her good sense, she gained and held Napoleon's love to the end. Though he was a man of many amours, there is no evidence that he ever really loved any other woman, and it would seem that, with perhaps one exception, of which we shall speak later, no other woman ever really loved him. At St. Helena Napoleon praised her as the best friend man ever had; she regarded submission, devotion, and obligingness, he said, as the best policy of a wife. He constantly spoke slightingly of women:

If one did not get old, I would never wish for a wife.

The first woman in the world is the one who has borne most children.

Love is the occupation of the idle man, the distraction of the soldier, the shipwreck of the sovereign.

But we may be sure that he was thinking of the dead Joséphine when in his solitude at St. Helena, deserted by his wife, bereft of his child, he said:

In a great crisis it is the lot of woman to soften our reverses.

Joséphine was the only woman whom he ever allowed to influence him; and it would have been better for him had he done so even more often. There is a pretty sketch in "Bourrienne's Memoirs," which shows us Joséphine sitting on the knees of her husband, the First Consul, and saying: "I beg you, Bonaparte, not to be made king. It is that horrid Lucien who urges you to it." The same book tells us also how she implored her husband to spare d'Enghien, and received the furious answer, "Meddle with what concerns you! These are not women's matters!" Nor was it a woman's matter, perhaps, years later, that Napoleon was a deserted exile in Elba, while victorious monarchs gathered respectfully around the chamber in which Joséphine was dying.

The union of the spouses in July, 1796, was only of short

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duration. The movements of the Austrians brought it to an end. As they parted, the General said to her, "Wurmser shall pay dearly the tears which he causes you." Joséphine retired to Lucca, where she was received with the greatest honours. The separation causes a renewal of the ardent letters. Immediately afterwards Napoleon writes that he has been sad ever since he left her:

I recall incessantly to my mind your kisses, your tears, your amiable jealousy; and the charms of the incomparable Joséphine kindle always a live and burning flame in my soul and in my senses. Ever since I have known you I have adored you more and more every day. That proves how false is the saying that love comes all at once.

On the same day (13th of November) on which he writes to the Directory a despairing despatch, after the unsuccessful combat of Caldiero, he playfully tells his wife that he no longer loves her:

On the contrary, I detest you. You never write to me. I hope that soon I shall lock you in my arms, and cover you with a million of kisses burning as under the equator.

Six days later he is in better spirits:

I revive. The enemy is beaten at Arcola. Mantua will be ours in a week; and I soon shall be able in your arms to give you a thousand proofs of the ardent love of your husband.

At the end of the year the Directory contemplated peace with Austria. Bonaparte was opposed to any sudden stoppage of his career of victory. He had acquired by his successes a position in which he felt that he was a match for the Directory, and was resolved to decide alone all questions of peace as well as of war. The time for an open breach was, however, not yet come; as he himself said, "the pear was not yet ripe." Accordingly he writes to Paris:

Send me a reinforcement of 30,000 men, and I carry war into the Emperor's States, insurrection into Hungary, and I go to Vienna. Then, citizen Directors, you will have the right to expect some millions, some successes, and a good peace.

After driving the Austrians out of Italy, Napoleon gave his attention to the affairs of the Pope. The Directory wished for peace, but could no longer control the General. The Roman religion, they said, would always be "the irreconcileable foe of the Republic," and they would be glad to see him "destroy the centre of Roman unity."

This is not an order that the executive Directory gives you; it is a wish that it forms. . . . . It relies in this matter on the zeal and

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the prudence which have constantly guided you in your glorious career.

This is dated the 3rd of February, 1796, less than nine months after the proposal to divide the General's command. Within three weeks the Pope had, by the treaty of Tolentino, ceded to France Avignon, and the northern portions of his Italian territory, as well as 15,000,000 francs. On the day of signing, Napoleon wrote to the Pope that the French Republic would be

one of the truest friends of Rome. . . . . I send my aide-de-camp to express to your Holiness the esteem and perfect veneration which I have for your person.

On the same day he writes to the Directory:

I think that Rome, once deprived of Bologna, Ferrara, the Romagna, and the thirty millions which we are taking from her, can no longer exist; this old machine will get out of order of itself.

There is clearly no tenderness of conscience here. Of the religious phase of the question it would be absurd to speak. Napoleon perhaps best expounded his religious views when he said that he was a born Catholic just as he was a born Frenchman, and that he could no more think of changing his religion than of adopting a new nationality. His will speaks almost fervently of the Roman Catholic faith in which he died; but *ce sont des phrases.* As head of the State, he restored and supported the Church as a weapon on the side of order; but common sense and force were the bases of his conduct towards Church, Pope, or Faith, as towards other powers. He had the supreme merit of tolerance; and he knew how to fight all foes with their own weapons. Here is a letter of the First Consul to the Minister of Justice (Oct. 16, 1803), a letter which might be perused with advantage by the Booth family of "Salvation" notoriety:

I send you, citizen minister, a letter which gives information agreeing with other information which I have received about Lyons, where it seems that there is a large number of madmen still holding to the sect of Convulsionists and Flagellants. I desire you to order the commissioner of police to act with the commandant of the *gendarmerie* to have these priests and sectaries arrested some day when they are assembled, and to subject them to an interrogatory, separately, in order to discover and root out this rascality.—BONAPARTE.

This reminds us of another letter of the Emperor in 1807, which is full of tolerance and sense. Sunday labour, he said, was forbidden by the Fathers of the Church only to the rich; and all men were free to work on the Sabbath:

Since you invoke authority on this matter, I am the authority, and

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I give to all my peoples permission to continue their work without interruption.

Napoleon now turned against the Austrians in the Tyrol, and advanced to Léoben, where, in April, alone he negotiated the preliminaries of peace against four representatives of the Holy Roman Empire. He has plainly told us what he thought of this august body in a letter to the Directory of May 1797:

To overthrow the Germanic body is to lose the advantage of the Rhine; for it is to put ten or twelve millions of inhabitants into the hands of two powers for which we now care equally little. If the Germanic body did not exist, it would be necessary to create it for our own convenience.

Here is plain good sense with a vengeance; and it is happy for Europe that the Germans have seen the wisdom of being taught even by their enemy. By the preliminaries of Léoben, the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and the Ionian Islands were to be ceded to France; the Emperor recognized the French view of the limits of France, and also the constituting of Northern Italy into the Cis-Alpine Republic under French protection, and was, in return, to receive compensation in the trans-Adriatic provinces of the neutral Republic of Venice! The Emperor also bound himself by a secret article to provide in Germany for the German princes who were dispossessed on the Rhine. This was, indeed, independent action, independent not only of the Directory, but of the rights of nations, of all ordinary morality. Bonaparte had by this time come to appreciate his real position. In May he said, "Do you think that it is for the aggrandisement of the lawyers of the Directory, the Carnots, the Barras, that I triumph in Italy—that I want to found a republic? A republic of thirty millions with our morals and vices! The nation wants a chief covered with glory, not theories of government, and phrases." In a similar spirit, and at about the same time, he discussed constitutional government with M. Collot, who survived to write a dreary poem on Napoleon's fall half-a-century later. "What," he said, "is a strong government? It is that which has a well-defined useful aim, the will to await that aim, the strength to make that will triumph, and lastly the intelligence necessary for directing that force." We see here that Napoleon could speak the plain truth very clearly when he thought fit to do so; and in these two speeches he evidently expressed his real thoughts. The speeches mean this: at Paris there is a feeble divided body of men who are all either pettifogging rascals or dreamers. There ought to be a government that knows what it wants, that has the will and power to attain what it wants, and the wisdom

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to guide that power. And we may be sure that in giving this description of a desirable government, he was quite aware that it applied with remarkable accuracy to General Bonaparte. In the demand for the Ionian Isles, which appears so surprising at first sight, we perceive the first expression of that dream of Eastern conquest, which to the last exercised such fascination over Napoleon's mind. Of Constantinople he once said:

> Russia wants Constantinople. It is too precious a key. It alone is worth an Empire. He who possesses it can govern the world.

As we have seen, he had proposed a mission to Turkey before the expedition of Egypt was broached; and, at St. Helena, he still grieved over his failure against Acre.

The summer was spent by Bonaparte with Joséphine at Mombello, near Milan, where they held a court of considerable brilliancy. From this place he wrote in August 1797 to Canova, a man to whom the great Napoleonic legend owes not a little:

> I learn, sir, that you are deprived of the pension which you enjoyed at Venice. The French Republic makes a special case of great talents. . . . As a celebrated artist, you have a right to the protection of the army of Italy. I have just ordered that your pension be paid.

The whole Bonaparte family became great patrons of Canova in after years. On one occasion we hear the Emperor say to the sculptor, "What! sit again! How wearisome!" And this reminds us of Haydon's story of the Duke of Wellington, who, when Bailey, the sculptor, came late to a sitting, "lifted both hands above his white head, and cursed all sculptors and painters, declaring that he had sat four hundred thousand times to artists."

The negociations with Austria continued. The General had found a pretext for occupying Venice "until the Venetian Government should declare that it no longer needed foreign aid." He impresses on the Directory that:

> The islands of Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia are more interesting to us than all Italy. . . . The time is not distant when we shall perceive that in order really to destroy England we must take possession of Egypt.

Here we have a very decided exhibition of the Anglomania which became so ungovernable an impulse in his subsequent life, and which is so difficult to understand in a man of so much common sense. No commentator has explained it. Some have attributed it to anger on account of his failure in Egypt; but here we see that it existed long before the Egyptian expedition, which indeed Napoleon fostered in consequence of his hatred of England. Professor Seeley regards it as simply the passion of his life,

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without attempting to account for it; but this is hardly reasonable. To us it seems more probable that the English occupation of Corsica, and the English welcome of his quondam friend, Paoli (who lies in Westminster Abbey), made him hate us so wildly. But, whatever may have been its cause, it is certain that Napoleon's detestation of England arose early in his life, and that it grew with his life. It was almost as keen in 1797 as in 1805, when he wrote that "he needed only to be master of the sea for six hours for England to cease to exist;" or, later in the same year, when he said to a medallist who submitted to him a design in which the French eagle was annihilating the English leopard: "How can you say this? I cannot put a fishing-boat to sea but the English seize it. Melt that medal!"

Meanwhile, troubles were gathering in Paris. In June the representative Dumolard had in the Council of Five Hundred condemned Bonaparte's proceedings in Venice. The General lost patience. "He could not have expected," he writes:

that the manifesto, inspired by an émigré, and paid for by England, should gain more credit in the Council than the testimony of 80,000 men and his own.

He complains, alluding to a Paris club, that his life is threatened by the "daggers of Clichy;" but:

I warn you, and I speak in the name of 80,000 soldiers, the time when cowardly lawyers and wretched chatterers had soldiers guillotined is past; and if you force them to it, the soldiers of Italy will come to the barrier of Clichy with their general; but woe to you!

After this, it is not surprising to find Bonaparte's follower Augereau purging the Directory by force of arms on the 4th of September (18 Fructidor). On the 13th of the same month he writes to the Foreign Minister at Paris a very bold and characteristic despatch:

Why should we not take possession of Malta? With the island of St. Pierre (ceded to us by Sardinia), Malta and Corfu, we should be masters of the whole Mediterranean. If it happened that in our peace with England we had to cede the Cape, we should then have to take possession of Egypt .... With armies like ours, in which all creeds are equal, Mahometan, Coptic, Arab, &c., all is indifferent to us. We shall respect one as much as the other.

Bonaparte is thus already a Government-maker; he already has sketched several of his future achievements. The newly constituted Directory having shown signs of interfering with his policy in Italy, he writes (22nd September) to offer his resignation; his health is bad; and the country being now tranquil "he could without disadvantage leave the post in which he had been placed."

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The feint was successful. The Directory humbly implored him to retain his post, and caused a letter to be sent to him which is perhaps the strangest of all State-papers:

Citizen-General, you are mistaken about the Directory. Perhaps the Government commits many faults, perhaps it does not always see as clearly into matters as you do; but with what *Republican docility* it has received your observations!

In September the general moved from Mombello to Passeriano, a small town half-way between Vienna and Trieste, where the negotiations with Austria went on slowly. The Directory on the 8th of September laid down as the terms of peace that France should have the Rhine, that Mantua should belong to the Cis-Alpine Republic, and that Venice should not fall to Austria. Bonaparte had, however, determined on conditions more favourable to France and to Austria, by which the latter Power should have Venice and the line of the Adige, France that of the Rhine to Mainz, with Belgium and the Ionian Islands, while the Cis-Alpine Republic received Mantua only. The Directory on the 29th of September again sent orders that were more generous to Italy. Bonaparte was obstinately bent on his own plans; but the season was advancing. On the 13th of October the hills were covered with snow. He said to his secretary, Bourrienne: "It is finished. I shall make peace. Venice will pay for the cost of the war and the Rhine frontier. The Directory and the lawyers may say what they like." He at once sought to force Cobentzl, the Austrian negotiator. Troops were moved here and there as if for an advance. On the 16th, in an interview with Cobentzl, he seized a porcelain vase, dashed it on the ground, with the words, "Thus I will break up your monarchy within a month," and abruptly quitted the room. This act of intimidation succeeded; the treaty was signed on the next day. In the course of the following month Napoleon quitted Italy for Paris. He passed by way of Rastatt, where a congress was assembled for the carrying out of the treaty. Here he met the Swede Fersen, whose name is so romantically attached to that of Marie Antoinette and the flight to Varennes:

The Baron de Fersen came to see me, surrounded by all the absurdities of a courtier of the *Œil-de-bœuf*. I said to him: "No, sir; the French Republic will not permit men who are too well known for their connection with the old Court of France, to come and defy the Ministers of the first people of the world."

At Paris, where he arrived on the 5th, he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. He was elected of the *Institut*, an honour of which he was always proud, and to which Napoleon

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III. aspired in vain. The public joy over his treaty silenced the discontent of the Directory, and he was at once nominated to the command of the army of England. The appointment appears to have caused little excitement in this country. The archbishops and bishops indeed resolved that the clergy should not accept commissions or be enrolled in any military corps, a prohibition which Dr. Warre of Eton seems to have overlooked. A hasty inspection of the northern ports in February 1798 leads Bonaparte to the conclusion that France is not sufficiently strong at sea for an invasion. The long nights of winter would be necessary. Now it would be better to attack England in Germany or the Levant. It would be better still if peace could be made with her during the Congress of Rastatt, so that better terms could be exacted from Germany. In April he urges that by September they could have 400 gunboats at Boulogne and 35 ships of war at Breste. With the Dutch ships and those from the Mediterranean, they could have 50 ships at Breste by November, and could then land an army anywhere in England:

> The invasion of England executed in this way in November or December would be almost sure of success. . . . . The expedition to the East will force England to send some ships to the Mediterranean or India.

We have already seen how constantly his mind turned towards the East. It must have been difficult to persuade the Directory to undertake so distant an expedition. They were, however, probably anxious to be rid of so formidable a rival as the young general, and the dazzling nature of the French successes in Italy made everything seem possible and easy. For his part the General saw in this expedition the means to his own end. As he said at St. Helena:

> In order that he might become master of France, it was necessary that the Directory should suffer reverses in his absence, and that his return should bring victory back to our flags.

This prophecy was certainly made after the event; but it may be taken as representing his mind in 1798. After the orders for the expedition were given, new difficulties with Austria arose, and Napoleon began to hesitate; and it has been affirmed that he then contemplated the overthrow of the Directory. However that may be, the Directors summoned the General and ordered him to set out at once. Napoleon once more spoke of his resignation; but on the Director Rewbell offering him a pen, with the words, "Write it, General; the Republic has other children who will not desert it," he changed his tone. The expedition, which had orders to take possession of "Malta and Egypt,

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to drive the English from all their Eastern possessions, and to cut the Isthmus of Suez," sailed from Toulon on the 19th of May 1798. From that day until his fall in 1814, Napoleon may be said to have brooked no earthly superior.

After seizing Malta, the French forces proceeded to Alexandria. The General at once issued to his troops one of those declamatory addresses with which he knew so well how to stir their imaginations. Hints as to conduct, promises of reward, historical allusions: all were well chosen.

> The peoples among whom we are about to enter treat their women otherwise than as we do. But in all countries he who uses violence is a monster. Pillage enriches only a small number: it dishonours us. . . . Their first town was built by Alexander. We shall find memories worthy to stir the rivalry of Frenchmen.

To the Egyptians he promises more than toleration of their religion, and he incites them against the foreign military caste of the Mamelukes:

> Is there a beautiful woman? She belongs to Mamelukes. . . . Did we not destroy the Pope? Did we not destroy those foolish Knights of Malta, because they thought God wished war against Mussulmans? Thrice happy those who are on our side; they will prosper in fortune and rank. . . . But thrice woe to those who arm for the Mamelukes and fight against us. There will be no hope for them; they will perish!"

Three weeks after landing, he addressed to his brother Joseph the following letter, the most extraordinary of all his writings which have come down to us. We copy it as exactly as Napoleon's handwriting allows: *

"Le Caire le 7 Thermidor (25th July, 1798).

Tu vairas dans les papiers publics la relation des batailles et de la conquete de l'Egypte qui à été assè dispute pour ajouter une feuille a la gloire militaire de cette armée. Legypte est le pays le plus riche en blé, ris, legumes, viande, qui existe sur la terre la barbarie est a son comble. Il n'y a point dargent pas même pour solder les troupes. Je pense etre en france dans 2 mois. Je te recommande mes interets —j'ai beaucoup, beaucoup de chagrin domestique car le voile est entieremen levée, toi seul me reste sur la terre ton amitié mest bien chere. il ne me reste plus pour devenir misantrope qu à la perdre et

---

* Napoleon, like the late Lord Brougham, wrote so badly, and contracted his words so boldly, that it is generally impossible to tell exactly how he spelt, especially in the final syllables. We have, therefore, inserted in this copy only such peculiarities of spelling, accentuation, and punctuation as are perfectly unmistakeable in the original, now preserved in the British Museum.

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te voir me thrair—cest une triste position que d'avoir alafois tous les sentiments pour une même personne dans son cœur. tu mentend ! fais en sorte que j'aye une campagne a mon arrivée soit pres de Paris ou en bourgogne je compte y passer l'hiver et m'y enterer je suis annuié de la nature humaine ! j'ai besoin de solitude et disolement la grandeur m'anuie, le sentimen est desseché, la gloire est fade, a 29 ans j'ai tout epuise. il ne me reste plus qu'a devenir bien vraiment Egoiste. Je compte garder ma maison jamais je ne la donnerai a qui que ce soit. Je n'ai plus que de quoi vivre ? Adieu mon unique ami je n'ai jamais été injuste envers toi ! tu me dois cette justice malgré le desir de mon cœur de letre tu mentend ! "

The letter ends thus at present ; but in a copy of it published by Lewis Goldsmith, in 1810, is added a PS. : " ambrasse ta femme pour moi ; " and there are signs of the bottom of the sheet on which the original is written having been cut off. It has Napoleon's official seal, a figure of the Republic with the legend " Bonaparte Général en Chef," and it is addressed :—

Au citoyen Joseph Bonaparte,
Depute au conseil des 500,
Paris.

The ship which bore it, with other despatches, was captured by the English fleet. This particular letter was not placed with the ordinary correspondence ; and it still bears an endorsement by Nelson, in the excellent upright writing which he adopted after the loss of his arm, " Found on the person of the courier." The Tory Government of the day, in publishing the Intercepted Letters, was generous to omit the personal portion of this document.

Before such a letter the mind is almost staggered. It is clear that it was written after the arrival of rumours of light conduct on Joséphine's part. Bourrienne asserts that it was read to him before it was despatched ; he also names Junot as the candid friend who made the revelations. We cannot, however, place much reliance on his evidence, as he describes the fatal conversation as taking place at El Arysh, a place which Napoleon never saw until February 1799. Napoleon, he says, came to him after the conversation, with the words " Je ne sais pas ce que je ne donnerais pas pour que ce que Junot m'a dit ne fût pas vrai, tant j'aime cette femme." He talked of divorce, and finally said, " Je vais écrire à Joseph." Bourrienne says that he advised patience, and suggested that letters to France might be intercepted. Now it appears a little too improbable that Napoleon should threaten to write to Joseph six months after he had actually taken that step in precisely similar circumstances.

With regard to the contents of the letter, the question of

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Joséphine's character appears of infinitesimal importance in comparison with the gigantic possibilities shadowed forth by Napoleon's suggested retirement at the age of twenty-nine. We know that the Emperor once said that Josephine had no right on her part to be severe on his infidelities. Whether she was innocent, or whether her husband pardoned injuries, is of little importance; it is certain that he loved and honoured her during his whole subsequent life. But when we try to conceive what the fate of the world might have been had Napoleon permanently withdrawn to a little house "in Burgundy" in 1798, we shrink appalled from the vast effort. That visionary little house may be added to Cleopatra's nose and Cromwell's grain of sand among the trifles on which the destinies of the world have hung. Let us, however, rather return to the realities.

In August, by a quaint whim, Bonaparte founded the *Institut d'Égypte*, becoming himself a member of the mathematical section. It should be remembered that he had taken a body of distinguished antiquarians with him, and that the *Description générale de l'Égypte* is not the least of the glories of the Empire. The easy occupation of Lower Egypt was followed by the march into Syria. In this advance occurred the massacre of 2000 Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, at which place also Napoleon on his retreat poisoned some fifty or sixty of his own men who were stricken with plague! At Elba, Napoleon asserted that the Turkish prisoners had broken their parole; but there is no evidence for this statement, and he himself added:

> I could not take them with me, for I was short of food, and they were too dangerous to let loose.

Marmont approved of both these acts!

Of his failure before St. Jean d'Acre, little need be said. Napoleon, in after-life, constantly referred to it with bitterness. If he had captured that place, he said, adopting Pascal's famous words, the face of the world would have been changed: he would have become emperor of the whole East: a grain of sand had ruined all his plans. Shortly after his forced return to Egypt, he received letters from his brother Joseph, by the hands of a Greek who bore the subsequently famous name of Bourbaki. These letters informed him of the disasters which France had sustained in his absence. He returned home with all possible speed. He landed in France on the 9th October, and reached Paris on the 16th. The failure of the Egyptian campaigns was not known in France; on the other hand there had been endless reverses nearer home. All hopes were raised by the arrival of the young hero. Napoleon saw that the hour that he had so

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longed for had arrived, and he gathered round him all those who were discontented with the Directory. He showed himself to the crowd as little as possible, and generally wore civil costume. On the 9th and 10th of November (18 and 19 Brumaire), being a little over thirty years old, with the support of a military conspiracy, he overthrew the discredited Government, and seized the power which he held unquestioned for nearly fifteen years to come.

The narration of the gigantic incidents which followed is beyond the province of this paper. In our endeavour to place before our readers Napoleon's way of regarding his own circumstances, thus far, we have made only the most scanty selection from the enormous mass of material at command. We have been compelled by the limits of our space almost to ignore his relations with his own family, which are of a most interesting, and often touching, nature. We hope to have an opportunity at a later time of returning to this subject. We shall be more than satisfied if these pages have induced some of our readers to interest themselves in Napoleon's personal character. The clear-sightedness, the strong self-will, and the autocratic mind of the man are as clearly marked at the beginning of his career as they were when he dominated Europe. The boyish effort to be first in Corsica, at the risk of his commission, is of the same gambling spirit which prompted the Russian war of 1812. His very hatred of England, though probably embittered by his failure in Egypt, dates from his early youth. We were the first enemies, as we were the last, whom he met. From the beginning to the end we may recognize the same fierce determination to carry out his will at whatever cost. We may, perhaps, fittingly add here a note on his extraordinary passion for detail. Even when at the height of power, he could apply his authority to the most curiously minute matters. An actor of the Théâtre Français, who was in debt, applied for leave to accept an engagement in London during the peace of Amiens, by which he would earn 1300 guineas in six months. The matter was brought before the First Consul, who refused permission. "When Vestris can no onger perform he shall have a pension. Report to me on Vestris and his debts." A still more quaint piece of interference occurs in the following letter to the wife of his stepson, Eugène, (31st of August, 1806):

My daughter, I have read with pleasure your letter of the 10th of July. Take great care of yourself in your present condition, and try not to give us a daughter. I will give you the recipe for that, but you will not believe in it: it is to drink every day a little pure wine.

Did any other conquering emperor ever give such advice?

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Another curious result of Napoleon's restless activity has been developed in the habit of foreign travel now so prevalent among Sovereigns. Before his time it was a most rare thing for a monarch to cross his own frontier. From the period of the Crusades to that of the Revolution, no French Sovereign had ever quitted France except in war. George III. never left England; and probably none of the first three Hanoverian kings was ever fifty miles north of London. When the allied Sovereigns came to England in 1814, the most recent visits of great monarchs to our shores had been those of Charles V., Philip II., and Peter the Great. (We, of course, omit the case of the exiled Comte de Provence, the *de jure* Louis XVIII.) Even to-day, with the single exception of the Prince of Wales, no occupant or heir of a great throne has visited America. The example of travel has, however, been well set, and has been widely followed; and the credit for this improvement in the education of princes is mainly due to Napoleon, who was the first ruler who visited almost every European capital, and "interviewed" almost every European Sovereign.

Some of our readers will have been surprised by the extreme warmth of his correspondence with Joséphine; and we propose before ending our paper to continue our examination of that correspondence, with a note on his relations with two other famous women, the heroic queen Louise and his second wife.

With the Consulate new troubles began for Joséphine. Her husband's brothers began to urge him to divorce her as soon as his power was established. And though he opposed their arguments, the idea became sufficiently familiar to him to cause his wife unutterable anguish. She had, it is true, become the head of a court; and she was of a nature to take pleasure in the elegancies and splendours of life. Dress was a passion with her, and she was incessantly troubled with debt in consequence. But the dreaded idea of a separation was never absent from her mind; and Napoleon tortured her by frequent infidelities. The childless wife was a little cheered, perhaps, by his declaration in 1802, when he was made Consul for life, that "heredity was absurd and irreconcilable with the sovereignty of the people, and impossible in France." The restoration of religion gave her new grounds for alarm from the fact that her marriage had not received the sanction of the Church. From this she was probably relieved on the eve of the coronation in 1804, when there is much reason to believe that Napoleon married her ecclesiastically in a private ceremony. Her life as Empress must have been strange. Amid all the theatrical splendour that he loved, Napoleon affected a military brusqueness that must have been trying to her. In addition to the ever-present personal fears, she could

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not but feel alarm for the future. Still she had the consolation of knowing that she retained Napoleon's friendship, and at least something of his wandering love. For several years after his return from Egypt they were not parted for any length of time. The Marengo campaign kept Napoleon away from Paris less than two months; and the next separation was caused by the campaign of Ulm and Austerlitz. His letters then again become frequent, though they are shorter and less passionate. Almost as soon as he has left St. Cloud for the seat of war, in the midst of great operations, he still finds time for love:

Imperial Quarters, Ettlingen. 10 Vend. XIV. (2nd of October, 1805) I am still in good health. The great movements are beginning. I am well, and I love you.

From January to September of 1806, Napoleon was again with Joséphine. In the following month he overwhelmed Prussia, and perfectly gratuitously, as it seems to us, stained his name by his brutality towards the mother of the present German Emperor. Queen Louise was then in her thirty-first year, a devoted mother, and a woman of the highest principle and noblest character. There was no reason for connecting her specially with the policy of war. The first bulletin (8th of October, 1806) has this passage:

The Queen of Prussia is with the army, wearing the uniform of her regiment of dragoons, writing twenty letters a day to stir up the flames on all sides. It is like Armida in her madness setting fire to her own palace.

In the eighth bulletin (two days after Jena) he writes:

The Emperor is lodged in the palace at Weimar, where the Queen of Prussia lodged a few days ago. It seems that what they said of her is true. She is a woman with a pretty face, but little intellect, incapable of foreseeing the consequences of what she did.

The seventeenth bulletin is still more offensive:

The Emperor arrived at Potsdam on the very day (and almost at the very hour) on which the Emperor of Russia arrived at the time of the journey which this prince made last year, and which has been so fatal to Prussia. It was from that moment that the queen abandoned the care of her domestic affairs, and the grave occupations of the toilette in order to meddle with State affairs. . . . An engraving is found in all the shops, which excites the laughter of the peasants. One sees the handsome Emperor of Russia, near him the queen, and on the other side the king lifting up his hand. The queen herself, draped in a shawl after the style of the London prints of Lady Hamilton, lays her hand upon her heart, and seems to look at the Emperor of Russia. One can hardly conceive how the Berlin police could allow so pitiable

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a satire to be published. The shade of the great Frederic could not but be shocked by this scandalous scene.

In case this disgraceful insinuation should not be clear enough, on the 27th of October the nineteenth bulletin states that:—

Everybody admits that the queen is the author of the misfortunes which the Prussian nation is now suffering. Everywhere they say "she was so kind, so gentle a year ago; but since that fatal interview with the Emperor of Russia, how she is changed!"

We cannot but think it a disgrace to Alexander, and still more to her husband, King Friedrick Wilhelm III. that a few months after these loathsome insults, the queen was forced to meet Napoleon at Tilsit, and even to sue to him for milder conditions. Napoleon treated her politely, but, as he said in a letter which it could not have been pleasant for Joséphine to read, the queen's entreaties "ran off him as water runs off oiled cloth." Queen Louise died of a broken heart three years later. Her son, the still living Emperor, then thirteen years of age, was taken to her death-bed, and saw her die. He was of an age fully to appreciate her sufferings; and we must read this painful story in order duly to recognize his greatness and moderation in his hour of victory sixty years afterwards.

Between Jena and Tilsit an influence of great importance in Napoleon's life had grown up. After the collapse of Prussia the Emperor seriously meditated a restoration of Polish independence with a view to the approaching campaign against Russia. He accordingly spent the months of December, 1806, and January, 1807, at Posen and Warsaw. As his absence from Paris was to be long, it had been agreed that the Empress should join him, and she remained at Mainz for several weeks in this hope. She was, however, doomed to disappointment. Indeed, she was never allowed to share any of her husband's foreign triumphs, not even that of Erfurt, though Marie Louise enjoyed a hollow splendour at Dresden at the commencement of the Russian campaign. Napoleon writes from Posen on the 15th of December:

I am starting for Warsaw. I shall be back in a fortnight. I hope that I shall then be able to call you here. All my affairs go on well.

From Warsaw a letter, dated 20th December, has this:

"Adieu, my dear, I should much like to see you. But I hope to be able to summon you in five or six days.

Before the date of the next letter, which we quote, Napoleon had become enamoured of a beautiful Polish lady of rank, who

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seems to have been the only woman, except Joséphine, who ever really loved him. Let her name remain buried in seemly oblivion; to her much may be forgiven for she loved much. Napoleon appeared to her in all the brilliancy of the god of war when he made her his victim. She followed her conqueror, and gave him, in 1810, a son who lived to become Ambassador of France in this country during the Crimean war. And be it remembered that she was faithful to her bosom's lord in adversity, and visited him at Elba. Joséphine could not have heard of this amour when she wrote the letter to which our next quotation is a reply; but her instinct of jealousy was already alive:

Pultusk, December 31, 1806.... You form for yourself an idea of the Polish beauties which they do not deserve. I had for two or three days the pleasure of hearing Paër, and two women who gave really good music.... I despise ingratitude as the vilest defect of the heart. I know that these people are giving you pain instead of consoling you.

Warsaw, January 2, 1807.... Your grief touches me, but you must submit to events. It is too far from Mainz to Warsaw. I cannot then write for you to come until events enable me to return to Berlin. Send away these ladies to mind their own business. You will gain by being rid of people who must have worried you. I love you from my heart.

January 7.... I cannot consent to expose you to so much fatigue and danger. Return to Paris for the winter. Go to the Tuileries, receive, and lead the same life which you are accustomed to lead when I am there. This is my wish. Perhaps I shall soon rejoin you there.

January 16.... Why tears, why grief? Have you then no longer any courage? I am humiliated to think that my wife can distrust my destiny.

Jan. 23.... Return to Paris, be gay and satisfied. Perhaps, I too, shall be there soon. I laugh at your saying that you took a husband in order to be with him. I thought in my ignorance that the wife was made for the husband, the husband for the country, the family, and glory. Forgive my ignorance. One always learns with our fair dames. Adieu, my dear. Believe that it is a sacrifice for me not to let you come. It is a proof how precious you are to me.

He continues to write in the same strain. A little later he affects to have heard something unpleasant; for in two letters he impresses on Joséphine not to go to the small theatres, and never in any but her state-box. From Tilsit he writes (25th of June) of him whom he afterwards described as a "Greek of the Lower Empire":

I have just seen the Emperor Alexander. I was much pleased

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with him. He is a very handsome and good young Emperor. He has more brains than people generally think.

Napoleon passed the greater part of the two years after the meeting at Tilsit with Joséphine. He did not allow her to share the glories of Erfurt, though he took his theatre with him. The Queen of Westphalia, the new wife of his brother Jérome, did, and received the honours of that brilliant meeting. This lady, a Princess of Wirtemberg, the mother of the present Prince Napoleon, afterwards distinguished herself by her brave devotion to her husband when the Bonapartes were in adversity. A brief and characteristic passage occurs in a letter written by Napoleon to Joséphine from Erfurt (9th of October, 1808):

I was present at the Weimar ball. The Emperor Alexander danced, but I did not. Forty years are forty years.

As Napoleon was then only in his fortieth year, according to the received date of his birth, we wonder that Colonel Jung has not made a point of this letter in support of his having been born in 1768. It appears from the Court chronicles of this famous ball, that while people "admired the gracefulness of the august monarch of Russia, the Emperor Napoleon deigned to talk with several of those present. The great poets Goethe and Wieland also enjoyed the honour." From other sources we learn something of his remarks on this occasion. To a Frau von der Reck he said that he did not expect to find such beauty in Weimar. The lady replied that she was a Prussian in heart and soul. "Good," replied the Emperor; "one must stick to one's fatherland." To Goethe he observed, probably *à propos* of a performance of Voltaire's "Mort de César" a day or two before, that "Cæsar was the greatest man in history, but for his unpardonable blunder in not getting rid of the men whom he knew to be trying to get rid of him."

We now come to the tragedy of the divorce, and the marriage with the daughter of the Cæsars. When Napoleon returned from the Wagram campaign he felt himself so securely established in the height of power that he could say to his Senate:

I was marching on Cadiz and Lisbon when I had to retrace my steps, and plant my eagles on the ramparts of Vienna. Three months have seen the rise and the termination of the fourth Punic War. . . . I must acknowledge the proofs of affection which my soldiers from Germany have given me. . . . . The Illyrian provinces stretch my vast Empire to the Save. . . . . To show my esteem for the Swiss, I add to my titles that of their Mediator. . . . . When I show myself beyond the Pyrenees, the frightened leopard will fly to the ocean to avoid shame, defeat, and death. The triumph of my arms will be the

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triumph of the genius of good over that of evil, of moderation, order, and morality over civil war, anarchy, and evil passions.

A few days before this he had communicated to his wife the long-dreaded resolution of divorce. He of course assigned political reasons, and he made every effort to spare her feelings. "You know," he said, "if I have loved you." On the 15th of December the separation was made in the presence of his family and the great officers of State. In that sad scene we may be sure that everything was carefully prepared, save, perhaps, the tears of Joséphine. Napoleon addressed those present to the effect that political necessity and the wishes of his people required an heir.

For many years I have lost hope of having children by my beloved wife, the Empress Joséphine. . . . . Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge a reasonable hope of living long enough to rear in the spirit of my own thoughts the children with whom Providence may bless me. God knows what such a determination may cost my heart! But there is no sacrifice which is beyond my courage if it is for the good of France. . . . . I have nothing but praise for the attachment and tenderness of my beloved wife. She has embellished fifteen years of my life: the memory of them is graven for ever on my heart. She was crowned by my hand; she will always retain the title of Empress. Let her never doubt my feelings, or look on me as other than her best and dearest friend.

The unhappy Joséphine was made to express her consent through her tears. She would give France—

the happiness of being one day governed by the descendants of that great man raised up by Providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution. . . . . I know what this act, commanded by policy and lofty interests, has cost his heart. . . . . I feel elevated by giving the greatest proof of attachment and devotion that ever was given on earth.

Her son Eugéne then said:

The tears which this resolution has cost the Emperor suffice for my mother's glory. . . . . She will witness with a satisfaction mingled with pride the felicity that the sacrifice purchases for her country.

In less than four months Napoleon had married the Austrian Archduchess Marie Louise, a woman who had, perhaps, the brains, but certainly less than the heart, of a cabbage. With her he spent four years of the ordinary married life of sovereigns. There is absolutely nothing to be said of her. Napoleon always spoke well of her, even when abandoned by her in exile, and even in his will; but diplomatic motives may have chained his tongue.

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It is more than probable that he knew before his death that she had forgotten him. It is certain that he must have contrasted her cowardly abandonment of him with the heroism with which the Queen of Westphalia adhered to her husband in spite of her father's strong pressure. He continued during his second marriage to visit and correspond with Joséphine. On one occasion he agrees with a suggestion of hers on the impropriety of their staying under the same roof "in the first year." Two days after the birth of the King of Rome, he writes:

Paris, March 22, 1811. My friend,—I have received your letter. I thank you. My son is big and healthy. I hope that he will get on well. He has my chest, my mouth, and my eyes. I hope that he will fulfil his destiny. I am still very satisfied with Eugène. He has never given me any trouble.—N."

In another letter he expresses delight at hearing that she is getting as stout as a good Norman peasant woman, and urges her not to make debts.

When the crash came in 1814, Napoleon experienced the bitterness of solitude, which he had inflicted on Joséphine. Just before the fall of Paris, he wrote to his brother Joseph:—

Do not leave my son, and remember that I would rather see him in the Seine than in the hands of the enemies of France. The story of Astyanax captive in the hands of the Greeks has always seemed to me the most unhappy fate in all history.

His son's fate was indeed not less sad than that of the ill-fated Astyanax. Unhappy name that many a father in the first joy of paternity has applied to his son, forgetful of the omens that so often come true! On the eve of his departure from Fontainebleau for Elba, Napoleon wrote his last (published) letter to Marie Louise:

Adieu, my good Louise. You can always count on the courage, the calmness, and the friendship of your husband, N.
A kiss to the little king.

He never saw either again. Josephine died shortly after his departure. At Elba, his Polish love came to him; but she was received coldly and sent away, for fear of rumours reaching the ears of Marie Louise. The latter made very little effort to be allowed to join her husband. On his return to Paris in the Hundred Days, Napoleon hoped she would return to him. He sent his secretary, Méneval, to Vienna, and wrote (May 1, 1815) to Caulaincourt the following characteristic letter:—

Méneval should send a report, dated the day after his arrival. He will trace the conduct of Austria, and the other powers, with regard

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to the Empress. He will emphasize the indignation of her grandmother the Queen of Sicily on the matter. He should dwell particularly on the separation of the Prince Imperial from his mother. He will speak of the grief which the Empress felt when they bore her from the Emperor. She was thirty days without sleep at the time of the embarkation of his Majesty. He will point out that the Empress is really a prisoner, because they have not allowed her to write to the Emperor.

But all was vain; Marie Louise showed no sign. While Napoleon was at St. Helena, she became enamoured of her chamberlain Neipperg, to whom, in August, 1821, three months only after the death of the husband whom she never saw after 1814, she bore a son, who is still living in high place in Austria. She is said to have married Neipperg morganatically after the Emperor's death; and later still, to have adopted even a third husband on the same dubious condition.

Around Napoleon in his lonely exile the usual petty meannesses and intrigues of a Court still prevailed. The reports of Sir Hudson Lowe will probably see the light ere long, and they are likely to contain much extraordinary information. The "Mémorial de Ste. Hélène" and other kindred works have already received a death-blow in the publication of the Reports* of Baron von Stürmer, the Austrian Commissioner with the captive Emperor, from which we learn that among the devoted men who followed their chief to that lonely island, and who, with the view of covering his name with a halo, wrote so much to make it ridiculous, there were to be found men and women who intrigued like the *Œil-de-bœuf:* not only women like Dubarry, but men like Pandarus and Conyngham. Sad close of a stupendous story! Awful, awful working of Nemesis!

We leave the wonderful story with reluctance. A thousand pages more would give a thousand more interesting details of this extraordinary personality, and we believe that all would confirm the general view of his qualities, good and bad, which we have endeavoured to give here; of his selfishness, his arrogance, his contempt for truth; of his firm and practical government of his empire, of his dauntless ambition, of his wise and correct views; and also of his affection towards his family and all that was his. They would also show how, when he had attained the height, he cast away the love of brothers and friends; how his clearsightedness grew dim, his ambitious courage degenerated into the mere recklessness of the gambler; and how the use of power, the habit of success, and above all the flattery which incessantly greeted him from all sides, degraded his strong in-

* Reviewed in the *St. James's Gazette* of March 2, 1886.

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telligence and his strong self-will into a mere ὕβρις, a mania of selfishness that could brook no other opinion and consider no other interest than his own. The results of excessive love of one's own way and of excessive flattery teach the same lesson, as in King Belshazzar of old, so in the ministers and men of our own day. No one is too small to be exempt from the penalty of absolute disregard of his fellow-men. We all have something to lose that is as dear to us as were all his thrones to Napoleon, be it only love. And let no man complain when he finds that, if he lives for self alone, he may have to live by self alone. For every man there is a possibility of loneliness and abandonment as bitter as was his. 'Tis but the vastness of his surroundings that causes Napoleon's fate to strike so violently into our imaginations the lesson:

. . . . τὸ γὰρ ὑπέγγυον
δίκᾳ καὶ θεοῖσιν οὐ ξυμπίτνει, ὀλέθριον κακόν.

Art. III.—Professor Freeman on the Methods of Historical Study.

The Methods of Historical Study. Eight Lectures read in the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1884, with the Inaugural Lecture on the Office of the Historical Professor. By Edward A. Freeman, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. and LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History, Fellow of Oriel College, Honorary Fellow of Trinity College. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

WHEN Lord Macaulay was pressed by the Prince Consort to accept the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge, he noted in his Diary, "In truth my temper is that of the Wolf in the Fable. I cannot bear the collar, and I have got rid of much finer and richer collars than this." * What Lord Macaulay anticipated, Dr. Freeman realizes. "An Oxford Professor in these days," he says, "must work in fetters, but he may still work. And a professor of what is called 'Modern History,' may feel himself bound by fetters which seem to be

* "Life," vol. ii. p. 261.

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more firmly riveted than those of any of his brethren."* And again: "To me the very title of a Professor of 'Modern' History is in itself a fetter," † and it is so because I acknowledge no such distinction as that which is implied in the words "ancient" and "modern" history.

I have never [he says] been able to find out by my own wit when "ancient" history ends and "modern" history begins; and when I have asked others, when I have searched into the writings of others, I have found so little agreement on the point that I have been myself none the wiser. A living friend once told me that modern history begins with the French Revolution, and I fancy that a good many people, at least in France, would gladly agree with his doctrine. On the other hand, Baron Bunsen held that modern history began with the call of Abraham. These, I think, are the two extremes; but I have heard a good many intermediate points suggested. Even the last set of Oxford Commissioners, who are so minute as to rule that the professor is to give exactly forty-two Lectures in a year in some part of "Modern History," do not tell him what "Modern History" is. It is therefore surely open to him to accept either of the definitions I have quoted. I should, I conceive, be strictly keeping within the four corners of the ordinance if I were to begin with the battle of four kings against five, or, again, if I were to decline to touch any matter older than A.D. 1789 (p. 21).

The central idea of these lectures is the "Unity of History," as taught more than forty years ago from the chair now occupied by Dr. Freeman, by one whom he calls "that great teacher of historic truth, that greater teacher of moral right, Thomas Arnold." Dr. Freeman's testimony to his distinguished predecessor is interesting.

If I am sent hither for any special object, it is, I hold, to proclaim the truth of the Unity of History; but to proclaim it not as my own thought, but as the thought of my great master. It is a responsibility indeed to be the successor, even after so many years, of one who united so many gifts. New light has been thrown on many things since his day; but it surely ill becomes any man of our time who, by climbing on Arnold's shoulders, has learned to see further than Arnold himself could see, to throw the slightest shade of scorn upon so venerable a name. Surely never did any man put forth truths so high and deep in words so artlessly and yet so happily chosen. If he were nothing more than a teller of a tale in the English tongue, he would take his place as one who has told a stirring tale as few could tell it. It was something to make us quiver at the awful vision of Hannibal, and to show us Marcellus lying dead on the nameless hill. It was a higher calling to show, as no other has shown, that

* "Lectures," p. 20. † Ibid. p. 27.

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history is a moral lesson. In every page of his story Arnold stands forth as the righteous judge, who, untaught by the more scientific historical philosophy of later days, still looked on crime as no less black because it was successful, and who could acknowledge the rights even of the weak against the strong. But more than all for my immediate purpose, Arnold was the man who taught that the political history of the world should be read as a single whole; who taught that the true life of the tale, the true profit of the teaching, should not be made void and of none effect by meaningless and unnatural divisions. It was he who taught us that what, in his own words, is "falsely called Ancient History" is in truth the most truly modern, the most truly living, the most rich in practical lessons for every succeeding age. From him I learned that teaching; it will be my highest aim, in the place in which I am now set, to hand that teaching on to others (pp. 6, 7.)

Equally interesting is Dr. Freeman's tribute to Professor Goldwin Smith:

After a season this chair passed to a memorable man. It passed to one who had indeed drunk in the spirit of Arnold, to one who knew as few have known, to grasp the truth that history is but past politics, and that politics are but present history. It passed to a scholar, a thinker, a master of the English tongue, to one too who is something nobler still, to one whom we may truly call a prophet of righteousness. The name of Goldwin Smith is honoured in two hemispheres, honoured as his name should be who never feared the face of man, wherever there was truth to be asserted or wrong to be denounced. He went forth from us of his own will, but it was but to carry his light to another branch of our own folk, and it may be more graceful in us, if we do not so much regret our own loss as congratulate the kindred lands to which he is gone. And in absence he yet teaches us; some truths have perhaps become clearer to him on the other side of Ocean than they could ever have been in our elder world. Not the least among his many services to truth, and to right reason, has been done within this very year. He has taught us, in one of those flitting papers which, when they come from him speak volumes, where to look for the true expansion of England. His keen eye has seen it, not in the spread of "Empire," but in the spread of that which is the opposite to empire—not in the mere widening of dominion—an Eastern despot could do that, but in that higher calling which free England in the later world has shared with free Hellas in the elder. He has taught us to see, if not a "Greater Britain," yet a newer England in the growth of new lands of Englishmen, new homes of the tongue and law of England, lands which have become more truly colonies of the English folk because they have ceased to be provinces of the British Crown (pp. 8, 9).

Dr. Freeman's estimate of his immediate predecessor—the present Bishop of Chester—is equally high; he claims to be the

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first to grasp more fully than others all that was in the Bishop, and to foresee that his first class, and his fellowship were not the ending but the beginning of his career. He continues:

In a long and careful study of the Bishop of Chester's writings, I will not say that I have always agreed with every inference that he has drawn from his evidence; but I can say that I have never found a flaw in the statement of his evidence. If I have now and then lighted on something that looked like oversight, I have always found in the end that the oversight was mine and not his. After five and thirty years knowledge of him and his works, I can say without fear that he is the one man among living scholars to whom one may most freely go as to an oracle, that we may feel more sure with him than with any other that in his answer we carry away words of truth, which he must be rash indeed who calls in question (pp. 10, 11).

Like Lord Bolingbroke, Dr. Freeman considers History to be studied to advantage must be studied philosophically, that its utility lies not in the investigation of details and particulars, but in the lessons which it gives. Its true end is to mould and temper the character and the intellect.* He holds that the great central truth of all European History is the abiding life of Rome and her empire.

The Teuton [he says] rent away the provinces of the empire; but in rending them away, he accepted the faith, the tongue, and to a great extent the law of the empire. This was of a truth the greatest conquest that Rome had ever made if Greece had once led captive her Roman conqueror, far more thoroughly did Rome lead captive her Teutonic conqueror. Her tongue became for ages the tongue of government, of learning, and of religion in all the Western lands.†

And this is his explanation, of how this state of things arose—

To crown our study of the world's history, go to the arx of Tusculum; from that primæval height look down on the younger city that supplanted the ancient head of Latium. There indeed we grasp the truth that the whole fate of the world of which we are a part was ruled by the physical fact that certain of the hills of Latium were nearer together, lower in height, and nearer to the river's brink, than their fellows. Tusculum on her lofty hill could never become the head of the world; Rome on her seven lowly hills could and did. The men on the height of Tusculum might have confederates; they might have enemies; they had not neighbours with whom the only choice was union closer than confederation or warfare more deadly and more unceasing than ordinary enmity. The Latin of the Palatine, the Sabine of the Capitol, learned to change the meeting

* Conf. "Lectures," p. 357, with Mr. Churston Collins's "Bolingbroke: a Historical Study," p. 198.

† "Lectures," pp. 193–4.

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place of fight into the meeting place of council; they became one city, one power; the work of union went on; hill after hill, land after land, was called into equal fellowship; Latium, Italy, the whole Mediterranean world, were merged in one State, we might say, in one city, a city whose walls sprung lightly over mountains and seas, and kept one bastion at Nisibis and another at Lugubalium. What Tusculum could not be, what Athens could not be, Rome was; it was so because the very shape of the earth's surface ruled that so it should be (pp. 321–2).

In reading Dr. Freeman's counsels to students of history, we are reminded of Mr. Frederic Harrison's remark—

In twelve moderate octavos, through all which not a sentence could belong to any other book, Gibbon has compressed the history of the world during more than a thousand years. Is there in all prose literature so perfect a book as this? In these days we write Histories on far profounder methods, but for the story of ten ordinary years Mr. Freeman and Mr. Froude will require a thousand pages.*

We are desirous of summarising Dr. Freeman's theory of historical study; and we cannot do it better than in the following extract, which chance threw in our way:—

If we wish to understand the character and conduct of men separated from us either by the lapse of time or by distance of place or dissimilarity of circumstance, it is absolutely essential that we should approach the study in a spirit of sympathy and not of hostile criticism or cynical superiority. Human nature, which is the matter and maker of all history is one. History is one, now and in the past, in England and in Italy. One, but continually modified by the influence of all its own past and all the immediate present conditions in which it is placed. *We* are the men of the twelfth century, living in the nineteenth. *We* are our fierce English ancestors now settled on the soil and civilized and educated for forty generations. *We* are our Aryan forefathers wandered from the far-off Asian home, a yet undivided race keeping carefully aloof from the savage tribes which girded them round; only now divided and established. If we had been in the days of our forefathers, we should have been like them in their ignorance and superstition, in their noble straining towards a mistaken ideal and their too often ignominious failure, their vices would be ours, their virtues ours too. Till we realize this, we can know nothing of history, however familiar we may be with the annals of kingdoms and the succession of kings, the issues of battles, and the terms of treaties; these are a mere anatomy, which it is fraud or a delusion to pass off for a representation of the past.†

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* "The Choice of Books and other Literary Pieces," p. 372.

† "The Story of Fountains Abbey," a Lecture delivered before the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society by the Rev. C. Hargrove, published in the *Christian Reformer* for August, 1886.

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Many of Dr. Freeman's practical remarks are most valuable and interesting: from them we select three:—

We cannot affirm the cause of a past political event with the same certainty with which a natural philosopher can affirm the cause of a past event in his department. We cannot foretell a coming political event with the same certainty with which the astronomer can foretell a coming eclipse. Sometimes, indeed, we can come very near to such certainty. There is one rule to which, in my own experience, I have never known an exception; but I am far from asserting even that rule so positively as to deny that there may be either past or future exceptions. When statesmen who pride themselves chiefly on common sense, when newspapers which pride themselves on a certain air of dignified infallibility, make light of a question or a movement, when they scorn it, when they snub it, when they call it sentimental, when they rule it to be "beyond the range of practical politics," we know, almost as certainly as we know the next eclipse of the moon, that the question will be the most practical of all questions before long.*

Again:

If history, past or present, is to be understood, nothing must be more carefully studied than Historical Geography. Now we might almost define Historical Geography to be the knowledge of the names which different parts of the earth's surface bore at different times. If under knowledge of the names we may reckon knowledge of the ways in which the names came to be borne, the definition will do thoroughly well. Than the neglect of Historical Geography, than the lax and inaccurate use of the names of countries and nations, there has been no more fertile source of historical error. Nor is this all; the lax and careless use of names constantly leads to the most mischievous misunderstandings of the most important questions of the present, the misuse of a name has even helped to prolong the bondage of nations. No one can doubt that the use, careless or designed, of the word Turkey to express the lands under bondage to the Turk has done much to blind men's eyes and to deaden their natural feelings in the great strife for the deliverance of South Eastern Europe from its oppressors. As long as that name is used, so long will men unconsciously think that the Turks are to Turkey as the English are to England or the French to France. Learn to speak as history and fact require us to speak, not of a Turkey which has no being, but of enslaved Greece, enslaved Bulgaria, enslaved Servia, and we have taken one step by no means to be scorned, towards the reunion of the enslaved lands to free Greece, free Bulgaria, free Servia. Those who are more nearly concerned know the force of a name. On Greek lips Epeiros and the other enslaved Greek lands are never called Τουρκία; they are ἡ δούλη Ἑλλάς (p. 301).

Admirable is this warning against "The fashionable idolatry

* "Lectures," p. 121.

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of the last German book." As in the case of Lord Macaulay, this setting up an "intellectual despotism" "moves Dr. Freeman to mutiny." "One has heard sometimes of the question, 'Have you read the last German book?' being put under circumstances which might suggest as a reply the more searching question, 'Have you read the first English book?' Now it is a fact that we may perhaps set down 'among things not generally known,' but still a fact, that the last German book is sometimes not equal to the German book that went before it, sometimes —may I dare to say it—not equal to some English book that went before either" (pp. 288–9).

The most generally interesting portion of this volume is its learned author's judgment on other historians, and especially his contemporaries, and to these we shall devote our remaining space. Here is his criticism on Gibbon, Arnold, and Macaulay.

We beg our readers to compare Dr. Freeman's criticism on Gibbon with that of Mr. Ruskin, which we quoted in our last number.*

> English historical literature can boast of at least three great writers, each of whom knew how to tell his tale, though they told it in three ways as unlike one another as if the later in each case had striven to avoid the manner of the earlier. The mighty work of Gibbon, alone among the works of his age, still keeps its place. Now and then, mainly by help of lights that he had not, we can give a truer picture than he gave of this or that part of his story; after a hundred years we can put some things in proportions and relations different from those in which he put them; but none of us can dream of displacing that vast and wonderful and unrivalled whole. And all this is largely by dint of a style which our reason often condemns, but which we admire in spite of our reason, a style which sometimes misleads by its gorgeousness, but which none the less tells its tale in such a way that we do not blindly admire but understand and remember. Whatever else we read, we must read Gibbon too. I leap to times within the memory of some of us, to the lord and predecessor as whose man I am proud to bear myself. No style can be more unlike the artistic pomp of Gibbon than the native, unstudied diction of Arnold, rising and falling with every turn of his subject, simple even in its highest flights of eloquence, but akin to Gibbon in the main point, that of telling his tale so that we can understand and remember. At my third name I am prepared for an outcry; I know that to run down Lord Macaulay is the fashion of the day. I have heard some speak against him who have a right to speak; I have heard many more who have none. I, at least, feel that I have none; I do not see how any man can have the right who has not gone through the same work through which Macaulay went, or at least through some

* In the article entitled "What and How to Read."

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no less thorough work of a kindred sort. I can see Macaulay's great and obvious faults as well as any man; I know as well as any man the cautions with which his brilliant pictures must be studied; but I cannot feel that I have any right to speak lightly of one to whom I owe so much in the matter of actual knowledge, and to whom I owe more than to any man as the master of historical narrative. Read a page of Macaulay; scan well his minute accuracy in every name and phrase and title; contrast his English undefiled with the slipshod jargon which from our newspapers has run over into our books; dwell on the style which finds a fitting phrase in our own tongue to set forth every thought, the style which never uses a single word out of its true and honest meaning; turn the pages of the book in which no man ever read a sentence a second time because he failed to catch its meaning the first time, but in which all of us must have read many sentences a second or a twentieth time for the sheer pleasure of dwelling on the clearness, the combined fulness and terseness, on the just relation of every word to every other, on the happily chosen epithet, or the sharply pointed sarcasm. These are indeed books which it is dangerous to take down to look at for any single fact or picture. Begin at any random page, and it is hard to put the volume again in its place till the rest of its pages have been read for the hundredth time.*

We commend this fair and dispassionate judgment of Lord Macaulay to the attention of all clever young men who are fond of having a peck at him. To those who censure Macaulay for inaccuracy, we commend this much-needed advice of Dr. Freeman's. "Please to remember that the accurate writer is not he who makes no mistakes, for there is none such; it is he who finds out his own mistakes for himself on his own manuscript, and does not leave them for other people to find out in print" (p. 285).

The following passage appears to refer to Carlyle:—

If a writer be a master of a style which pleases some tastes, the tastes which delight in sneers and metaphors, in scraps of strange tongues and in the newest improvements that the newspapers have given to the language—above all, if he uses his gifts such as they are, to set forth paradoxes at which common sense and morality revolt—then he shall be hailed as a master of history, volume after volume shall be received with the applause of raptured admirers, and even honest searchers after truth, if they have no means at their disposal shall be led away—and small blame to them—into the evil fortune of mistaking falsehood for truth (p. 101).

This certainly agrees with Mr. Frederic Harrison's description of Carlyle and his style:—

Neither he nor his biographer can get any further in any definite proposition, than that this earth was Tophet, and Thomas Carlyle the

* "Lectures," p. 104, 5-6.

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only wise man in it. There is not in these volumes one philosophic, religious, or social doctrine, nothing constructive, directing, or fruitful. There is railing, mockery, and imprecation of a truly Gargantuan kind; but what of real, humane, positive, or systematic? Words—words, pictures, tropes, sublimities enough to make the major and the minor prophets; but nothing to hold by, to work with, or to teach.*

In this passage Dr. Freeman seems to point at Carlyle's biographer, Mr. J. A. Froude.

The most winning style, the choicest metaphors, the neatest phrases from foreign tongues, would all be thrown away if they were devoted to proving that any two sides of a triangle are not always greater than the third side. When they are devoted to prove that a man cut off his wife's head one day and married her maid the next morning, out of sheer love for his country, they win believers for the paradox (p. 106).

Our readers will remember the severe censure passed by Lord Macaulay on a book now little read, Mitford's "History of Greece."† Dr. Freeman in the main agrees with Macaulay, but he candidly admits that:

Mitford with all his blunders, all his unfairness, all his advocacy of the worst cause against the better, had the great merit of being the first to see that the old Greeks were not mere names in a book or statues in a gallery, not beings of some other nature, above us or below us or in some way apart from us, but real men like ourselves, capable of calling forth the same feeling as the men of our own day. If a man could not bring himself to love Dêmosthenês, it was a great thing to be able to hate him. Hume, to be sure, could slander Dunstan yet more foully than Mitford slandered Dêmosthenês; but that was not because he had any such living conception—living, however mistaken—as Mitford certainly had of Dêmosthenês; Hume slandered Dunstan out of simple blind hatred of a system which, in his ignorance he fancied that Dunstan represented. I should not recommend anybody to go to Mitford for the facts of Greek history; but in the more curious study of opinion about the facts of Greek history, Mitford holds a marked place, and one not altogether discreditable (pp. 269, 70).

Dr. Freeman warns his hearers against setting up any writers as oracles or idols—and in reference to a great writer now no more says:

I am sure that my dear friend John Richard Green never wished his admirers in the newspapers to say that he was the first man who did

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* "Choice of Books," &c. p. 197.

† *Vide* Macaulay's "Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches," p. 87, edition 1871.

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anything for early English history, at any rate that he was the first man who threw any life into early English history, its events or its characters; before him, we were told, all was "fossil." I felt somewhat humbled, as believing that I had myself thrown some little life into some of the characters and events of early English history; and I felt somewhat amazed as being yet more certain that Sir Francis Palgrave had done a good deal in that way before me. I could only guess that the smart writers had never read a word of Sir Francis Palgrave; I think they would have found him anything but "fossil" if they had tried him (p. 277).

In another passage Dr. Freeman expresses himself more fully on the subject of Sir Francis Palgrave:—

Palgrave, though I think he sometimes gives the reins too freely to his imagination, though he does not always distinguish the different value of different authorities, though he sometimes makes his authorities prove too much, still, at least in his mature writings, never blunders like Thierry. We may accept his conclusions or not; we have seldom anything to say against his statement. Kemble has no narrative work to compare with that of Palgrave; but "The Saxons in England" may fairly be compared with "The History of the Commonwealth." They are two great works, works of two great scholars, who assuredly are not yet superseded. They will give you two sides of the same general story. Read them, weigh them; most likely you will come to think with me that the union of the views which they severally maintain comes nearer to the truth than either view by itself. But Kemble is, if not purely English, at least purely Teutonic; Palgrave is œcumenical. It is from him, directly or indirectly, that all we who have learned it at all, have learned the great central truth of history. He knew, as all do not know yet, how it is to Rome that all paths lead, how it is from Rome that all paths start again.* Do not, I would pray you, believe that Sir Francis Palgrave is as yet supplanted or superseded. *Pro reverentia imperii*, he is still the father and teacher of us all (pp. 280, 1).

Of another great historian, Dr. Freeman says:—

Hallam was not strong on the side of imagination, and imagination, if kept under proper restraint by more sober companions, is one of the most essential elements of historical research. He never thoroughly took in either the imperial or the ecclesiastical element in history; if I say that he did not thoroughly take in the Teutonic element either, it might seem that I leave him no standing ground at all. And whither shall he seem to vanish, if I add that he never shows that same kind of thorough knowledge of original authorities, that mastery of them, that delight in them, which stands out in every line of Kemble and Palgrave? Hallam had nothing of the spirit of the antiquary; he had not, I should say, very much of the spirit of the historian proper. Yet

* On this subject *conf.* Renan's "Hibbert Lectures," *passim*.

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Hallam was a memorable writer, whose name ought to be deeply honoured, and a large part of whose writings are as valuable now as when they were first written. I distinguished in an earlier lecture two classes of lawyers, one class who are amongst the worst foes of historical learning, and another class who are among its best friends. We may safely put Hallam as the patriarch of the second class. He did not attain to the world-wide grasp of some of our modern masters of the study of institutions; but he showed, perhaps first after Selden, what an English lawyer, a lawyer who did not take away the key of knowledge, might do for English history. Bringing to his work all the advantage of the lawyer's professional training and professional knowledge, without any trace of the lawyer's professional narrowness and prejudice, bringing too a judgment, not of so wide a range as that of some others, but admirably clear, sound, and impartial, within its range, Hallam did indeed a great work. In that part of English history in which such qualities as these are pre-eminently needed, say from the reign of Edward the First onwards, I know no writer who so fully discharges a certain very valuable function. If I wish, at a pinch, to find a clear and trustworthy account of a matter, I can commonly find what I want in Hallam. And I know no one who more commonly utters some sentence of quiet wisdom, which we carry off and dwell upon (pp. 282, 3).

Just and discriminating is this criticism on the late Dean Milman:—

I know few books more delightful and more instructive to read than Milman's History of Latin Christianity. And none better discharges the work of a guide, both to the original authorities, and, what we cannot neglect, to modern German writers. Milman is emphatically a strong writer, a writer with a wide grasp of many subjects, many lands, many ages. The strange thing is that among those subjects, lands and ages, we cannot place any age of English history. It is strange how his mind seems wholly to dwell on the continent, how his strength fails him whenever he touches his own island. In England he seems never either to grasp the general position of a time or to master its details. But in mere detail Milman is nowhere strong. His matter and his style are singularly alike. Few compositions are more effective as few are more vigorous than the massive and emphatic sentences in which he brings before us the great features of some character or some event. Dissect those sentences according to the rules of grammar, and in a great number of cases they cannot be parsed. So, irrespective of mere style, Milman's way of putting the general aspect of anything is invariably vigorous, thoughtful, instructive. Yet every page is crowded with mistakes in detail, petty errors as to names, titles, dates, family relations, small points of every kind. They are mere errors on the surface, errors which a moment's thought would have set right, errors which one might go through the book with a pen and correct. They are quite unlike some other kinds of errors, which go through the whole work from top to bottom, where no amount of

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correction in detail could turn a record of falsehood into a record of truth. Yet it is strange indeed that such errors should be found in such a book. It is hardly possible that the book went forth to the world without the writer ever reading over what he had written, either in print or in manuscript. It hardly can be so, yet Milman's mistakes are just of the kind which might be found in the first rough draft of the most accurate writer—only such a writer would commonly set them right before they met any eye but his own (pp. 283–5).

Dr. Freeman gives a much needed warning against setting up an intellectual despotism of German writers:

We must read the German books. I only demand the right to keep our independence, and to believe that on many matters of historical learning—an Englishman on either side of the ocean—is better fitted to judge than a German. A Swiss or Norwegian may judge of the workings of free constitutions in old Greece, in Italy, in any other land, because he like the Englishman has daily experience of their working in his own land, but those things are mysteries to German professors, because they are mysteries to German statesmen also. The German scholar simply reads in a book of things which we are always looking at and acting in. He therefore utterly fails to understand many things at Rome or anywhere else which come to us like our A B C . . . . . As Ranke can make so little of English institutions when he directly grapples with them, so Curtius, and a crowd of other German scholars show in every page the lack of that practical understanding of free institutions which can be gained only by living amongst them (pp. 289–90).

Dr. Freeman pays "becoming homage" to Mommsen whom he describes as "the greatest scholar of our times, well nigh the greatest scholar of all times," but he is not blind to Mommsen's defects.

In all learning that comes under the head of Scholarship in the widest sense, we may surely all be glad to sit at his feet. Surely no man of our times has ever taken in so wide a range of subjects, all brought with the happiest effect to bear upon and to support one another. Language, law, mythology, customs, antiquities, coins, inscriptions, every source of knowledge of every kind—he is master of them all. Nor does he shut up his researches within any narrow bounds; he is as much at home with Cassiodorus and Jordanis as he is with a Iapygian inscription, or with the fragments of Appius the Blind. And to all this he adds some of the highest qualities of the historian proper. Few can surpass him in wide and sure grasp of historical sequence; and, when he chooses, he can put forth deep and far-reaching thoughts with the full power of the noble tongue of his birth. I know no piece of historical painting that outdoes the wonderful passage near the beginning of the second volume of the Roman History, which sets forth how, through the weakening of the Macedonian

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kingdoms, the barbarian powers of the East again came to the front; how "the world had again two lords," when Rome had to gird herself for the strife with Parthia. What is lacking in one endowed with such mighty gifts, and who for many purposes makes such a splendid use of them? What is lacking is political and moral insight, the moral insight which is born with a man, the political insight which is gained only by living in communities of freemen. One mourns to see in such a scholar's historic judgments only the morals of Macaulay's Avaux, one mourns to see in him the politics of an œcumenical Jingo, falling down and worshipping brute force wherever he can find it. The chosen object of Mommsen's scorn is the honest man, the patriot of a small state, who finding his native land plotted against by a foe whose irresistible power does not make him ashamed of the lowest tricks and falsehoods, strives, even against hope, to preserve the freedom and the dignity of his people, to hinder their fall if he can, at any rate to delay it or to make it less bitter. That the weak can have any rights against the strong never enters the mind of one who has had in his own person some experience of the rule of blood and iron. The wrath of Mommsen against a righteous man of old is equalled only by his wrath against any man of our own times, who ventures to admire those who refused to bow to the Baal or Moloch of brute force (p. 290–12).

The reference to "the Morals of Macaulay's Avaux," induces us to extract the following passage from Macaulay's character of him:

It is not too much to say that of the difference between right and wrong Avaux had no more notion than a brute. One sentiment was to him in the place of religion and morality, a superstitious and intolerant devotion to the Crown which he served. This sentiment pervades all his despatches, and gives a colour to all his thoughts and words, nothing that tended to promote the interest of the French monarchy seemed to him a crime.*

Of another distinguished German of an earlier period—Niebuhr—Dr. Freeman says:

I do not ask any one to accept all his divinations; but I do ask all to remember what they owe to an illustrious scholar who knew all the learning of his generation, and who added to his learning a good share of that real political insight in which his illustrious successor is so grievously lacking. Niebuhr had not lived in a free country; but he had seen many men and many lands; he lived in a stirring time, and if not exactly an actor in its events, he was able to see them nearer than most men.

It is interesting to compare this estimate of Niebuhr with

* "History of England," vol. ii. p. 322, Edition 1883.

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that of Lord Macaulay. After frankly admitting that Niebuhr had much more learning than himself, he continues:

Niebuhr was a man of immense learning and of great ingenuity. But his mind was utterly wanting in the faculty by which a demonstrated truth is distinguished from a plausible supposition. He is not content with suggesting that an event may have happened. He is certain that it happened, and calls on the reader to be certain too (though not a trace of it exists in any record whatever) because it would solve the phenomena so neatly. . . . When you ask for a reason he tells you plainly that such a thing cannot be established, that he is sure of it, and that you must take his word. . . . As to the general capacity of Niebuhr for political speculation let him be judged by the preface to the second volume. He then says, referring to the French Revolution of July, 1830, "that unless God sends us some miraculous help, we have to look forward to a period of destruction similar to that which the Roman world experienced about the middle of the third century." Now when I see a man scribble such abject nonsense about events which are passing under our eyes, what confidence can I put in his judgment as to the connection of causes and effects in times very imperfectly known to us.*

Dr. Freeman revives a passage from an early essay of the late Mark Pattison, which is noteworthy:—

Contemporary history never dies; Thucydides and Clarendon are immortal; but, on the other hand, no reputation is so fleeting as that of the "standard" historian of his day. A review of the historical literature of any nation will discover an endless series of decay and reproduction. The fate of the historian is like those of the dynasties he writes of; they spring up and flourish and bear rule and seem established for ever; but time goes on, their strength passes away, and at last some young and vigorous usurper comes and pushes them from their throne. It is not because new facts are continually accumulating, because criticism is growing more rigid, or even because style varies; but because ideas change, the whole mode and manner of looking at things alters with every age; and so every generation requires facts to be recast in its own mould, demands that the history of its forefathers be re-written from its own point of view. When Hume superseded Echard, his admiring contemporaries little thought that Hume himself would so rapidly become obsolete. Hooke was considered to have exhausted the history of the Roman Republic, and his Roman History to be the final book on the subject; but great as is the distance between him and Arnold, it is inevitable, in the course of things, that the next century will have to compose its own "History of Rome."

On this passage Dr. Freeman makes this comment, "Mr. Pattison

* Macaulay's "Life," vol. ii. pp. 437–8.

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has here pronounced the doom of many. It may even be that among them he has pronounced the doom of those who write about Isaac Casaubon as well as the doom of those who write about William Rufus."*

We see that Dr. Freeman expresses a doubt "whether anybody in Oxford reads Hume now" (p. 269). We are sorry to think that there is room for any doubt on the subject—though Hume is what Lord Macaulay describes him "an accomplished advocate" rather than an historian, still he should be read for the sake of what Lord Brougham calls "the careless inimitable beauties of his style." The same authority says who that has ever read it can forget Hume's description of the reception at the English Court of the French Ambassador, after the news had arrived of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.† The fanatical devotees of—to use a phrase of Dr. Freeman's—the last German book would do well not to neglect Hume.

We must here part company with Dr. Freeman. We feel we have not done justice to his valuable work, which we heartily commend to all those who value exact thought and its clear expression.

Art. IV.—England's Supremacy.

England's Supremacy: its Sources, Economies, and Dangers, &c. By J. S. Jeans, author of "Steel: its History, Manufactures and Uses." London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1885.

EVERY reader is only too familiar with the sinister name which has been attached to Political Economy. There are certain masters of words who stick indelible badges upon things and systems, and these are, by the force of one man's genius, known by a nickname for ever. Thus, the science of Political Economy has been dubbed "the dismal science," but, to judge from the way in which it is cultivated at the present time, we should imagine that it deserved a very different appellation. There is no subject which in our day seems so inviting to the pens of scribblers. There are no problems which seem so attractive to the moths of thought which flutter round

* "Lectures," p. 266. The allusion is to Mr. Pattison's work on "Casaubon"

† In Lord Brougham's "Men of Letters of the Reign of Geo. III.," our quotation is from memory, but though not verbally, is substantially correct.

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all sources of illumination as those which are connected with the so-called "dismal science." Many books which do not profess to treat of the Cimmerian matters which are dealt with in the pages of Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, Mill, and Fawcett, are still a sort of auxiliaries to these the regular forces, and the work of Mr. Jeans—although he expressly tells us it is not a politico-economical treatise—must be regarded as a work upon certain practical problems which belong to the lugubrious science. We mean no disparagement when we thus describe his treatise, and we may say at once that the book is a useful magazine of important facts, and has been most carefully elaborated and compiled. But even now we feel that we have done inadequate justice to Mr. Jean's careful pages, although we think that the principal value of the work is in conferring "get-at-ability" (to use one of his own words) upon a great number of instructive statistics which are usually only to be found in the fastnesses of Blue-books, which are rarely explored by arithmetical industry, and making these down into clear and perspicuous prose to suit the comprehension of minds which turn giddy over columns of repellant figures. Still, we should be doing an injustice to the author if we led to the belief that that was all the merit that was to be found in the work. Mr. Jeans is not merely a statistician, or a translator of statistics into words. He has a capacity for drawing sound inferences from the so-called facts of figures. He is by no means a rash man. It is so easy, when one finds that figures count, to make these suit one's preconceived theories, and then one has only to marshal them to make good the proposition which was arrived at without them. But we confess at once that we have found far less of this "hireling chivalry" method of dealing with figures in this book than in most works of a similar scope. Mr. Jeans is, in most instances, a careful and capable guide to sound conclusions.

We regret one thing, and that is that our author should have chosen a catching, but a somewhat inaccurate title. We fully admit the importance of an inquiry into the absolute and relative position of this country, in connection with its agriculture, its commerce, and its industries. It is not only a matter of interest, it is a matter of paramount importance, to those who would wisely conduct the struggle of commerce, which is to result in the survival of the fittest, and who would so conduct the course of legislation as not to interfere with national advance, and on the other hand further that advance, if such a feat is within the bounds of wise legislative interference. There can, we should say, be no doubt of the vital importance of this literary endeavour. But that it should have been called by a name which rather reminds one of the sensational title of a shilling thrill, seems to

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us a matter to be regretted. When Dr. Hutcheson Stirling named his learned and difficult exposition of Hegel's "Notion" "The Secret of Hegel," *Punch* not improperly asked if it was a circulating library work. And we confess that the title of this painstaking examination of the statistics of commerce and agriculture in this and other countries has a disappointingly seductive title. There are a great many persons who would fain be persuaded of England's supremacy, and who would avoid pages which indicated that England's supremacy was a thing of the past. Now we suspect that the title chosen was addressed to prejudices of that class. However glad we should be to be convinced of the supremacy of this country, we confess that what we are anxious for in a treatise such as this is not a specious argument for any particular view, but a clear statement of the facts, upon which opinions may be firmly established. Under these circumstances, we regret that a title which gives a colour to the whole of the speculations in the book should have been chosen for the figure-head of pages which seem to us so thoroughly conscientious. Besides, after a careful perusal of the book, we have reluctantly, upon Mr. Jeans' own showing, come to the conclusion that England is no longer supreme. We think that any reader, after a careful study of these pages, which bristle with figures, will be convinced that England does not occupy the position which the title-page of the book would have us believe.

Mr. Jeans manfully sticks to his last, and by most careful analysis and intelligent comparison tries to make out that England does far more than hold her own against her rivals. But, although he does his very best for his thesis, our impression is that he fails to make out the point. He reminds us of a certain prophet, who was called upon to curse certain enemies of Moab, but who blessed them altogether. He tries hard to resist the conclusion that we are outrun by the United States—the conclusion which was embodied as to a particular aspect of the case in some words of Mr. Gladstone, that "while we have been advancing with this portentous rapidity, America is passing by as if in a canter." But that conclusion forces itself, if not upon our author, upon his readers. This fact, while its shows, as we think, that the title is not a well-chosen one, is at the same time an indication of the absolute honesty with which the statistical work of this elaborate comparison has been done. But it is not quite a fair thing to make such an allegation against an author without offering some proof of the statement, and we propose to prove this matter out of Mr. Jeans' own mouth.

He is right when he points out that the comparative superiority of one nation to another is not to be judged of by one or two circumstances in which the one may be luckier than the

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other, but must be determined in the light of a careful comparison of many facts in the agricultural, the industrial, and the commercial life of the two communities. It is this comparison which is made in the volume before us, and we will quote a few passages taken from pages at various parts of the work which will show that the question of England's supremacy is not very easily answered in the affirmative.

One circumstance which must militate against a country in the struggle for pre-eminence is the comparative number of persons who are withdrawn from productive occupations to serve in the army and navy. Every man who does not work for himself has to be worked for by others. And the extent of the tax upon production is to be measured by the cost of the military and naval establishment of a country. Now it cannot be considered a matter for congratulation that "Great Britain appears to have the largest expenditure for military and naval purposes of all European nations excepting only France and Russia, although the strength at her command is less than half that of either of these two countries."* But that is a comparatively small matter to be placed on the debtor side of England's account. When we come to examine the question of England's agricultural status (chap. 3), we find that "It has been the same with other new countries as with the United States. Canada, the Australian continent, Russia and Hungary, the Danubian Principalities, and last, but not least, British India, have gone so largely and so successfully into cereal growing as almost to force the British farmer from the field of operations" (p. 29). This, we should have said, was not a matter for congratulation, but Mr. Jeans does not take the same pessimistic view of this perilous matter, although he seems to admit that the British farmer, in respect of two matters, the smaller use of labour-saving machines and the smaller scale of production upon which agricultural undertakings are conducted, is at a serious disadvantage as compared with his American competitor. But even he seems to think that there is reason for taking a depressed view of our agriculture, for he writes: "Is there then no hope for the future? Must England's agriculturists resign themselves to the supremacy of these distant lands as to an inevitable doom? This, happily, is not the verdict pronounced by those best qualified to gauge the current of events" (p. 49). And again, "The cloud that has so long hung over English agriculture is not therefore without its silver lining." We do not say that it is, but this consolatory consideration, and the fact which Mr. Jeans repeats more than once,† that "England has the most prolific wheat-growing soil in the world," is not pitched in exactly

* "England's Supremacy," p. 23. † See pp. 41, 43 and 67.

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the same jubilant key as the title of the volume in which these plaintive strains are to be found. But the vistas which are opened up by his various chapters are not much brighter than that down which we have just glanced. In his chapter upon England's food supplies we find that "the increased growth of cereals is proceeding at such a rapid pace in the newer countries of the world, and especially in our own Colonies and the United States, as to suggest for serious consideration the question whether in course of time we shall not have bread-stuffs supplied at a price that will practically exclude home-grown wheat from English markets" (p. 75), which is in the main a re-statement of the proposition we have already quoted. But to pass from the question of agriculture to that of commerce, are the facts in that regard of a more reassuring nature? Remember, we are only taking Mr. Jeans' own evidence: we are not setting up any case of our own. He rightly dwells upon the increase of our trade with our own Colonies, which, no doubt, is one very satisfactory feature of our recent commercial history, but he admits that "It is not pretended for a moment that the figures which illustrate the recent growth of our colonial trade are equally applicable to our commerce with other countries. In some cases, indeed, we have in this latter respect lost ground both absolutely and relatively" (p. 108). And again, on another page, he says: "It is a prevalent but pernicious error to suppose that England's trade with *all* foreign countries is larger in volume and value than that of any other single competing nation. This is very far from being the case. The truth is that Germany does a larger export trade than England with most European countries—with Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium. France carries on a greater export trade than we do with Belgium, Italy, and Spain, and a very notable feature of the case is that while these countries have been making headway we have been relatively losing ground" (p. 110). And further: "It behoves the British manufacturer and merchant seriously to consider how, and by what means, other nations have so far succeeded as against English products. What, for example, do the United States receive from France and Germany that England cannot supply, and, above all, what do they receive from those countries in increasing quantities? If we look into the import returns of the United States we shall receive a complete answer to those questions. Those returns show that of the total American imports of merchandise of all kinds, amounting in round figures to a value of 667½ million dollars (in 1884), about 244½ millions worth was received from Great Britain and her dependencies, against 74½ millions worth from France and French possessions, and 65 millions worth from Germany; while it appears, as we

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have already pointed out, that both France and Germany have been increasing their relative proportions of the whole. But if we further analyse the individual items, we find that France and Germany are not so much competing with England in our staple manufactures as in commodities which England either cannot, or has not yet taken steps to produce" (pp. 111, 112). And once more he sums up the matter thus: "The foregoing facts require to be set off against the enormous growth of our colonial trade to which allusion has already been directed, and prove incontestably that England has no monopoly, not even a necessary supremacy, in neutral markets" (p. 114).

In a chapter in which he examines the effect of the use of mechanical appliances and processes upon national prosperity, he says, with truth, that "apart from minor exceptions," some of which he mentions, "which it would be both impolitic and uncandid to ignore, there is ample reason to believe that England's supremacy in regard to the extent and efficiency of her mechanical aids to production is still unapproached, but it is not therefore unapproachable" (p. 129); but he adds some careful words of warning upon a later page (see p. 136). Again, in his chapter upon the remuneration of labour, we cannot regard these as hopeful words: "Nay, more, America has been able to sell in Canada in competition with English manufacturers commodities that are excluded from her own shores by the prohibitory tariff already referred to. It is in this regard that the warnings of Cassandra are likely to be most necessary and effectual. If the nations that we have been the means very largely of educating up to their present proficiency in manufactures once pre-eminently our own succeed in beating us in neutral markets, our position will be indeed beset with great peril" (p. 160). And in the next page, "'The race is to the swift'—to those who have the energy and the capacity to cultivate the markets of the world, to adopt the best and most modern improvements, and to exercise the utmost economy of management. In these requisites we believe England to remain as hitherto *facile princeps*. But in none of them is she necessarily invulnerable; there is no royal road to commercial supremacy, and the position that England has so nobly won will every year be harder and more difficult to maintain" (p. 161). We may be wrong, but we think that Mr. Jeans himself has such an honest and candid mind, and is so wisely at the mercy of facts and carefully regarded figures, that he has had many "qualms of conscience" in writing this book as to whether England was as supreme as he would have us believe. Facts like those mentioned on page 173, that the "range of wages in Germany is much under that of England," or on page 182, that

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"in every European country without exception the hours of labour are longer than in our own," a remark which he repeats in another place (see p. 249), must be very significant to such an acute mind as his. He feels the seriousness of that matter when he is speaking of the present and future position of the United States. In that connection he remarks: "It may not be that England is in danger of the loss of supremacy from the relatively higher wages which are paid to our artisans, but it will be found, as we proceed, that other countries do not fail to attach much importance to the possession of this cheaper labour and longer hours of work, and that the more costly labour of America is only too vividly reflected in the commercial circumstances of that country" (p. 187), and he adds: "If, as many people seem to suppose, the range of wages paid in the United States should fall without any corresponding movement of wages in England, then it is more than probable that we shall have to accommodate ourselves to a very much keener rivalry in neutral markets on the part of our American competitors. And this is an outlook that has many strong arguments to support it" (p. 187). But it is an outlook that cannot be contemplated without serious apprehensions. America is even at the present time, with the disadvantages of the higher range of wages and her protective tariffs, only too formidable an antagonist for this country. She not only threatens our supremacy, but she holds the industrial sceptre which was once in our hands. We cannot look with complacency on the departure of that sceptre. But it is well worth while to turn from these miscellaneous considerations to look at the facts with regard to one or two of our staple trades as stated by Mr. Jeans. He naturally begins his examination of our various industries with an interesting chapter upon cotton. It is a somewhat curious circumstance that an industry which depends for its raw material upon an article which is not grown or produced in the country should have flourished here. There are, no doubt, other instances of the same thing, but none in which a trade of the magnitude and importance of our Lancashire cotton trade has been so "acclimatized," if we may use such an expression. That it has flourished is beyond doubt, and the causes of the success with which the cotton industry has been prosecuted are a matter of considerable interest in connection with a history of our commercial progress and position. But the question we are here considering is whether in a department in which this country was long supreme she still retains her supremacy, upon Mr. Jeans' own showing. All that he can say in this connection is that "England has hitherto been able to hold her own in the markets of the world" (p. 190), but at the same time he has to admit "that while the cotton

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trade of Great Britain has made but little progress during recent years, that of the United States and continental Europe" (and he might, we think, have added Bombay) "has made enormous strides. In the deliveries of raw cotton for consumption between 1873 and 1883 there was an increase of only 1·58 per cent. in Great Britain as against 41·73 in continental Europe, while in the United States the consumption of raw cotton within the same interval has increased by 61·2 per cent." (p. 192). It may be, as he says, that England is still holding her own in the world's markets, but a supremacy held under the circumstances indicated by these statistics is not in a state of very stable equilibrium. But the result of an investigation as to our superiority in the woollen trade is not much more satisfactory. This is what the optimistic author of the title-page "England's Supremacy" himself says—

> We are now brought face to face with the question of Great Britain's relative progress in the manufacture of woollen goods. Many cases might be cited in which England has diminished her indigenous supplies of raw materials concurrently with a large increase in the production of the manufactured articles in which these raw materials were employed. That England has largely developed her woollen industry within the last quarter of a century has already been shown by the enormous increase of imported raw wool, and of the exports of manufactured goods produced therefrom. But if we find that other countries have been making even greater progress than our own, this increase of imports and exports will not be altogether so reassuring as we could desire it to be" (pp. 212, 213).

In this case it is not merely a neck-and-neck race between England and the United States, other nations are more than "in the running." Thus we hear that "French woollen operatives are superior to those of England and the United States" (p. 221). That "it will probably strike some as rather a new revelation that inferiority should be attributed to English as against Belgian goods; but there appears to be little doubt that on some points continental manufacturers have made more headway than their English rivals; and it is at least worth the while of the latter to consider how it happens that fully 65 per cent. of all the yarns spun in Verviers from imported wool is sent to Great Britain" (p. 223). As to the manufacture of silk which once flourished in this country, there is no attempt to dissemble the fact that the trade has passed and is passing into other hands. The size of our silk factories is greatly diminished (p. 229), and that while the "silk manufacture in England has been dwindling and unprosperous, that of the United States has been 'advancing by leaps and bounds,'" (p. 230). For once he loses hope and courage in contemplating this decadence, and says:

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"It is by no means cheering to consider the remarkable progress of the United States in the light of our own unquestionable loss of ground." While he finds ground for encouragement in the rapid growth and comparative prosperity of the jute trade, which in comparison we think he exaggerates, he admits, with reference to the linen trade, that "the decadence of the growth and manufacture of flax" is discouraging (p. 234).

Naturally in a work of this kind we should expect to find a comparison of the profits which are earned in agriculture and in trade in this and in other countries. But take, for instance, the statement that "the average net result accruing to the American farmer would appear to be much better than that earned by his British compeer, which it is only reasonable to suppose" (p. 239), and it is a little difficult to suck comfort out of it. Our author is pleased to note that English industry is able to command capital at lower rates of interest than have as yet been accepted in any other country, but he adds a significant phrase, "with the exception of Holland" (p. 330). And again, when dealing with national wealth, he remarks that "there is ample reason to conclude that England's manufacturing interests have grown in a measure that have far outstripped the growth of any other modern country;" but then again comes the troublesome exception, "excepting only, as before stated, the American nation" (p. 340). This may, we do not deny, in both these instances, be a matter for some satisfaction. It may show that the plight of this country is not so bad as some pessimistic writers have supposed, but we are inquiring upon what ground the claim to England's "supremacy" is based; and, as we said before, we think that in a great number of instances Mr. Jeans makes out that the supremacy is "quite elsewhere." In connection with the question of the employment of women, he rightly points out that there is a strong feeling with many to see women removed from all occupations which have a "tendency, if not to unsex them, at any rate to diminish their womanly instincts and attributes;" and we agree with him in thinking that the advance in civilization of a nation may very well be determined in relation to the status and employment of women. But how do we, the "supreme" nation, stand as to this matter? Not well, we gather from the statistics here collected for us. And all that Mr. Jeans has to say is that, "if we have any consolation in this matter at all, it is that, while we are still much worse than the United States, we are better than some other European nations" (p. 349).

In a very well-balanced chapter on our coal supplies, in which he does not exaggerate the dangers which menace the future of industrial England, after a careful summary of the figures, he says:

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"If we adopt the first of these three rates (rates of consumption) as that which will probably represent the condition of things in the future, it would lead to numbers, not perhaps so startling as those which some former writers on this subject have adopted, but none the less sufficiently remarkable to give us pause in our optimistic view of the future" (p. 362). And, while he is very careful to point out that the coal-bearing area of Great Britain is calculated to be 11,900 square miles while compared with the much smaller areas which are at the mining disposal of France, Germany, Belgium, and Austria, he had to point out that Russia possesses not less than 30,000 square miles of carboniferous land (p. 373), and in another place that the "coal fields of the United States have been calculated to cover an area of 196,000 square miles" (p. 408). Not much supremacy in this matter, we should say. "The average production of the English coal miner is *above that of any other in the world*, excepting only those of America" (p. 381). In this statement the italics are his, but we confess that for our purpose the last five words might more appropriately have been italicized. However, even such consolation as that consideration can give him is not to be a permanent one, for further on he says:—

Whatever may have been the precise amount and value of the superior efficiency of English labour in the past, there is no doubt that it has been largely due (1) to the superior character and variety of our mechanical appliances; (2) to the superior training or knowledge of mechanical processes which our artisans were thereby enabled to acquire. These, however, are advantages which may not remain with us. On the contrary, there are continually recurring evidences that our supremacy in this respect is being closely studied and emulated by our rivals abroad (pp. 381, 382).

But this matter gets tedious, and we will only point to one or two other instances, out of his own pages, which seem to show that he has taken too sanguine a view when he named his volume. Thus, he tells us, "that the technical education of foreign artisans is generally superior to that of our own is undeniable" (p. 383). "That such part of our pre-eminence as has been due to the better command of labour-saving methods and appliances, to a long course of industrial training, and to a special knowledge of manufacturing processes, is slowly but surely being shared by rival nations, and must ultimately be lost to us" (p. 391). And again he says that "England has not within recent years excelled, if she has fully kept pace with, the other industrial nations of the world, in reference to such elements of advantage as accrue from production on a large scale" (p. 398); and in comparing the wealth of the two great Anglo-Saxon countries, he shows that in 1880 the "United States practically

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reached the same level of accumulated wealth as the mother country." He adds, however:—

> Relatively to population, the United Kingdom would still appear to remain the richest country, but how much longer, if any, can that be so? America has increased her wealth fully tenfold within the forty years under review. England has little more than doubled her wealth in the same interval. Basing our expectations for the future on the analogy of the past, it is evident that as regards wealth England will some day cease to be in the running with her precocious offspring (p. 418).

We have not dealt at any length with the dangers which menace England, and to which in one place Mr. Jeans alludes (p. 273), or, as yet, to the concluding chapter, which he calls "the Achilles' heel of England," which he finds in Ireland, whose "influence in her past has been decidedly sinister and malevolent"; but we have, we think, been able to show other vulnerable spots upon the large bare body of industrial and commercial England; and in doing so we have, we think, put in an important *caveat* against the appropriation by Great Britain of the description with which Mr. Jeans has dubbed her, and at the same time, which has been the main object of this our examination, we have shown what is the scope and purport of this very useful book. It is only fair to add that there is something to be said on the other side of this balance-sheet of the nations. It is seldom that another side is so bad that nothing can be said for it; but in this case we have no wish to throw stones at our mother, or to disparage her eminence in one jot or tittle, and therefore it is fair to point out what Mr. Jeans makes clear, and that is, that no other country in the world has a right to be described as the "world's shipbuilder (p. 290), and that in the ocean-carrying trade, both sail and steam, England is unquestionably supreme. It is briefly stated as follows in the work before us: "That, while the total earnings of the shipping trade of the world has been calculated at 133 millions sterling, no less than 73 millions, or 55·2 per cent., of this amount has been credited to the United Kingdom, against only 19·6 falling to the United States, 5·4 to France and about 5·5 to Germany" (p. 292). This is, to our mind, a good illustration of what we should mean by "supremacy." It is right, too, to say that, at the present time, England has a greater chemical and metallurgical trade than any other country in the world, and that in the matter of our great Colonial Empire this country is unique. It is true that the colonies, while they afford what is of paramount importance to producing countries, markets (p. 107), are, as has been pointed out by Sir John Lubbock, occasions of expense (p. 312). They are, too, sources of risk and

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responsibility, and they, the children of a free-trading mother, have abjured the economical creed of this country, and have adopted tariffs in many ways hostile to the trade of England. But, with all these disadvantages, in this one matter of colonies England is still supreme, and we cannot but think that when England is separated from these great English-speaking peoples the day of England's supremacy will have long passed away, and her place among the nations of the world will be only a little one.

We have thus far endeavoured to make our author tell his own tale, a tale full of statistics and signifying a great deal to this country, for "rightly to be great," we have Shakespeare's authority for saying, "is not to stir without great argument," and it is such patient and careful argument as is set forth in these pages which ought to go before legislative action. There is very little about politics in the book, and, considering its length, there are very few controversial matters raised in it. Upon the question of Free Trade, of course, Mr. Jeans is orthodox; and that is not an unimportant matter in these days, when all sorts of winds of doctrine are blowing about the polling booths, and when a good many electoral issues turn upon such catching sophisms as lie under the expression Fair Trade and the like. He adds nothing, however, to the argument in favour of Free Trade, although he states the case with clearness and comprehension. Upon the question of peasant proprietors, we should like to question him a little more closely. At the present time there is a good deal of loose opinion in favour of a system which would have the effect of stopping the depopulation of the country districts, and turn the tide of immigration back from the towns into rural places. There is a good deal of atavism in our opinions, and we find professed Socialists looking back to a golden age before industrialism was with a longing desire to reinstate men in the position they were in under the feudal system. But even those who stop short of condemnation of the industrial dispensation, and who are not prepared to condemn labour-saving machines as an injury to the working classes of this and other countries, seem to regret the passing away of the days when the country was more attractive to labourers than the towns; they deplore the tendency which is only too evident in our shifting populations to pass out of the agricultural and into the artisan classes of the community, and they find a remedy for those evils in the institution of a system of peasant proprietary. Their views have the sanction of very great names. M'Culloch and Sismondi have expressed opinions which run parallel with Arthur Young's well-known and often quoted axiom, "Give a man secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a gar-

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den, and he will convert it into a desert." Mill, in his "Political Economy," conceives it to be established that there is "no necessary connection between peasant properties and an imperfect state of the arts of production;" that they are "favourable in quite as many respects as they are unfavourable to the most effective use of the powers of the toil; that no other existing state of agricultural economy has so beneficial an effect on the industry, the intelligence, the frugality, and prudence of the population, nor tends on the whole so much to discourage an improvident increase in their numbers, and that no existing state is therefore on the whole so favourable, both to their moral and their physical welfare." Professor Fawcett was more guarded in his admiration of the system, but he thought that whatever advantages can be attributed to it are "almost entirely due to the fact that the cultivator owns the soil which he tills," that "great social advantages are derived from peasant proprietorship," but that the economical advantages are by no means so obvious, even though "authorities seem unanimously to agree upon the great industry evinced by this class, who differ herein essentially from tenant farmers." Seeing that these views are somewhat wildly diffused throughout politicians, it is not to be wondered at that the application of this principle to landholding has been preached as a panacea, not only for the ills of this country, but for the chronic discontent of Ireland. In 1885, a Bill, entitled "The Yeoman and Small Holdings Act," was introduced into Parliament, with the object of facilitating the acquisition of land by occupiers in England and Wales. And only the other day Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech on the Address on the 26th of August, said:

> I will say this, that in public, as well as in private, I have always been in favour of a large scheme of land purchase. Why did I object to the principle of the Land Purchase Bill of the late Prime Minister? I have always felt that at the bottom of this Irish question is the land agitation, and that you must settle the agrarian question first, and that dual ownership would have to be abolished, and that a peasant proprietary should be established in Ireland in the same way that it has been done in Germany, Russia, and Bavaria, and in other countries. This can be done either by a vast confiscation of property, which is not advocated by a single member, or under a great system of State-aided purchase. I have never denied that I have always been in favour of it, but I thought that the scheme of the late Prime Minister involved a risk so tremendous that there would be a loss to the taxpayers.

Under these circumstances we must regard Mr. Jeans' careful inquiry into this matter as opportune. There are a good many axioms like that of Arthur Young, or opinions like those of

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M'Culloch and Mill, especially when reiterated by living and active politicians, which go about the world of men's minds, deceiving people, and it is well when one of these impostors is brought to book and carefully tried in the light of fuller experience. The views which were expressed in favour of peasant proprietorship by the writers mentioned were founded mainly on theoretical considerations. However wise a man is he is a fool in comparison with the results of practical experiment, and Mr. Jeans has very carefully inquired into this matter in its various aspects as presented in Germany, India, Burmah, China, Japan, and Italy, and has come to the conclusion that England would be benefited by a continuance of her present system of land distribution, and would not be benefited by a general system of peasant proprietary (p. 67). He says: "Other countries may afford to disregard small economies, and may tolerate a system which requires that three men shall only furnish the labour of one. England cannot do this. Economy of labour is the very breath of her nostrils, *such economy is incompatible with a large system of peasant proprietary*; therefore, it is fair to conclude that peasant proprietorships are not suited to England." We do not wish to decide this weighty matter between such advocates. But we must say that much that Mr. Jeans writes upon this subject is exceedingly cogent, and ought to make rash advocates of the system pause before they fill the sails of change with any more of the wind of their arguments. We suspect this gardening legislation, which is to cultivate men into prudent and wise and useful citizens, and we have every reason to place confidence in the system which has allowed men to develop in their own way under the free play of untampered-with economical laws. Our leaning then, notwithstanding the authorities against it, is with Mr. Jeans and his careful facts, and we can recommend this chapter to the painstaking reading of politicians.

There are other matters that we should have expected to meet with in this examination of England's position amongst the nations. Mr. Jeans has a chapter upon the taxation of this and other countries, and points out truly enough that, while the United States has shaken off most of its enormous war debt, in the way that a duck disposes of rain-drops, England is getting rid of her debt at a rate which, if continued, would dispose of the whole great burden in 500 years.

We may add, too, that we half expected to see the question of national debts treated at greater length. It is not only unsatisfactory that we are so slowly diminishing our own, but it is, we think, a matter for some regret that our great colonies are so rapidly increasing theirs. We do not say, as

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Mr. Froude in "Oceana" hints, at any rate in the case of one colony, that they are taking upon themselves burdens greater than they can bear, but they are, we imagine, taking upon themselves burdens which will handicap them in the great race of the nations. We notice that in many cases the money borrowed by the colonies has been admirably spent in developing railways and other works, which have tended and will tend to increase the wealth of the colonies. But there is a limit to the successful speculations of even a giant colony, and it is very hard for the people of a country to find out exactly when that limit has been reached. We confess that the ease with which our colonies borrow money, and the readiness with which they have been taking advantage of these financial opportunities is a matter which we cannot regard with unmixed satisfaction. The same thing may be said of the way in which our own municipal corporations have been borrowing in recent times. There again the excuse is that the money has been well spent, first in providing the communities with water, and then with gas, and tramways, and so on. It has too often been said that these speculations of various corporations have been paying ones. Many corporations, like Manchester and Birmingham, have been making large profits out of the sale of gas, and these profits, having been carried to the credit of their borough funds, have gone to the relief of the ratepayers. But that state of things, which may have been satisfactory to the ratepayers, cannot have been altogether agreeable to the consumer of gas who did not contribute to the rates of the town, and that happy condition of things, if not quite over, is certainly threatened. This year the town of Oldham, which had been making £10,000 a year net profit out of its gas, and much of its gas was sold to persons residing outside the municipal limits, came to Parliament for an Act to enable it to purchase certain land and to raise certain additional capital. The Bill was contested by the outside districts, and in the results the profits of the Corporation of Oldham were cut down to a minimum. But the discussion of this very important matter is outside our present purpose, and it is not dealt with in Mr. Jeans' book.

No doubt the question of the comparative taxation of the people of various nations is a most important one to consider in relation to the prosperity of those nations; but there are other matters connected with legislation, besides taxes and tariffs, which may affect the prosperity and position of a country. The future of a country can be foretold only in relation to political tendencies which may and do materially affect agricultural, commercial, and industrial conditions, and we question whether this aspect of the question has been sufficiently present to the author's mind

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during the compilation of his work. His book, as will be gathered from what has been said of it, is in the main statistical, and in that connection, as placing within the reach of all, numerical statements which it would take much time and trouble to extract from the original documents, the work will be of signal service. But there are other larger issues which we expected to see touched upon. What influence has the spread of democracy upon the commercial prosperity of a country? Are the hostile tariffs of the United States and our Australian Colonies due to the popular governments which they have enjoyed? Is State interference with the various industries of a country beneficial or disadvantageous to the country in its competition with its neighbours? What can a willing Government like the present one do to develop the resources and improve the commercial and industrial condition of a poverty-stricken and discontented country like Ireland? Within what limits may a Parliament interfere with the liberty of the subject by Factory Acts, Eight Hours Acts, Employers' Liability Acts, and the like, without impairing the prosperity of the country? Should the means of transportation be transferred from private hands to the hands of the State? And a great many other questions of a like nature we might have expected to see dealt with in such a book as this. No doubt these matters would have introduced a speculative element which is absent from its pages—which stand comparatively firm on well-authenticated statistics. And we have, perhaps, no right to complain of an author not having done what he never proposed to attempt. There are, however, a few matters in which a little more care might have been given to details. Thus, we find a good deal of unnecessary repetition, which may to some extent be due to the plan of the book, but which might, we think, have been avoided. To illustrate what we mean, we may mention that the interesting fact that the average "individual wealth of the people of our Australian Colonies is greater than that of any other people on the face of the earth," is mentioned on page 3, and is repeated on page 337. The fact that the soil of England is the most prolific wheat-growing soil in the world appears as a statement on page 41, on page 43, and again, in a slightly modified form, on page 67. Certain words from Quesnay are quoted on page 25, and again on page 394. In speaking of Italy, in connection with peasant proprietary, he quotes the following: "They," the labourers, "will walk forty or fifty miles with a view to engage in the lowest and foulest work, such as rice cleaning, in order to gain thirty francs by forty days' labour, in the heat of summer, provided only with the bread which they can carry or procure in the neighbourhood" (see page 65), and the same statement, word for word, appears

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again in another place (p. 93). The warnings of Cassandra are spoken of, we suspect without an accurate memory of the mythological story, on page 160, and again on page 290. There are other repetitions, which it is not worth while mentioning, on page 408, of a statement made for the first time on page 373, on page 405 of a statement on page 403, on page 417 of a statement made on page 411, and on page 385 of a statement made on page 187. Then, while we are fault-finding, may we not point to a table on page 16, where the figures which are under the heading "Agriculture" ought to be under the heading "Manufactures, &c.," and *vice versâ*. Again, in the table printed on page 42, surely the words "surplus" and "deficiency" are put at the heads of the inappropriate columns. If not, then the statement with regard to Germany on page 58, and the statement as to the quantity of corn grown in the United Kingdom on page 75, must be erroneous. There are, too, some minor errors. "New York" seems to be printed by mistake for "Liverpool" on page 80; "exports" for "imports," and "imports" for "exports," on page 101, as is shown by page 102. The words "per week" on the table on page 152 must, we think, be an error. The phrase, "the improvements in the locomotive engine have *induced the command*," &c., is scarcely happy. "Great" is printed for "greater" on page 297. And the statement made on page 303, that "If the whole of the British Empire were populated as thickly as England and Wales, the total number owing allegiance to the British Crown would be not 300 millions, as at present, but 3,563 millions, or more than thirty-five times as many," does not seem to be arithmetically accurate. Then again, there is incompatibility between the statements as to the total property and profits assessed under the Income Tax Schedules on pages 318 and 321. But we have picked holes enough, and it is only fair to say that, on the whole, the work is carefully and well executed.

No book dealing with the important economic problems of our time could disregard the relations between this country and Ireland. As we have already said, Mr. Jeans has a chapter entitled "The Achilles' Heel of England" in his book, in which he says, "there is no more vulnerable part of the British Empire than Ireland," and in which he alludes to the influence which that sister country has exerted upon the British Empire as "decidedly sinister and malevolent" (p. 420). It is undoubtedly true that Ireland has all along been a source of trouble and anxiety to this country. When England was "at bay" against all the nations of Europe, in the end of the last century, Ireland carried on regular communications with the French Directory. Then and now Ireland has regarded England's peril as her opportunity; and even in times of peace Ireland is a thorn in the side of the

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United Kingdom. Her history is not a pleasant one to read. From the earliest time her people have had a contempt of order and authority, and a strange clinging to the uncivilized course of rapine and murder. Here is an old but significant fact; of the one hundred and seventy-eight monarchs of the Milesian colony who successively ruled the country until the arrival of the English A.D. 1170: "Sixty were treacherously murdered, and succeeded by their assassins, while seventy-one more were slain in battle, so that only twenty died natural deaths" (p. 420). "During this period no man could enjoy his life, wife, lands, or goods in safety, if a mightier man than himself had an appetite for them, and the weak had no remedy against the strong." * It has been a nation of "stirt and strife," to use the old Scotch phrase. Prosperity has avoided her shores, as she generally does those that are stained with much blood. Industry has made but two small settlements within her borders, and those are significantly in Ulster. She has walked for years along the brink of starvation, and has aggravated her position by disaffection, by violence, by crime, and by revolution. It is all very well to talk of the misgovernment of the past. During this century the government of Ireland has been on the whole wise and temperate. The list of measures which have been passed for the benefit of Ireland is a long and almost a complete one (see p. 425). But what is the result of all this legislative attention? Has Ireland become tractable? Now that justice has been done her, is she contented? The history of the last five years, of to-day, is a ghastly negative. Now, however, it is said that the cure for all these evils, the means of pacifying our "incompatible" companion, the method of securing peace and prosperity for that distracted country, is the conferring upon her the right to make her own laws. The history of the years when Ireland had a Parliament are instructive reading in connection with the legislative proposals which have been before this country during the year 1886. But it is not with these that we have to do in this place at the present time. We would rather endeavour to see if anything is to be hoped for from the inquiries which are to be instituted by the Government. Can anything be done to develop the resources of Ireland? One or two words are worth saying on what has been called the causes of the incurable poverty and consequent discontent of Ireland. First, it has been said that the population is too dense for the cultivable area. Well, however true that may have been, the matter now wears a different complexion. Ireland is, as Mrs. Beecher Stowe said of New

* Martin's "Ireland Before and After the Union."

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England, "an excellent country to emigrate from," and the population of the Emerald Isle has been greatly diminished, and is still diminishing. Between 1800 and 1841, the population of Ireland doubled. In 1841 the population was in the ratio of 251 to the square mile of area; but at the present time there is only an average of 160 inhabitants to the same area. It is calculated that between 1845 and 1881, as many as two and three-quarter millions of the inhabitants of Ireland emigrated.

Then it is said that the soil of Ireland is poor, and that only two-thirds of it are arable. Well, what is arable is very good land. From official returns we are able to say that on the average of the ten years ending 1883 the mean yield of the principal crops per acre was considerably higher than those of other countries in Europe, England and Wales excepted. It is true that Ireland has more than its share of bog lands. In 1809 it was calculated that the area of the principal bog land was nearly three million acres. But then, against that damaging fact, it is to be remembered that the elevation of these lands is such that they could be easily drained into contiguous lakes or rivers, and so into the sea. But it is not so much physical disadvantages that Ireland suffers from. It has been long recognised that there is in the people an absence of habits of industry and a disinclination to the continued exertion of regular employment. It has indeed been calculated that the average Irishman does not work more than two hundred days in the year. They are, too, disinclined to adopt improvements, which places them at a serious disadvantage in the "struggle for existence," and they imprudently marry early. To crown all, they are so unsettled and demoralized by political agitators, by social wars, by land leagues, and the like, that even if other things were in favour of the race, it would have a difficulty in wooing that fickle goddess—prosperity.

Now, what is to be done under this state of circumstances? If only Ireland had rest it might survive as a nation, might even prosper. But you might as well advise a fever patient to be quiet and have calm blood. If only capital was encouraged to go into the country, these bogs might be drained, the mineral resources of the country might be developed; railways and canals, which have not been developed to anything like the same extent in Ireland, relatively either to area or population, that they have been in this country, might be constructed. Industries might take root in the country, which is at present far too exclusively dependent on agriculture, and that, too, the production of one particular tuber. All this might easily happen, and with the prosperity we have been forecasting would come contentment which has been so long a stranger to the island—if only capital

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was encouraged to go there! But will it? You might as well invite the lamb to lie down with the lion in this ante-millennial time, as to ask capital to go to Ireland. It is possible that the Government may find a means of forcing some English capital into the country, but there is a very strong feeling amongst a certain class of politicians against taxing the British taxpayer for the benefit either of Irish landlords or of Irish tenants. Still, it is possible that the country might sanction the guaranteeing of a loan with a view to the development of Irish resources, if there was a fair prospect that the money lent would have the effect of producing prosperity and peace to our unhappy neighbour. But would that have the desired effect? We must say that we think capital does the most good where it goes the most readily. When capital has to be forced into a certain channel, we doubt whether it is likely to be so beneficial as when it makes a channel for itself; still the experiment is worth trying, although we must not forget that it has been tried before, and that of itself tends to make us less sanguine of the result. Mr. Jeans, in his chapter on Ireland, has not prophesied, but has contented himself with pointing out some of the facts of the situation, and does not prescribe a remedy. Perhaps, after all, that is the safer course. The look into the future of Ireland is black enough, and he who looks into it can only see an inverted image of the haggard past.

With reference to Mr. Jeans' book we have, we think, done enough to show that it will well repay a careful perusal, and even a lengthened study.

Art. V.—Adam Mickiewicz.

1. *Master Thaddeus; or, the Last Foray in Lithuania.* By Adam Mickiewicz. Translated from the Original by Maude Ashurst Biggs. Two vols. London. 1885.
2. *Konrad Wallenrod*: an Historical Poem. By Adam Mickiewicz. Translated from the Polish into English Verse by Maude Ashurst Biggs. London. 1881.

THE reputation of the Polish poet, Mickiewicz, for a long time almost entirely confined to his own country and his own compatriots, has latterly been considerably extended by the pious offices of translators. He has been dead upwards of thirty years, but his name is hardly known among us. The French,

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who show wider sympathies than ourselves in these matters, have long been familiar with his works, and now an English lady has introduced him to the notice of her countrymen by the translation of two of his best productions.*

As Mickiewicz is but little known in our country, we think our readers may not be displeased to have a brief account of the chief events of his strange and chequered career. He is in every respect the type of his nation—religious, mystical, enthusiastic and suffering. By his marvellous power of identifying himself with the struggles of Poland, her political aspirations, and the agonies of her degradation, he has become as much her representative poet as Burns of Scotland or Shakspere of England. It is not often given to an author to individualize his country so completely in himself. Moreover, he received the full shock of the influence of the Romantic school. During the centuries in which the Poles had been imbued with false classicism or aped French manners, no attention had been paid to their wealth of traditions and the weird legends and beliefs that had been handed down in the rude villages of the country. These were all ready to be collected, and only awaited the poet who would gather them into a sheaf. Here and there a faint glimpse had been given, as in some of the idyls (*Sielanke*) of Szymonowicz, but the ground was almost entirely unoccupied. These national characteristics were given by Mickiewicz in his ballads; in them we see a faithful mirror of Poland, warlike and semi-barbarous, now pathetic and long-suffering, the Niobe of nations, with far more truth in the application of the classical parallel than when Byron applied it to Italy.

Adam Bernard † Mickiewicz was born in the village of Zaoswa, near Nowogrodek, in the present Russian government of Minsk, but, according to the distribution of the country in the old days of Polish independence, the principality of Lithuania, in the year 1798. Lithuania had been united to Poland in the fourteenth century, and a closer bond had been effected in the sixteenth at the diet of Lublin. The peasants have retained to the present day their strange language, which has such charms for the philologist, but with them, strictly speaking, Mickiewicz had nothing to do. He was descended from the Polish settlers who had established themselves in Lithuania, and was a Lithuanian

* In 1841 appeared in London "Konrad Wallenrod: an Historical Tale. From the Polish of Adam Mickiewicz, by H. Cattley." The version, as far as we have examined it, seems to have been well executed, but has been suffered to fall out of notice.

† He was so baptized, but he seems to have allowed the second name to fall out of use. Adam was a favourite name among the Lithuanians.

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if we use the term in its strictest sense, pretty much in the same way as we may style Mr. Parnell an Irishman. His attachment to his native country was unbounded, and in many of his poems he has expressed with great pathos the longings of the exile, just as the Jacobite who—

Pined by Arno for his lovelier Tees.

As examples of this feeling might be mentioned the touching sonnet to the river Niemen, and the opening lines of "Pan Tadeusz":—

> Litva, my country, like art thou to health;
> For how to prize thee he alone can tell
> Who has lost thee. I behold thy beauty now
> In full adornment, and I sing of it
> Because I long for thee.*

He is thus everywhere not merely a Pole but a Lithuanian Pole. He adds another to the list of distinguished citizens which this province furnished to the Polish nationality—Kosciuszko, Niemiewicz, and Lelewel, being also among the number. His father belonged to the Polish nobility, but the family were in reduced circumstances, and the elder Mickiewicz practised as a lawyer. Adam was the second of five sons, and was born with a sickly constitution. One of his brothers, Alexander, was afterwards Professor of Civil Law in the University of Kharkov; another brother became an army surgeon and was killed in the Russian campaign against the Turks in the year 1829. In his tenth year the boy was sent by his parents to be educated by the Dominican Fathers in the neighbouring town of Nowogrodek; four years afterwards he witnessed the advance of the army of Napoleon in his expedition against Russia, on which the Poles had built such futile hopes. It can readily be imagined that this portentous event would produce a great effect upon the enthusiastic and dreamy boy, and indeed it made him a Napoleonist for the rest of his life. When at Rome in 1829, he prophesied the restoration of the dynasty, and his last production was a Latin ode in honour of Napoleon III. on the taking of Bomarsund. We shall afterwards see how this cultus of the Imperial family, blending itself with the strangest mysticism and religious delusion, caused the poet to lose his office of Slavonic Professor at Paris during the reign of Louis-Philippe. His recollections of the Napoleonic campaign are reproduced by Mickiewicz in "Pan Tadeusz." When the French were in Lithuania, the house of the poet's father was occupied as the

* Miss Biggs' Translation.

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head-quarters of Jerome the King of Westphalia. He has not forgotten the glories of this period when he sings—

> Thou year! who in our country thee beheld,
> The year of beauty calls thee even now,
> But year of war the soldier; even yet
> Our elders love to tell of thee, even now
> Song dreameth of thee. Long wert thou proclaimed
> By heavenly miracle, and thee forestalled
> Dumb rumours 'mid the people; all the hearts
> Of the Litvini with the sun of spring
> Were girdled by some strange presentiment,
> As though, before the ending of the world,
> Some expectation full of joy and fear.*

History, however, has told us how cruelly the hopes which the Poles had placed in Napoleon were destined to be disappointed. As Herzen truly observes, although he did not love Poland, he was quite willing that the Poles should shed their blood for him, as they did on many a well-fought field; witness the celebrated cavalry attack of Somo Sierra. It was but a sorry task, however, for men who were themselves suffering from a foreign rule, to assist in forcing a despot upon people who had done them no conceivable injury. Such, however, is the inconsistency of human nature. Napoleon sent his Polish soldiers to perish in the fever swamps of St. Domingo while assisting to destroy the liberties of the negroes who had emancipated themselves. He said to Narbonne in 1812: "I want a camp in Poland and not a forum. I do not wish to open a club for demagogues either at Warsaw or Moscow." One of the strangest stories is that which tells us of two Polish officers who clung to him to the last, and entreated to be permitted to accompany him to St. Helena, if it were only in a menial capacity, but their request was refused.

In due time Mickiewicz was sent to the University of Wilno, which at that time boasted of some eminent professors. He occupied himself there more with poetry than with the regular studies of the place. At this time, the quarrel between the Classicists and Romanticists was raging, and Mickiewicz threw himself with alacrity into the contest. His sympathies were entirely with the latter; he had made some acquaintance with German literature, and his enthusiasm had been kindled by reading the poetry of Zhukovski, who was at that time converting the Russians to the new doctrines. Our author's first efforts appear to have been poor, and, strange to say, of a didactic kind. His first volume came out at Wilno in 1822; it at once attracted

* Miss Biggs' Translation, ii. 179.

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attention. The Poles had for some time been deluged with the lucubrations of French poetasters. They were tired of the fluent Trembecki and his school, with his dull descriptions and fulsome adulations. The volume of the new poet was fresh, daring, and unconventional. It was followed by a second collection of poems in the succeeding year, full of graceful and spirited ballads, of which we shall speak further when we attempt an analysis of the writings which Mickiewicz has left. But now political troubles were to come upon the young student. The University of Wilno was honeycombed with secret societies, in which, under the appearance of literary associations, grave political questions were discussed. The secrets of some of these unions were unravelled. The Governor of Wilno at that time was Novosiltzov, a worthy co-operator with Arakcheyev, and a complete reactionary. After an investigation, the University was closed and the students dispersed. Some of them were severely punished; Mickiewicz met with gentler treatment. He and a few of his friends were removed to Russia, so as to be more completely under the supervision of the Government. On his arrival at St. Petersburg the poet was anxious to get some employment, and was sent to the newly founded Richelieu Lyceum at Odessa, then a city rising in importance. Thither he went in February, 1825, but he only remained ten months. However, he took advantage of his stay to visit the Crimea; and it is to this excursion that we owe the charming sonnets in which he has described that picturesque country with its strangely mixed population—Russians, Tartars, Karaite Jews, Greeks and the descendants of the Goths; every type can be seen if we only take a stroll through one of the streets of its semi-Oriental towns. The sonnet had already been naturalized among the Poles in the sixteenth century by Szarzynski. It seems to have been more successful with them than with the Russians, or, indeed, with any other Slavonic people. We must confess ourselves no great admirers of the volume of sonnets by Kollar, called "Slavy Dcera." The form becomes rather tedious in a long poem. In our own and some other countries this style of verse is now employed too much. We are deluged with sonnets by every poetaster.

Mickiewicz, on quitting Odessa, where he did not like his work, went to St. Petersburg, and it was here that, in 1829, he produced his celebrated poem, "Konrad Wallenrod." In the story we are told how the Teutonic knights elected for their Grand Master one Konrad Wallenrod, reputed to be a famous warrior. However, the new Master spends his time indolently, and is unsuccessful in the expeditions which he undertakes. He brings nothing but disasters to the Order. When he has nearly ruined the cause of the Knights, and suspicions of his treason

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are aroused, he acknowledges that he is a Lithuanian in disguise, who has sought these means of avenging his injured country. In the following lines he avows his origin, and the causes of his disguise :—

Traitor, thy head must fall beneath the sword;
Repent thee of thy sins, prepare for death.
Behold this old man, chaplain of the Order,
Cleanse thou thy soul, and make a fitting end!
Alf* stood with drawn sword ready for their coming.
But paler, aye, he grew; he bowed and tottered,
Leaned on the sill; casting a haughty glance,
His mantle tore off, flung the Master's badge
On earth, and trampled scornful under foot.
"Behold the sins committed in my life;
Ready am I to die; what will ye more?
The annals of my ruling will ye hear?
Look on these many thousands hurled to death,
On towns in ruins and domains in flames.
Hear ye the storm-winds? clouds of snow drive on;
Thither your army's remnants freeze in ice.
Hear ye? The hungry packs of dogs do howl;
They tear each other for the banquet's remnant.
I caused all this, and I am great and proud;
So many hydra's heads one blow has felled,
As Samson, by once shaking of the column
To o'erthrow the temple, dying in its ruin."
He spoke, looked on the window, and he fell.
But ere he fell, he cast the lamp to earth;
It three times glimmered with a circling blaze,
That rested latterly on Konrad's brow;
And in its scattered flow the fire's rust gleamed,
But ever deeper into darkness sank!
At length, as though it gave the sign of death,
One last great ring of light shot forth its blaze,
And in this blaze were seen the eyes of Alf,
All white in death, and now the light was dark.†

The thin disguise under which Mickiewicz figured the struggles which had gone on between the Poles and Russians was not penetrated by the censors, who accordingly permitted the work to appear. The meaning of it, however, was pretty clearly expressed even in the motto—"Dovete adunque sapere come sono due generazioni da combattere . . . . bisogna essere volpe e leone"—taken from the "Prince of Machiavelli," "Konrad Wallenrod" may justly claim to be a very spirited narrative

* The real name of Konrad. † Miss Biggs' Translation, p. 91.

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poem, and the subject must render it a favourite with all patriotic Poles. Western readers, unacquainted with the history of the country, and unable to feel any stimulus of the imagination in matters so remote from their sympathies, will, in too many cases, probably feel but a languid curiosity. Still, in the present day, when so many of the themes for poetry are worn out, it may be recommended on the score of novelty. We have had plenty of classical subjects, of moss-troopers and mediæval barons, of ruffianly corsairs and solitary caloyers; and to conclude, falsely æsthetic pictures of an imaginary Arthur, however splendid the *mise-en-scène* may have been. If we turn our attention to the East of Europe, we shall find much that is fresh and invigorating among the Slavonic peoples. On these border lands the East and the West shake hands. There is something supremely captivating in the semi-Orientalism of these literatures. We have to do with a people who have the freshness of the English in Elizabeth's time, which made our glorious drama of three hundred years ago possible. Here are races who still have their popular ballads, and are still composing rude and fragmentary epics—not the pseudo-epic elaborated by the poet, *factus ad unguem*, for the drawing-room. Let us contemplate them a little while, amid the picturesque Serbian villages and the Bulgarian mountains, or in the steppes of the Ukraine, before they are civilized into the lyrics of the *café chantant* and the airs of the last new *opéra bouffe*.

Great, however, as are the merits of "Wallenrod," it must be confessed that it is not without serious drawbacks. The tone is too bitter; the revenge too elaborated and ferocious, reminding one of the "Epic of Hate," as it has been called, the "Death of Chengich-Aga" (Smrt Chengich-Aga), by Mazuranic the Croat. Moreover, the sentimental passion between Alf and Aldona is a little bit forced for such mature personages. In real life we do not see this scintillation of the *dilapsæ in cineres facis*. And now a few words anent Miss Biggs' translation. She has rendered the poem with scrupulous fidelity, and shows herself an excellent Polish scholar. How courageous of a lady to spend so many hours over the stiff Polish vocables! Perhaps we must a little regret that she has abandoned the rhymes of the original for blank verse; for something characteristic of the poet has gone. There seems to us to be a fatal facility about this metre. It looks so easy, but is in reality so difficult. To make it agreeable, the pauses must be varied with consummate artifice. If this is not done, it is sure to become monotonous. It is hardly to be hoped that in our own times we may see a revival of the Miltonic verse; but Tennyson has shown us how admirable a rhythm may be made in unrhymed lines. The graceful little

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song of the Wajdelote on the Wilia is translated very elegantly by Miss Biggs, and the same may be said of the fine ballad which tells how the Moor from Granada succeeded in carrying the pestilence into the Spanish camp. It comes among the Polish snows like a fierce sirocco blast.

On the 29th of May, 1829, soon after the publication of this poem, Mickiewicz left St. Petersburg. He had found its most intellectual *salons* open to him, and had become the intimate friend of the leading Russian authors. He could not make the acquaintance of Poushkin at Odessa, because the poet had left that city the year before the young Pole arrived. He was, however, introduced to him at St. Petersburg, and they became great friends, although this intimacy was interrupted by the departure of Mickiewicz from Russia, and entirely broken by the line of antagonism to the Muscovites which the poet afterwards took up. Among the poems of Poushkin will be found some verses on the anti-Russian outbreaks of Mickiewicz. When Poushkin perished in a duel in 1837, his Polish friend contributed to one of the French papers an account of the poet and his works. Mickiewicz seems also to have been acquainted with the unfortunate Riliev, who perished among the Dekabrists on the public scaffold. Among houses which the poet had frequented at St. Petersburg was that of Madame Szymanowska. For Selina, one of the daughters of this lady, the poet conceived an attachment, which was reciprocated, and she seems to have exhibited much emotion at his quitting the capital. Five years later she came to Paris and was married to him. After visiting Berlin, Dresden, Prague, and Karlsbad, he travelled from the latter place with his friend Odyniec (himself a poet of some repute, who died about a year ago) to Weimar, so as to be present at the celebration of Goethe's birthday. The aged poet received the friends with geniality, and praised some of the poems of Mickiewicz, which he had caused to be translated. He expressed his regret that he was not himself acquainted with any Slavonic language. We believe it was on this visit that, when Mickiewicz and his friend were entertained at a public dinner, the orthography of their names seemed so embarrassing that their places at the table were marked Pole No. 1, Pole No. 2. From Weimar the travellers set out for Frankfort and the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and then betook themselves to Italy, by way of Switzerland. In Rome, Mickiewicz became acquainted with many celebrated Russians and Poles. He then went to Geneva, where he was introduced to Sigismund Krasinski, the author of the "Undivine Comedy," known as the "nameless poet," a strange mystic who carried the fantastic tendencies of his mind even further than Mickiewicz himself. In the year 1831 he

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visited Posen, with a view of proceeding thence to the head-quarters of the Polish insurrection at Warsaw. He was, however, unable to reach the country, owing to the cordon of Prussian troops which surrounded it and barred all access. In February, 1832, the baffled poet returned to Dresden. Perhaps it was no loss to the revolutionary party that he was unable to share in their struggles. Mickiewicz, like Lelewel, was a dreamer, and hardly likely to be of any service in the camp, any more than Victor Hugo was found to be during the siege of Paris. After having stayed a few months at Dresden, the poet proceeded to Paris, which henceforth was to be almost uninterruptedly his home. It was in 1834, at Paris, that appeared the poem "Pan Tadeusz," considered by most critics as his masterpiece, which we now propose to introduce more minutely to our readers.

In this production we have a picture of Polish life at the time of the expedition of Napoleon, which, as we have previously said, produced so great an effect upon the youthful Mickiewicz. Together with a slender love-story, which is necessary to all tales, Mickiewicz has given us a picture of the homes of the Polish magnates in their barbaric splendour. The constant family feuds—the luxury alternating with rudeness of manners—the Jews and peasants, are all brought before us. The poem winds up with the union of Thaddeus and Sophia, and now the *grande armée* is at their very doors. It is difficult for the English reader to enter into *all* the beauties of this piece, from causes to which we have previously alluded. Remote Poland is such a *terra incognita*, so little understood and appreciated. It has been so almost from the days of the gay Frenchman, Desportes, who accompanied his master, Henry III., thither, and has left us his quaint lamentations:—

> Adieu Poloigne, adieu plaines desertes,
> Tousiours de neige ou de glacé couvertes,
> Adieu pays d'un eternel adieu:
> Ton air, tes meurs m'ont si fort sçeu desplaire,
> Qu'il faudra bien que tout me soit contraire,
> Si jamais plus je retourne en ce lieu.

If, however, we cannot appreciate the strange manners represented to us, the exquisite descriptions of scenery with which the poem abounds will show that Mickiewicz had the true feelings of a poet. Let us take the fine passage in book iii.:

> So they began to talk of those blue heavens,
> Murmurs of seas, and sweet winds, rocky heights,
> Commingling here and there, as travellers wont,
> Laughter and railing at their native land.
> Yet round them the Litvanian forests stretched,
> So full of beauty and of dignity.

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The cherry-tree with garland of wild hops
Woven around it, and the service-tree
Fresh-flushing like a shepherdess: the hazel
Like mœnad, with green thyrsus, decked about
As by a garland, with its pearly nuts.
And lower grew the forest children: blackthorn
In the embraces of the briony;
Aspen, whose black leaves pressed the raspberries.
The trees and bushes joined their leaves like hands,
Like youths and maidens standing for the dance,
In circle of the married pairs. There stands
One couple, raised o'er all the forest crowd
By slenderness of shape, and charm of colour:
The white birch, bride-like, with her spouse the hornbeam.
And further, like old people looking on
Their children and grandchildren, silent sitting.
Here reverend beech-trees; there the matron poplars;
And oak with mosses bearded, with the weight
Of five long ages on his humpy back,
Leaning, as though on columns of a grave,
On fossil trunks of oaks, his forefathers.*

Nothing so fine as this has been written by any other poet upon trees, if we except the wonderful lines of Cowper on "Yardley Oak," and the verses of Wordsworth in which he describes his adventures while nutting; or, perhaps, Emerson telling us of the fall of the pine and the close of its green century. Even finer, however, is the description of Lithuanian trees, which we get at the beginning of the fourth book. In that country in pagan times they were held sacred, and in many other lands, we must remember; our own among the number.†

Our monuments, how many
The Russian's or the merchant's axe each year
Devours! nor leaves unto the woodland singers
A refuge, nor unto the bards, to whom
Your shade was dear as 'twas unto the birds.
Witness that linden tree in Czarnolas,
Responsive to the voice of John, that formed
The inspiration of so many rhymes.
Witness that oak that sings so many wonders
Unto the Cossack bard.‡

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* Translation, i. 145.

† The "Transactions" of the Caucasian division of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society contain an interesting article on the Sacred Groves and Trees among the people of the Caucasus.—Vol. v. Tiflis. 1877.

‡ The allusions are to Jan Kochanowski, the Polish poet of the sixteenth century, who composed much of his verse under a favourite linden-tree at his seat at Czarnolas; and to Stephen Goszczynski, the author of "The Tower of Kaniov."

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O native trees,
How much I owe to you! Indifferent sportsman,
Escaping from my comrade's mockery
For missing game, I in your silence chased
Imaginings; forgetting all the hunt,
I sat within your close. The grey beard moss
Spread silvery round me, mingled with deep blue
And black of rotten berries; and with red
The heathery hills were glowing, decked with berries,
As though with beads of coral. All around,
Was darkness; overhead the branches hung
Like green thick-gathering, low-lying clouds.
The storm somewhere above their moveless arch
Was raging, with a groaning, murmuring,
Howling and rattling loud, and thunder peal,
A wondrous deafening roar. To me it seemed
A hanging sea was raging overhead.
Below, like ruined cities, here stood up
The o'erthrow of an oak from out the ground,
In likeness of a mighty hulk; thereon
Leaning like fragments of old walls and columns
There, branchy trunks and there half-rotten boughs
Inclosed by pale of grasses. In the midst
Of this intrenchment, fearful 'tis to look,
For there the rulers of the forest sit—
Boars, bears and wolves; and at its entrance lie
The bones half-gnawn of some imprudent guests.
At times upspirt, through verdure of the grass,
As 'twere two waterspouts, two horns of stag,
And flits between the trees some animal
With yellow girdle like a sunbeam, that
On entering is lost among the wood.
And once more all is silent down below;
The woodpecker taps lightly on the pine,
And flies off further; he is gone, is hidden,
But still his beak goes tapping ceaselessly,
As children hiding to each other call
To seek them out. More near a squirrel sits,
Holding between her paws a nut, and gnaws,
Hanging her bushy tail above her eyes,
As falls a helmet-plume upon a cuirass,
Although thus veiled, she gazes heedful round.
A guest is seen—the woodland dancer springs
From tree to tree, like lightning flitting by,
At last she enters an invisible
Opening within a tree-trunk, like a Dryad
Returning to her native tree. Again
'Tis silent.
Presently, a branch disturbed
Is quivering among the sundered crowd

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Of service-trees; and rosier than their berries
Are shining cheeks; it is a gatherer
Of nuts or berries—'tis a maiden. She
In basket of rough bark doth proffer berries
Fresh gathered, fresh as her own rosy lips.
Beside her is a youth; he bendeth down
The hazel branches, and the damsel catches
The nuts that twinkling fly.
Then, hear they sound
Of horns and dogs loud baying, and they guess
The hunt is coming near to them; and fearing,
They vanish from the eye, like forest gods.*

But not only is Mickiewicz fine in his descriptions of trees, his cloud pictures are no less wonderful. Let us take the following as an instance—

"And he was right!" cried Thaddeus with warmth,
"For that Italian sky of yours, so far
As I have heard of it, so pure, so blue,
Must be like standing water. Are not wind
And storm a hundred times more beautiful?
With us it is enough to raise one's head.
How many sights, how many scenes and pictures,
Even in the very changing of the clouds.
For every cloud is different. For instance,
The autumn cloud crawls like a lazy tortoise,
Heavy with rain, and from the sky to earth
Lets down long streamers like dishevelled hair.
They are floods of rain. A hail-cloud with the wind,
Flies swift like a balloon, round, darkly blue,
Midmost it shineth yellow; a great murmur
Is heard around. But even every day,
Look ye, these small white clouds, how changeable!
First like a flock of wild geese, or of swans;
And from behind the wind like falcon drives them
Together in a flock; they closer press,
They thicken, they grow larger—newer wonders;
They have archèd necks, their manes fly loose, they put
Forth rows of legs, and o'er the arch of heaven
Fly like a troop of wild steeds o'er the steppes,
All white as silver; they have mingled, now
Masts spring up from their necks, and from their manes
Broad sails. The troop is changed into a ship
That proudly sails on, silently and slow,
Across the plain of heaven's blue expanse." †

This splendid picture can only be compared with the scene

* Translation, i. 163.

† Translation, i. 149.

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between Anthony and Eros in Shakspere, or some of the exquisite lines in the "Castle of Indolence." It is indeed a vision of the "gold clouds metropolitan" of Keats.

Concerning these lines on trees and clouds an amusing story is told by N. Berg in the preface to his Russian translation of "Pan Tadeusz." His words are as follows:—

I used to show all my poetical labours at that time to C. P. Shevirev, the Professor of Russian Literature at the University of Moscow, to whom I was much indebted for my literary progress. I took him my translations from Thaddeus. He was pleased with them, and offered to print the two first extracts, "The Forest" and "The Clouds," in the *Moskvitanin*, having, as it appears, concealed the source from which they were taken.* Thus the Lithuanian became the Ukraine forests, and the "Clouds of Lithuania" were metamorphosed into "Our Native Skies." At that time the public knew so little about Thaddeus, that if I had translated the whole of it, and published it as my own production, very few people would have discovered the fraud. The censors were in complete ignorance of it. When "The Forests of the Ukraine" and "Our Native Skies" appeared in print, only some Polish students gave me certain winks and rubbed their hands. A certain Malo-Russian lady wrote to one of my friends in Moscow: "Thank Berg for his pretty poem about our forests; the only misfortune is that *we haven't got any.*"

The remarks which we have been compelled to make on the blank verse of Miss Biggs' translation of "Konrad Wallenrod," unfortunately apply with equal, if not greater, force in this case. We must deplore the use of weak monosyllables at the end of the lines such as "and," &c. &c. We could justify our remarks by extracts, but they would only encumber the article, and we do not wish to leave a bad impression upon our readers. The fidelity of the version and the sympathetic spirit with which it has been executed are worthy of all respect. It is a most careful and honest piece of work. We must also take objection to the title "Master Thaddeus." *Pan* is, no doubt, an awkward word to translate; but why not say Sir Thaddeus? The word "Master" conveys no meaning; or, why not, as Ostrowski has done in his French version, call it "Thaddeus Soplitza?" And thus far with regard to this strange and original poem, which has quite modern scenes mixed up with old-fashioned idyllic pictures, and something of the style of Goethe's "Hermann und Dorothea" in it, which is said in a way to have inspired Mickiewicz.

In 1834 Selina Szymanowska came to Paris and was married

* The name of Mickiewicz was not allowed at that time to be brought before the public, but was passed over in silence as that of a rebel.

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to Mickiewicz. She proved an affectionate and loyal-hearted wife, and was always anxious to gratify the least wish of her husband. But, strange to say, after his marriage his muse was silent. It had perhaps been quenched by the hard duties of everyday life. In 1839 Mickiewicz received a call to Lausanne as Professor of Classical Literature in the university there; the enthusiastic Catholic was to lecture in one of the head-quarters of Calvinism. Perhaps he would have found incongruities, as, in the opposite way, the Protestant Schleicher was not a *persona grata* in ultra-Catholic Prague. But before he had been a year in his new calling, he was brought back to Paris by the offer of a Slavonic professorship in the Collége de France, which had been recently founded. Since the death of Poushkin he was the undoubted head of Slavonic literature, and, therefore, the position seemed peculiarly appropriate. He delivered his lectures at first to a large and appreciative audience, and they were printed in Polish at Paris, and in a German translation at Leipzig in the years 1843–4. But they cannot be said to have added to the reputation of Mickiewicz. In the first place he was but imperfectly acquainted with Slavonic literature outside of Polish; of the other Slavonic languages he knew but little, besides Russian, and of Russian literature, nothing since the death of Poushkin. The lectures are also disfigured by many fantastic derivations of words, which prove but too clearly how little scientific method was to be found in the poet's philological studies. These were truly the days of wild theories, of the whimsical nonsense of Kollar and Wolanski; but some sound criticism was to be heard—Dobrowsky and Kopitar had written. Nor is our poet's ethnology much better. He sees Slavs everywhere; Lydian is the Slavonic *lioudi*—people, &c. &c.* and this, too, when Schafarik had already published some of his learned works. Still Mickiewicz had a name which worked like a spell on his countrymen, and he might have continued with much popularity in his office to give his audience magnificent æsthetic critiques and improvisations, such as those in which he excelled, had he not fallen a prey to the visionary ideas of a certain fanatic named Towianski. Owing to the influence of this man, he became a religious mystic, and one part of his creed was to believe that the Napoleonic family was destined to furnish the Messiah of the Polish nation, who would deliver them from the house of bondage. As his lectures were filled with these speculations, he became obnoxious to the Government,

* Many of these absurdities are ruthlessly satirized in a little *brochure* which appeared at Paris in 1845, in Polish, but with a French title: "Mickiewicz de la Littérature Slave."

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and was removed from his office. This was a great blow to him, as although he was a man of simple habits, he had a wife and six children to maintain, and his condition became a very precarious one. Nor were the pleasures of a happy household conceded to him; his wife was in continuous ill-health, and between the year 1839 and her death in 1855, went three times out of her mind. We now have a glimpse of the poet, wasted and stricken, but still retaining something of his old fire. He was invited to undertake the editorship of a French newspaper, *La Tribune des Peuples*, which was established in the earlier days of the Republic, but was not destined to last long. In his interesting memoirs published in the *Polar Star**, the Russian Socialist, Herzen, has described the dinner which was given at Paris to celebrate the foundation of this journal, on which occasion he first met the poet. The account is so interesting in its details, and brings Mickiewicz so vividly before us, that our readers will probably be glad to have a translation of a portion of it:—

"When I arrived," says Herzen, "I found already a good number of guests assembled, among whom there was hardly a single Frenchman; but, on the other hand, various nations, from Sicilians to Croats, were well represented. One person especially interested me, Adam Mickiewicz. I had never seen him before. He stood by the fireplace leaning with his elbow on the mantelpiece. . . . . Much care and suffering were expressed in his face, which was Lithuanian rather than Polish. The general impression produced by his appearance, especially by his head with abundant grey hair and weary look, was experience of unhappiness, familiarity with mental distress, trouble amounting almost to madness—the very embodiment of the fate of Poland. Something seemed to restrain, to pre-occupy, to distract Mickiewicz. This was his extraordinary mysticism, in which he was now further and further advancing. I went to him, and he began to interrogate me about Russia. His intercourse with the country had been interrupted. He knew but little of the literary movement since the time of Poushkin; he had stopped at the year when he left Russia. In spite of his fundamental idea of the fraternal union of all the Slavonic peoples—an idea which he was one of the first to develop—there remained in him something of a feeling unfriendly to Russia. And how could it well be otherwise after all the cruelties inflicted by the Czar and his satraps? Besides, we were talking at the time when the terrorism of Nicholas was at its height. Ch.† told me that at

* *Poliarnaïa Zviezda* (in Russian), p. 77. London. 1859.

† *Sic* in original: the name of a friend which Herzen does not give at full length.

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the dinner he would propose a toast to the memory of the 24th of February, 1848, and that Mickiewicz would give a reply, in which he would enunciate the programme of the future journal. He wished me, as a Russian, to answer Mickiewicz. Not being in the habit of speaking publicly, and especially since I had made no preparation, I declined his request, but promised to propose a toast to the health of Mickiewicz, and to add a few words to it, stating the circumstances under which I had first drunk it. At Moscow, at a public dinner given to Granovski* in 1843, one of the guests raised his glass with the words: 'To the health of the great Slavonic poet who is now absent.' There was no need of mentioning the name, which not a person dared to pronounce. All rose, raised their glasses, and standing drank in silence to the health of the exile. Ch. was satisfied. Having arranged our extempore speeches in such a manner, we sat down to dinner. At the close Ch. proposed his toast; Mickiewicz thereupon rose and began to speak. His discourse was elaborate, clever, and extremely adroit—*e.g.*, Barbès and Louis Napoleon might openly applaud it. I began to feel disgusted at it. The more he developed his ideas the more I felt something oppressive, and waited just for one word, one name, so that there might be no doubt. It was not slow in making its appearance.

"Mickiewicz at length proceeded to say that democracy is now taking a new position, at the head of which is France, that she will again rouse herself to the rescue of all oppressed peoples under those eagles and those flags, at the sight of which all Emperors and Governments had trembled, and that they will be again led forward by one of the members of that dynasty crowned by the people, which has been appointed as it were, by Providence itself, to carry on the revolution in the regular path of authority and victory. When he had finished, with the exception of slight applause from his adherents, there was a general silence. Ch. perfectly remarked the mistake of Mickiewicz, and, wishing to remove the effects of the speech as soon as possible, came up with a bottle and, pouring out a glass, whispered to me, 'What are you going to do?' 'I will not say a word after that speech.' 'I entreat you to say something.' 'Not on any consideration.' The pause continued: some fixed their eyes on their plates, others continually looked at their glasses, and others maintained private conversations with their neighbours. Mickiewicz changed countenance and wished to say something, but a loud '*Je demande la parole*' was heard, and put an end to the disagreeable state of affairs. All turned to the man who rose. A little old man of seventy years of age,

* A celebrated Professor of History at the University, now dead.

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entirely grey, with a strikingly energetic expression, stood with a glass in his trembling hand; in his large black eyes and troubled countenance, anger and displeasure were visible. It was Ramon de la Sagra. 'To the twenty-fourth of February,' he said; 'that was the toast which our host proposed. Yes, to the twenty-fourth of February, and to the destruction of every kind of despotism, whether it be called regal or imperial, Bourbon or Bonaparte. I do not share the opinions of our friend Mickiewicz. He looks upon things as a poet, and may be right from his own point of view; but I cannot allow his words to pass without a protest in such a meeting as this.' And he continued in the same strain with all the passion of a Spaniard, and the authority of his seventy years.

"When he had finished, twenty hands, my own among the number, were stretched out to him with their glasses. Mickiewicz wished to justify himself, and said some words by way of explanation, but they were not successful. De la Sagra would not give in. Finally all rose from the table, and Mickiewicz went out."

It was not till 1848 that Mickiewicz entirely freed himself from Towianski. He remained in poverty and neglect till 1852, when he had the modest post of Librarian at the Arsenal assigned to him. His Slavonic professorship was afterwards filled by Alexander Chodzko, a veteran, still living, his friend of old days, who has done some good work for Slavonic literature, by his translation into French of the songs of the Ukraine. Moreover, his "Grammar of Palæoslavonic" is not without its merits. He is also a considerable Oriental scholar. Since his retirement the post has been admirably filled by M. Louis Leger, an indefatigable Slavist, to whom we are indebted for some valuable works, among others a French translation of the "Chronicle of Nestor." It is difficult to repress a smile when one sees the title of the last production of the great Polish poet. Following the traditions of his countrymen, Kochanowski, Sarbiewski, and others, in using Latin, he addressed an ode in that language to Napoleon III. on the taking of Bomarsund. In 1855 Mickiewicz was sent by the French Government to Constantinople, with a view to raise a Polish legion in the pay of Turkey, to serve against the Russians. Among the interesting documents published in the literary supplement to the journal *Kraj*, to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of his death, is the last letter sent by the poet from Constantinople, addressed to his daughter. He was soon afterwards attacked by cholera, probably caused by the neglect of all sanitary arrangements prevalent among the Turks, and died on the 26th of November. His remains, according to his last wishes, were brought back to Paris, and laid

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in the Cemetery of Montmorency beside his wife. Such was the end of the greatest Polish poet, and we may add the greatest poet of the Slavonic race, with the exception of Poushkin. He was not destined to revisit his beloved Lithuania, nor to see the places of which he had written with such tender regret.

We now propose to pass in review some other remarkable works of Mickiewicz, having already spoken of his two most celebrated pieces, which form the chief subjects of our article. If we take the "Romancero," as he styled his collection of ballads and miscellaneous songs, borrowing a convenient term from Spanish literature, which was afterwards employed by Heine, we shall find some exquisite lyrics. In his sweet lines on the Primrose (*Pierwiosnek*) he alludes pathetically to his first love, Marylka. Marylka was a certain Mary Wereszczaka, a beautiful coquette, with whom the poet fell in love in early youth, but who did not reciprocate his passion. He appears to have suffered great heart agonies from this affair, and could not hear her name mentioned at any time afterwards without emotion. Two ballads are devoted to the lake Switez, near Nowogrodek, and the fairy of the lake, Switezianka, who is a kind of Undine, like the Russian Rousalka. A charming little lyric is the "Nobleman and Young Girl" (*Panicz i Dziewczyna*), of which the first part was written by his friend Odyniec. It has been translated rather paraphrastically into French by an unknown author, perhaps Ostrowski himself, and will be found among the notes appended to his French translation.*

Quoi, si tard dans les bois
Bel ange!
Entends-tu le hautbois
Etrange?
Vois-tu le chasseur noir
Qui chasse?
C'est le sieur du manoir
Fais place!

"The Ambush" (*Czaty*) is a strange story of the Ukraine, in which we read how a nobleman, owing to a domestic plot, is slain by his own servant. We can see here the influence of the old English and Scottish songs which had been spread over the continent by Bürger and others. The ancient ballads of the Poles have been lost; but we can tell from their old writers that such existed, and many legends are imbedded in the chronicles of Gallus, Kadlubek, and Dlugosz, as can be easily gathered

* "Œuvres Poétiques Complètes de Adam Mickiewicz." Deuxième édition. Paris. 1845. Vol. ii. p. 409.

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from the poetical colouring of some of their pages, like the old northern Sagas in Paul the Deacon. Much of the romantic poetry of the Poles has been drawn from the Ukraine. It has given inspiration to the Marya of Malczewski and the "Tower of Kaniow" by Goszczynski. Some of the best lyrics of the Cossack Shevchenko were also inspired by this part of Russia and Poland, of which he was a native. "The Flight" (*Ucieczka*) is a striking ballad composed upon the same legend as furnished the subject of Bürger's "Lenore," but, in our opinion, far surpassing it. It is based upon a story current among many Indo-European peoples. The "Three Sons of Boudris" tells the story of three young Lithuanian soldiers, who go out on warlike expeditions, and each returns with a Polish wife. The father tells them in going that of the captives throughout the whole world none are so charming as the Polish women, merry as kittens, with faces whiter than milk, black eyebrows, and eyes shining like two stars. "Fifty years ago," he adds, "when I was a young man, I brought a wife from Poland." Altogether, these ballads of Mickiewicz contain some of the choicest flowers of his poetry. In the song of the Wajdelot, or Lithuanian bard, introduced in "Konrad Wallenrod," he thus speaks of the popular lay. "Oh song of the people, thou art the ark of alliance between ancient and modern times. To thee the people entrusts the armour of its chief, the web of its thought, the flower of its feelings. Sacred ark, never broken by violence if thine own people does not profane thee, thou dost guard the national shrine of memories, and, together with the wings and voice of the archangel, sometimes thou dost also wield the sword of the archangel."

Of the odes of Mickiewicz the two most beautiful are that addressed to Youth and the singular poem entitled "Faris," written on the enthusiast Wenceslaus Rzewuski, who passed his time among the Arabs in the desert and obtained the name of the Emir Tadj oul Fekher, or the Emir of the Laurel of Glory. What was the fate of this eccentric man is not known; he figured in the revolutionary war of 1830, when he fitted out a squadron of cavalry at his own expense, but disappeared afterwards. According to some he was found slain after the battle of Daszow; another and a pleasing tradition is that he escaped to the desert, where he spent the remainder of his days. The following extract may give some idea of this poem.* The gale of the desert is supposed to address the bold and reckless rider.

* It is taken from a collection of essays entitled "The Polish Exile," printed at Edinburgh in 1833. The name of the translator is not given. With a few corrections, it would be an excellent version.

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Where goest thou, madman? Where the heat
Shall parch thy breast, and parch thy tongue?
No kindly drop thy lip to greet,
No stream to glad thee with its song;
No evening dew shall fall to thee
The hot wind drinks it too greedily.
Vain was the voice of the pale cloud sighing,
Still on o'er the desert plain:
The cloud stood still on a bold peak lying,
And never rose again.
For when I thither turn'd my head,
It lingered in the horizon's shade,
And I traced in its colours the thoughts of the cloud,
As it redden'd with rage and grew yellow with hate,
Till it vividly sank like a corpse in a shroud,
Where the dark frowning rocks on its obsequies wait.
Dash on, my white-footed horse
Clouds, vultures, give way to my course!
I look'd around me, like the sun,
And saw that I was all alone.
Here Nature never yet awoke,
No mortal step her slumber broke.
The elements are sleeping here,
As beasts upon some desert isle
Have never learnt to flee in fear
From man's unknown alluring guile
Great Allah! I am not alone!
I'm not the first, the only one:
I see a troop before me stand—
Is it some merchant's caravan?
Or is it the Bedouin's robber band
That lurks in the traveller's van?
The horsemen are pallid, and terribly white
Are the coursers which stand all arrayed for the fight.
I approach, but they wake not
I speak, but they speak not.
Just God! they are corses all
And the wind-lifted sand was their pall.
On the skeleton steed sits the skeleton man,
Through their eye-balls and jaws as the idle sand ran,
It told the sad fate of the last caravan.
And still it whisper'd in mine ear
Stay, whither goest thou? Madman, where?
Lo where the sultry storms prepare!
Still on—still on—I come—I come—
Corpses and storms, make room.*

* We have occasionally allowed ourselves a trifling change to improve the rhythm.

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Our readers will, no doubt, agree with us that this is a romantic poem, full of fiery energy. It rushes on like a hurricane. Nor, while speaking of the odes, must we forget the deeply pathetic lines addressed to a Polish mother.

The sonnets of the poet are all beautiful, but we must give the palm to the one written on the Niemen, his native river. He sends back a greeting with all the longings of an exile and the agony of despair. We have already alluded to the sonnets written in the Crimea. Those entitled "The Storm" and "The Grave of Mary Potocka" must be especially pointed out. It will perhaps be remembered that the same subject has formed the groundwork of one of the sweetest of Poushkin's poems. Indeed Bakhchisarai, with its mosques and gardens, and the beautiful surrounding scenery, might well evoke the enthusiasm of the poet.

Of the remaining works of Mickiewicz two are especially worthy of notice. The first is "The Ancestors" (*Dziady*) called by Mickiewicz a mystery. In this poem the custom is described of celebrating the deceased ancestors of the family on a certain day of the year, a practice once common to many Slavonic countries and still kept up among the Montenegrins. It is a strange weird poem, like so much that Mickiewicz has produced. Three lines in the latter part of this work must find their way to every Slavonic heart—

> Ah! how I grieve for thee, poor Slav!
> Unhappy people, I grieve over thy fate;
> Thou knowest only one heroism—slavery! *

The other poem is the beautiful tale of Grazyna. This describes an episode of the wars between the Teutonic knights and their adversaries. Throughout his writings Mickiewicz, as was natural, enters the ranks of his countrymen against their Teutonic oppressors. To do this he is obliged to evoke a somewhat shadowy past. Lithuanian history is at best but scanty, and its civilization has always been exotic. There are no historical documents whatsoever in the Lithuanian language; in the old days of the principality the laws were in White Russian, and the influence of the Polish aristocracy, who had perhaps never made any deep impression on the Lithuanian nationality, has been much weakened by Russian immigrants.

In the story of "Grazyna," the heroine, a Lithuanian princess goes into battle disguised in armour without the knowledge of

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* Ach! zal mi ciebie biedny slawianinie
Biedny narodzie! zal mi twojej doli;
Jeden znasz tylko heroizm—niewoli!

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her husband. When he is on the point of being slain by one of the German knights, she rescues him. She herself is, however, brought back to the castle mortally wounded. Preparations are made for burning the remains, and at the same time the captive Grand Master is brought in on horseback to be consumed to ashes while yet alive, together with the body. He is accordingly bound with three cords to a tree. Such was the terrible custom of the Lithuanians, and Mickiewicz, in his notes, quotes a passage from the chronicler, Stryikowski, who died towards the close of the sixteenth century, to tell how Gerard Rudda, the *starosta* of Samland, was burnt alive on horseback, clad in armour in 1315. The custom of burning the dead prevailed among the Lithuanians till the introduction of Christianity. That it was a usage among the ancient Slavs we know from Ibn Fozlan, the Arabian traveller.

To return, however, to "Grazyna." When Litawor, her husband, discovers that the mysterious stranger is his own wife, he is unable to survive her, and leaps into the flames. "Grazyna" was an early work of the poet; it is said to have inspired the brave Emilia Plater, who was the heroine of the Revolution of 1830, and after having fought in the ranks of the insurgents, found a grave in the forests of Lithuania. She was only twenty-six years of age. To her memory Mickiewicz has consecrated a pathetic poem, entitled "The Death of the Colonel." Alas! it is not every Joan of Arc who has the noble task of freeing her country, even if it be followed by imprisonment and death. *Sed magna voluisse magnum.*

Two more poems of Mickiewicz remain to be mentioned. These are "The Book of the Polish Nation," and "The Book of the Polish Pilgrims;" but they are hardly likely to interest the foreign reader so much as the pieces to which we draw attention. They are strange, wild productions, written in a kind of Biblical phraseology, and are said to have given a hint to the "Paroles d'un Croyant" by Lamennais.

We hope to have given sufficient specimens of Mickiewicz to draw the attention of English readers, even if they cannot share in the enthusiasm felt for him by his own countrymen. This is no doubt partly due to a thousand charms of association, which cannot be conjured up by the casual reader, just as some song will have a weird and fanciful power from connections of time, place, and person. We are all, as the poet told us, bound by an electric chain. Miss Biggs has performed a real service in bringing before the English reader two of the most striking pieces by Mickiewicz. He has hardly met with any previous translators among us. Last year, in a sketch contributed to the Polish *Kraj*, we were at some pains to track those

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who had published versions of the poet, and they were indeed but scanty. Dr. Bowring, afterwards Sir John, in his "Specimens of the Polish Poets" (1827), has fortunately given no extracts from our author, although on page 43 he speaks of a volume of popular ballads by Mickiewicz having recently been published. We use the expression *fortunately*, because nothing can be conceived more tame and spiritless than his versions. No poet, with him, has any peculiar and individual colour. The treatment is uniform, and one is always suspecting Bowring of translating through a German medium. There are some ludicrous examples of this in his "Cheskian Anthology," which we have noticed elsewhere, and he has been shown to have used German versions for his Serbian and Hungarian translations. We have already alluded to Cattley's neglected version, decidedly not without merit, and the translation of "Faris." In a previous number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW we gave a translation of the beautiful lyric on the Wilia in "Konrad Wallenrod." In the "Poets and Poetry of Poland," published at Chicago in 1881, are to be found a few translations from Mickiewicz by a countryman, Paul Sobolewski, the most important being the "Primrose," "The Ode to Youth," "The Father's Return," and some extracts from "Faris."

Perhaps here and there an English reader, sated with the wealth furnished by the noble and far-spread English language, may feel a curiosity to turn aside and study the writings of a man of genius of a neglected and long-suffering country. He will assuredly find much to reward him. The prospect of the Poles does not seem to improve. One of the last events we have heard is their expulsion from Eastern Prussia by one of the most despotic acts in the history of any country. It seems hardly possible to believe, as we read it, that we are in the nineteenth century. But we live in times of coarse cynicism, such as have been aptly described by Emerson:

> 'Tis the day of the chattel,
> Web to weave and corn to grind;
> Things are in the saddle,
> And ride mankind!

Some of these later misdeeds have provoked a just indignation, well expressed in the poem of M. Buszczynski, which has appeared this year, entitled "Duch Swiatla" ("The Spirit of Light"), and contains many striking verses. We therefore welcome in the heartiest manner all publications that can awaken sympathy for the Poles, and among the number a high place will assuredly be awarded to the labours of Miss Biggs. Good will be done if atten-

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tion be called but for a moment again to that sad figure in the midst of the materialistic orgies of Europe.

Ripe the fruit of many a tear,
And the goal of woes is near;
The amazed foe hears thy sighs,
As thou sittest in the gloom;
But God calls thee from the tomb,
Lazarus, arise! *

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* Dojrzewa owoc łez,
Już bliski bolów kres,
Jęków i łkań
Zdziwiony słucha wrog,
Z nad grobu woła Bog.
Lazarzu wstań!
"Poezje Teofila Lenartowicza." Posen. 1863. Vol. i. p. 18.

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INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[*Under the above title a limited portion of* THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW *is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.*]

I.—THE FUNCTIONS OF MONEY—BIMETALLISM.

THERE are many apparent indications that the "Battle of the Standards" is about to be renewed. Indeed, the conflict has already begun; and it is obvious that much confusion surrounds the questions involved in what is known as Bimetallism.

All this haziness of view, and the want of definite conclusions upon which there is any agreement, appears to me to arise in large measure, if not altogether, from a prevalent fallacy, the product of metaphorical expressions about money, such as "tool of exchange," "medium of exchange," "oil of the commercial machinery," and other phrases of like character. From these has grown the totally erroneous belief that money is only some sort of artificial apparatus invented for the purpose of conducting business; and, by a strange kind of metonymy, the money of account—the terms in which accounts of value measured by a certain standard are kept—has become confused with and substituted for the articles of merchandise, only quantities of which the terms state.

Writers on political economy, from Mill down, constantly insist that gold and silver are commodities like any other articles of exchange, and that honest money must be made of gold or silver; that we must have a metallic currency of full value undebased. They then proceed to treat money as not property at all, only machinery for exchanging other things, the intervention of which obscures the understanding of economical problems; which therefore must be worked out "without the intervention of money." It is as though we were asked to accept a system of astronomy, part of which requires us to believe that the earth moves round the sun, and part that the sun moves round the earth, and that the great attraction exercised by the sun may be dismissed from our calculations.

For, as matter of fact, gold and silver are only money because they are first commodities, and the attraction exercised by money

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is enormous, because it is the commodity in which profits have eventually to be collected before they are again distributed in further exchanges.

A writer of distinction affords an illustration of what I mean in a recent work.

In a note to the fourth chapter of his "Principles of Political Economy," wherein he treats of the definition of money, Professor Sidgwick refers to the four functions assigned to money by the late Mr. Jevons, as (1) a medium of exchange, (2) a measure of value, (3) a standard of value, and (4) a store of value; and, after conceding that the second and third functions naturally follow from the first, he proceeds to decline to attribute to money the fourth function, that of a store of value.

For years of my life it has been matter of surprise to me that the truth has not been recognized that it is only because of the possession by money of the fourth character (that of a store of value) that it can successfully exercise the functions of medium of exchange, measure of value, or standard of value. It is money because, by survival of the fittest for this purpose, it is the article of exchange in which can most easily be stored the profits on exchanges of merchandise for merchandise, of labour for goods, or of goods for labour. It is this fact, and this fact alone, which furnishes any satisfactory solution of the innumerable questions touching the currency, bimetallism, "fiat-money," and cognate perplexities arising out of the delusion that money is merely artificial machinery for exchange and distribution, and as such can be made out of paper.

So extraordinary has it appeared to me that the simple truth should have escaped the observation of men like Mill, Fawcett, Bonamy Price, and many other writers, both English and American, for whom I have the highest respect, that I have at times, in good faith, been disposed to think that the view which impressed itself so clearly upon my mind's eye must be erroneous for some reason which I did not discern. But I have enjoyed advantages for which I deserve no personal credit for studying financial and monetary questions in the administration of colonial governments, where acquaintance with financial arrangements formed part of my official duty. It has fallen to my lot to reside in more than one gold-mining country, where the speedy transformation of the metal from the mine into legal money at the neighbouring mint, by division into ascertained portions and the impression of a stamp, was a matter of common occurrence. In places such as these the operation of causes and the relations of economical phenomena are more plainly visible than they can be expected to be in larger communities with more complex social organization and elaborate machinery for

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effecting exchanges and distribution. In a model, one more readily sees and understands the relations of parts to each other. In a steam-engine, for instance, of crude and simple form, it is more easy than in a more complicated machine to comprehend the action of the original motive power which drives all the subordinate and auxiliary cranks and wheels which have been added by successive developments, and of which the action might well, by the uninstructed, be supposed to be due to independent causes.

The result of all my doubt, consideration, observation, and investigation has been to confirm me in the conviction that in omitting to recognize the fact that nothing has the character of true money which does not possess that of a store of value, and that the precious metals are money by survival of the fittest for this purpose, economists have neglected and even wilfully disregarded the key to many, if not most, of the vexed questions in economics.

A curious instance seems to me to be thus afforded of the confusion of thought which arises from the use of language, and sometimes even of mere words, of which the signification has, in some strange way, been changed by metonymy. If the mental process were conducted in ideas or symbols representing the things thought about, instead of in words representing abstractions, much error, I believe, might have been avoided. If, for instance, instead of saying I gave so many pounds sterling for this or that thing, the language habitually used had been, I gave so many ounces of gold (which was the fact), an accurate and not a misleading account of what took place would have been given; and Sir Robert Peel's celebrated question, What is a pound? would not have been propounded to the perplexity of so many respectable persons.

Much as I sympathize with Professor Max Müller's unwillingness to admit that there is not an essential difference in kind between the reason of man and the intelligence of the languageless brute, it has long appeared to me that this subject affords illustration which tells dead against the Professor in his contention with the Darwinians that language is necessary to rational thought. It is, in fact, the use of language which has led to the misconceptions of which I complain. Any intelligent dog exchanging a bit of gold for a bit of meat would have had a perfectly clear conception of the nature of the transaction, and not have confused himself by the misapplication or metonymical use of abstract economical terms.

Indeed, in the simpler forms of human society the confusion has been for a long time avoided. In the Spanish-American countries of Peru and Chili the coin known to Englishmen as

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"doubloons" were there termed simply "onzas," being in fact merely ounces of a certain or perhaps uncertain fineness, but certified by the official stamp to be gold and of a certain weight. There has been much discussion as to the possibility of establishing an international coinage which should circulate freely in all countries. Nothing would seem simpler if we only revert to the practice of the Spanish gold colonies, and if countries entering into agreements for the purpose should coin gold pieces of the same fineness and the same weight, which would then pass in any country for their ascertained value in the money of account of that country. The same piece would be known to be worth so many pounds and pence in England, and so many francs and centimes in France, so many dollars and cents in America.

I mention this proposal because I believe that if it were put into practice evidence would thus speedily be afforded of the truth of my contention. It is very imperfectly comprehended by most people that there is no such *thing* as a pound sterling, any more than there is such a thing as a pound avoirdupois. An article may be worth a pound as it may weigh a pound; pounds and shillings and pence are really mere names for account-keeping. With very little adaptation of circumstances to the change, it would be just as easy to keep general accounts of money in ounces, drams, and pennyweights, as it was in places I have known to keep accounts in pounds, shillings and pence, representing values quite different from those of the same names in sterling money and not having any coin corresponding with the names. The gold in the so-called sovereign, and not the coin as a sovereign, is what is worth the pound; it is the gold which is the article of exchange, and it is the being an article of exchange which will keep well as a store of value, which makes it useful as money—as a medium of exchange, as a measure of value.

I wish to say it without disrespect, but I say it with sorrow, on account of the additional obscurity with which the subject is thus surrounded, that the whole of Professor Sidgwick's chapter on the definition of money only augments the "serious and widespread inaccuracy of thought and language" of which he complains in respect of Mill and almost all other writers. But when the facts are thoroughly examined and analysed, separated from previous prejudice and misconception, it will be found that the inalienable character of a store of value is what must distinguish any article of exchange naturally selected for use as true money, and that the whole of the subsequent superstructure of bank-notes, bills of exchange, promissory notes, bank-cheques, transfer of credit, clearing-house sets-off of claims against payments, and all the other labyrinthine branches of the great edifice of credit, all

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rest, and can only securely rest, upon the fact that the money with which all pecuniary transactions finally deal is a substantive article of exchange and a store of value.

In the note to which I have referred, where Professor Sidgwick states his objections to Jevons's attribution to money of the functions of a store of value, there is afforded a curious example of how completely the true point in a question may be missed even while it is being examined. Mr. Sidgwick admits "that in a certain sense of course any medium of exchange must be also a store of value; that is, each man must keep somewhere so as to be obtainable without material delay a sufficient quantity of it for his ordinary purchases." I suppose, in fact, that he would not dispute that a man with twenty pieces of gold in his pocket called sovereigns or napoleons is in possession of a store of value with which he can procure anything he wants within the limits of twenty pounds or four hundred francs of money of account, as the case may be. If this be so with twenty pieces of gold, why not with twenty thousand or two hundred and twenty thousand? And as a matter of fact it is so. Yet in objection to Jevons's suggestion, that money serves the purpose of embodying value in a convenient form for conveyance to distant places, Mr. Sidgwick said that "so long as the journey or transmission is within the range of modern societies what a man carries is commonly some document transferring to a foreign banker a portion of his home banker's obligation to pay him money on demand, the foreign banker being ultimately repaid by having transferred to him some foreign merchant's debt that was purchased by the home banker. The whole transaction is obviously one of international exchange." Precisely so; and one which rests entirely upon credit; which credit, it is omitted to notice, rests entirely upon gold, the store of value, as a foundation. Every one of these transactions is based upon the assumption that the holder of the "document," if he chooses to claim it, shall be paid the value of the draft in gold or what he may be willing to take as an equivalent. This in no sense militates against the fact that gold is a store of value. International exchanges by means of bills of exchange arose from the value of gold as an article of exchange, especially useful because with that everything else could be bought, but peculiarly exposed to risk of loss and theft. The exchanges were, and are now, of precious metal in one place for a like quantity in another, subject to certain charges. One man with twenty thousand gold pieces in Constantinople (we will say) desired to transport the money to London, but feared to do so on account of the risk and cost of transport. Fortunately for him he finds another man who has twenty thousand gold pieces in London which he is willing to transfer

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to the first in exchange for the twenty thousand in Constantinople, after deducting a percentage for the accommodation thus afforded in removing risk of loss, and avoiding cost of transport. Bankers are now the go-betweens for such transactions, and they are covered by efflorescences growing out of the complications of modern life; but this is the doctrine of international exchanges reduced to its simplest form, and they are all based upon the fact of money being a store of value, and upon its transfer as such from place to place.

There has been a recent occurrence of much significance. Not long ago I saw it stated in English newspapers that immediately after the failure of the Munster Bank there was such fear of a run upon the Bank of Ireland that half a million of sovereigns, in round numbers about five tons' weight of gold, were sent from London to Ireland. Now, why were those five tons of the precious metal thus moved if they were not a store of value and the ultimate money of commerce always called for when credit is shaken or no longer exists? If the gold had not this character, or if credit were not at times liable to crumble away to the foundation upon which it is built, the documentary transfers of Professor Sidgwick would answer all the purpose in view, and claimants at the counter of the bank might have been furnished with papers giving them the right to put in their claims somewhere else, and at each bank the process might be repeated *ad infinitum*.

It is curious that it should be supposed that, if I have a thousand pieces of gold and do not hoard them, they, therefore, are not a store of value. They may cease to be a store of value to me personally if I spend them in riotous living; or I may part with them in exchange for bank shares or colonial debentures which I hope and believe will give me 5 per cent. interest; but wherever those pieces of gold go, into whosesoever hands they fall, they continue to be a store of value worth £3 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce. And from the peculiar and comparatively indestructible character of this commodity in constant circulation, and which possesses this value in exchange, some remarkable consequences flow which will be noticed further on.

But before I proceed to touch upon effects which are produced in many branches of economical inquiry, it is right that I should notice the fact that, as is indeed pointed out by Professor Sidgwick, many forms of what have been loosely termed "money" do perform the same functions as those of true money; and if one of these be that of a store of value, then those spurious forms of money—as, for instance, the so-called "fiat-money"—also become, for as much as they are worth, stores of value in proportion to the probability of the promises which they represent being kept.

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It is important to remember this, because in point of fact and in practice the whole merchantable exchangeable property of any community is the sum of all commodities of whatever kind other than money, plus the marketable value of all money and promises doing duty for money. And in proportion to the abundance of money, and the promises doing duty for money, will prices of all other commodities be raised.

It has always appeared to me that the advocates of "fiat-money" were logically following the principles inculcated by the school of Mill and his disciples, and that there is no sort of excuse for the contention that money should be composed of a precious metal or other article of inherent value, if it is not a store of value, and is only machinery for effecting exchanges, the intervention and the positive value of which may be disregarded in the consideration of economical problems.

The delusion which underlies disregard or dispute of the accuracy of this contention must be seductive, for Mr. Sidgwick flirts with it now. He says (p. 245) that "there is no reason why we should not have an international circulation of bank-notes and the progress of science and industry might so enlarge the supply of gold as to make it possible for a wise and stable Government to devise a paper currency of more durable value than gold coin would then be if still issued as at present."

It might be very possible to have an international circulation of bank-notes. This would only be an extension of the operation of credit based on national good faith—in fact, would not be much more than an expansion of the idea of international post-office money-orders.

But what can be meant by supposing that any progress of science or industry, by any enlargement of the supply of gold, could make it possible to devise "a paper currency of more durable value than gold would then be if still issued as at present?" There seems to be an imagination underlying this that money is somehow issued by the Government. There cannot be a greater misconception than to suppose so. No Government could issue any true money without buying it first, and every attempt to issue paper has only resulted in the circulation of national I O U's, which have fluctuated in value according to the prevalent degree of belief that they will some day be redeemed. It is true that Bank of England notes are regarded with almost as much confidence as if they really were composed of some precious substance in itself worth its nominal value; but this is only due to the exceptionally excellent character of the credit they enjoy. As long ago pointed out by Mr. Huskisson in his pamphlet on the well-known report of the Bullion Committee, "paper currency has obviously no intrinsic value." On

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the other hand, any private person can have legal tender money made for him to issue, if only he takes the gold to the Mint to be coined, thus obtaining the certificate of the Government that the pieces of the precious metal which he proposes to issue are of an ascertained fineness and weight. There is nothing more than this in what is done. In practice the operation of procuring the coinage of bullion when thought to be necessary has fallen exclusively into the control of the Bank of England. But there is no necessity that this should be so. As remarked by Mr. Jevons, "It is the theory of the English monetary law that every individual is entitled to take gold to the Mint and have it coined gratuitously."

Apart from this, what possible effect could under any circumstances be produced by any enlargement of the supply of gold that would render it feasible to establish a paper currency of more durable value than gold? Is it supposed that under any circumstances, or in the presence of any quantity, an ounce of gold of 18 carats fine will be worth more or less than another ounce of gold of exactly the same quality? If the quantity of gold should be quadrupled all over the world in the next few years the value of gold compared to itself cannot vary, and in fact the only possible effect, subject to local and temporary variations from local and temporary causes, would be that other commodities would be worth in exchange four times as much gold as they now are—in other words, that prices would be quadrupled. This, no doubt, would be called by some the depreciation of gold, but it never would be possible to show that gold had become worth less than £3 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce. Gold as the standard as well as the store of value would remain just where it has always been, but the values of everything else, subject to the variations I have mentioned, would be raised or "appreciated" relatively to gold.

Serious inaccuracy of thought and language is indeed widespread when it leads to such singular misconception of the state and meaning of facts as is shown in the chapter on the definition of money in Professor Sidgwick's work, to which I am referring. After conceding that coin and bank-notes form a specially important part of money-market money, he proceeds to say that "the greater part of such money must consist of what has been called 'money of account;' that is, bankers' liabilities or obligations to pay coin on demand, not embodied or represented otherwise than by rows of figures in their books."

Now, to begin with, the original and true meaning of the term "money of account," is not that of accounts of money, as apparently understood by Mr. Sidgwick, but the terms or names in which the accounts are kept. The accounts may be kept in

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dollars and cents, or francs and centimes, or pounds and shillings, and the coins in circulation may be of quite different denominations, as I have known to be actually the case in several colonies. A person would owe an account of so many dollars and cents and pay it in so many sovereigns and shillings. The money of account was dollars and cents, the terms in which the account was kept: the coin in circulation was British money.

But leaving this point and allowing bankers' liabilities or debts to their depositors to be called by any name agreed upon, what can be meant by saying that obligations to pay coin on demand are not embodied otherwise than by rows of figures in books—ink-marks on paper? It seems to be totally forgotten that the whole theory and practice of banking depends upon the belief that the coin which was deposited or which might have been claimed by the bank by virtue of the cheques or notes deposited will be repaid on demand, and that the rows of figures are only records of these transactions with a material substance. It is only the modern incrustation of credit upon money that enables the banks to use and lend those deposits of real money, in the faith that they will never all be asked for at one time or in quantity more than is sufficient to be met by the hard coin or Bank of England notes kept ready for the purpose.

Mr. Sidgwick takes objection to some views of Mr. Bagehot's, which he quotes, and of which he speaks as showing that "Bagehot clearly regards those bankers' deposits as immediately disposable and ready cash;" and he proceeds, as he thinks, to dispose of the error. But, as a matter of fact, unless, and except in so far as, our system of banking is fraudulent or unsound, Mr. Bagehot is perfectly right; and subject to any reductions by counter-claims or sets-off, the owners of those deposits, on giving due notice to the bank of their desire to be paid, should be able to collect in gold, or orders entitling them to gold, the sums of money which are stated by Mr. Bagehot to appear in the bank accounts as deposits available for loan funds.

There would seem to be a strange fascination pertaining to the fallacy that money can be constituted of something not merchandise, and the glamour surrounding this hallucination induces the impression that money is only a "medium," "machinery," a "tool," or something else of that sort, instead of its being, as it is in fact, the variety of commodities which will keep best, and best admits of the saving or storage of value. Scarcely any writer is able to free himself from the spell, and it has carried one, at least, so far as the belief that "credit"—that is, promises to be fulfilled in the future—is the only storage that we have of any capital worth speaking of.

It is necessary firmly to apprehend the relation of credit to

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true money. Let us suppose the case of a manager of a gold-mine who wishes to transport £100,000 from Australia to England. He could do it in gold, which is a product of the country and of his business, and which could be coined for him in Sydney or Melbourne, but the process would be troublesome and expensive, besides being otherwise not so convenient a mode of doing what he desires to accomplish. Instead, he gets bills of exchange from some bank, drawn upon London, for £100,000; transferring to the bank his money in Australia. Here comes in the first operation of credit. He has paid the bank in gold, and trusts to the promise of the bank that he will be paid a like amount of gold in London. But it is of the essence of the transaction that he should be able to claim about a ton of gold if he should choose to demand its delivery from the bank upon which the bills are drawn. The ton of gold is in the bank vaults or in the vaults of the Bank of England; but he has the right to it. Having this right, and this being acknowledged, he does not care to ask for the gold, but leaves it where it is, and opens an account with the bank, £100,000 being lodged to his credit. Now come in endless credits and transfers of the right to claim that gold or some portion of it; but if at any time it should be doubted that the gold was really there to meet the claims which were thus interchanged and counterchanged, the credit would collapse and cease to exist. Credit, as of course the origin of the word shows, implies faith or belief; and the whole of the innumerable transactions which might take place with that £100,000, or fractions of it, would be founded on belief in the fact that the ton of gold originally procured by exchange for the ton of gold in Australia would eventually be forthcoming to satisfy the rightful owners of the claim to it. That ton of gold was the true money which was being dealt with all the time. The right to some of it may have been again exchanged for a right to some in America. Transfers of claims may have been made backwards and forwards by bills of exchange between half the cities of Europe; but that ton of gold as a store of value has been the basis of all the transactions, and without its existence they could have had no honest foundation. All the elaborate and complicated operations of credit which I have imagined are nothing but a superstructure upon that ton of gold as exchangeable merchandise, worth £3 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce, and a store of value accordingly.

I am not unmindful of the fact that practically innumerable exchanges take place of goods against goods, or merchandise against services, without the intervention of money at all. But these processes are in effect merely barter facilitated by the modern machinery of commerce for setting off one liability

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against another, which is accomplished by the use of money of account as a measure of value having gold or silver as its standard. But any balance or difference on two accounts is legally payable in the commodity selected for use as money in the country, and cannot otherwise honestly be paid.

Take as illustration the case of some country village where the country doctor and the village blacksmith who shoes the doctor's horses have accounts against each other for services rendered. The blacksmith owes the doctor £20 for professional services. The doctor is indebted to the blacksmith for work charged in his books, at certain rates, and amounting in the whole to £21. The liabilities are set one against the other, and only £1 in money remains to be paid to the blacksmith. This does not do away with the fact that if the doctor had had no account against him the blacksmith would have been entitled to receive £21 in gold, and that the £1 which he does receive is the store of the value which he has saved in the dealings between the doctor and himself.

But we can carry this imaginary transaction a step further. The doctor has an account at the village bank, and instead of giving the blacksmith a sovereign (or pound's worth of gold) he gives him a cheque, which entitles him to ask for one at the bank. But the blacksmith has also an account at the bank, which unluckily for him happens to be a little overdrawn, and instead of asking for the sovereign he pays the cheque, which is an order for it, in to the credit of his account in diminution of his indebtedness, and the pound's worth of gold which he would otherwise have received remains in the banker's till as a store of value to meet other calls.

All mercantile transactions and operations of credit, so far as they are honest, are only varieties of those which I have roughly given. But if they are analysed it will be seen that they are all based upon the existence of gold as an article of exchange. If twenty-one sovereigns had been drawn from the bank by the doctor and paid to the blacksmith, who should then have paid back twenty to the bank to the doctor's account and one to his own, the ultimate result of the transactions would have been exactly the same as they were without the moving of one coin.

It is, however, the extent to which processes such as these are used which disguises the truth that it is in gold as money that the residuum of value in all these ephemeral exchanges and services must be looked for, and will be found stored if anywhere.

It is out of failure to perceive this, and out of hankering after the notion that money itself as well as credit is somehow artificial machinery which can be made out of paper, like cheques, that all

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the confusion has arisen which surrounds "the battle of the standards" and the curious efforts of the bimetallists to set up both gold and silver in the same place as money, and, consequently, as measures of value.

As stores of value, both certainly may be used with a certain amount of inconvenience, just as a man may exchange his property in money for property in copper or in wine for a time with the expectation of shortly again exchanging for money at a profit. But the function of a standard of value cannot be discharged at the same time by two different articles of value varying from time to time in value relatively to each other. The true doctrine has long been recognized in England, where we know that silver is only used as token money for limited amounts in coin.

But some years ago there was great discussion in the newspapers caused by the depreciation of silver relatively to gold, after the great discoveries in Nevada, and bewilderment seemed to be produced by the consequent effect upon the exchanges between India and England. Many seemed to find it impossible to comprehend why a silver rupee which had been worth as nearly as possible a silver florin should have fallen to the value of one shilling and eightpence or one shilling and sevenpence. They did not remember or apprehend that the florin is only the token or representative of the tenth part of a *gold* pound in a country where gold is money, it never having been, nor intended to be, worth in itself so much; and that the silver rupee, on the other hand, is the silver unit and measure of value in a country where silver is money; where, in other words, silver has been selected for use as the standard of exchange, the store of value, and consequently the medium of exchange. So long as the relative value of silver and gold remained at about one to fifteen no inconvenience was experienced in the exchanges—I mean in the drafts and remittances—between England and India. And even when silver became depreciated, no results from the recent immense discoveries of silver could be produced in countries where silver is money, except those which had been observed in countries where gold is money to have been produced by the gold discoveries of the previous five-and-twenty years—namely, a general rise of prices or comparative values in everything but money. A rupee will always be worth a rupee. No matter what quantity of silver there may be in the world or in the market, an ounce of pure silver must always be worth an ounce of pure silver. But the rupee was no longer worth two shillings, because, as I have said, the shilling is only a token coin, in fact representing one-twentieth part of a gold unit, and the quantity of silver in ten rupees is no longer equal in value

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to $\frac{480}{1869}$ of an ounce of standard gold, which is the pound. Bankers in Calcutta, therefore, would not undertake to pay 100 gold pounds in England for the same number of silver rupees received in India as would have sufficed a short time before.

It seems to me that the matter is readily comprehensible when we recognize the difference between money of account and money of commerce, which latter is always an article of merchandise and store of value. The difficulty in the case under notice arose from the fact that it is not the same article of merchandise in England as it is in India, and that bank exchanges become a matter of barter of silver in one place for gold in another place, instead of merely an undertaking to pay gold in one place for so much more or less gold in another place, as in dealings between countries with the gold standard. And there is a point in respect of "bimetallism" which should be noted, though it is commonly overlooked. The arguments in favour of the use of silver in addition to gold at a certain ratio to be fixed arbitrarily by law, are all based upon the assumption that more money is needed as a "circulating medium" or "oil for commercial machinery." But this view is not in accordance with physical facts. The difficulties which have been experienced touching bank exchanges between England and India and other silver-using countries, have not in the least been caused by insufficiency of money either in England or in India. Prices generally in India maintain their former ratio as between silver and the necessaries of life; and in Great Britain there probably has been no time when money has been more abundant, when accumulations have been larger, and loans more easily obtained by foreign and colonial governments.

Moreover, the wonderful extension of our banking system has had the effect of very largely substituting barter for cash payments, and thus diminishing the use of the store of value as a medium of exchange. At the clearing-house claims for the value of goods are set off against counter-claims for the value of other goods, measured by a gold standard, in a manner which in principle and effect is not distinguishable from barter; only balances having to be paid in the legal tender commodity. And what is true in the transactions of members of the same community, is found also to exist in the dealings between communities using the same commodity as money. Difficulty only arises in the dealings between those which do not use the same commodity.

Further, if the amount of gold or silver were really reduced to half the present amounts in Great Britain and in India, the effect could only be to reduce prices of other articles by one-half so soon as commercial relations and the natural laws governing

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them should have time to come into free play. But no lack of "oil to the machinery" of exchanges could really be caused. Persons with fixed incomes, and salaried officials whose ounces of gold or silver were not reduced in number, would get twice as much of everything else for their money as they got before; but the price of labour and the value of commodities would rapidly adjust themselves to the new ratio, and soon there would be no more friction anywhere than there is now. In such a case the persons with fixed incomes would benefit just for the same reason that undoubtedly they suffered when prices rose at first after the great gold discoveries, and before increased production of consumable goods and increased population had somewhat restored the old levels.

All the apparent confusion on these points is caused by the erroneous inference from misleading metaphorical language that money is only some sort of machinery or "tool" which has been invented for the conduct of mercantile business, and as it were lies outside of the whole mass of merchandise exchanged in the world's transactions; whereas it is always part of the mass, and has been chosen from it for use by natural selection. The efforts of mankind have been ceaseless to devise some such machinery and to place it outside of the body of exchangeable commodities, apparently in the hope that they may thus increase the amount of their wealth. The struggle is as old as the leathern money of the Carthaginians. It may be seen in Law's attempt to coin land into money. Adam Smith's theories are by no means free from it. And we have had a recent example in the legal tender paper currency of the United States; the "fiat-money" party there even yet clinging to the fond delusion. But all these endeavours have been as futile as any would be to place the centre of gravity outside of a mass of matter. No ingenuity can convert credit into capital, or transmute trust that you will be paid into the payment itself. Capital and credit may be compared to a horse and a velocipede. Both of these are means of locomotion; but the horse carries the man—it is the motive power of the man which drives the bicycle. So gold as capital carries on commerce, but it is commerce which keeps credit moving; and if commerce is arrested, credit falls.

When once, however, the mind grasps the idea that money is a substantive exchangeable article of commerce into which, as the most durable, savings upon other exchanges naturally fall for preservation, and when we remember that gold and promises to pay gold, so far as they are trustworthy, are practically indestructible, it will be seen that money, however it may pass from hand to hand and serve a purpose to each individual in passing, will yet, so far as the united community are concerned, remain a

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potential energy unconsumed; and when the matter is further analysed important consequences are perceived to follow.

As an illustration of my meaning, let us take the case of a passenger to England from Australia who carries in his pocket twenty sovereigns of Victorian gold coined in Melbourne, which circulate freely in England at the value of a pound. Now, surely it is indisputable that he thus possesses a store of value in exchangeable merchandise worth twenty pounds. On landing in England he pays these twenty sovereigns for his hotel bill; the hotel-keeper pays them to the baker for bread for the hotel; the baker pays them to his tailor for clothes for his family; the tailor with them satisfies his butcher's bill; the butcher in turn is enabled to buy more sheep to turn into mutton; the farmer with them purchases artificial manures; and so on through an endless variety of exchanges lasting for an indefinite number of years, during which the several and successive articles for which the gold has been exchanged have truly been consumed and become non-existent; but at every stage of the proceedings the gold still remains in the hands of its possessor, a store of value again exchangeable, a potential energy in "catallactics," unconsumed. There can be no pretence at any stage of these transactions that the exchange was not complete and final. There was no undertaking, express or implied, that the gold should be exchanged for anything else in the future. It was accepted always for its inherent value as a store that will not waste or decay. It seems to me that it is wholly impossible to arrive at any true understanding of what happens in trade or mercantile dealings—in other words, in exchanges, or what Whateley called "catallactics"—if we deliberately leave unnoticed this fact of the durability of money as compared with other articles of exchange.

Now, let us apply recognition of this fact in examining the effects of taxation. Taxation is nothing more than subscription for common or general public purposes, for which no one can reasonably deny that all should contribute more or less. But the usual idea and the common doctrine is that, at best, taxation is an evil, necessary and inevitable if you like, but still an evil, and causing the consumption of a large portion of the national wealth. As a matter of fact taxation does not cause and cannot cause the waste or undue consumption of a particle of food, of clothing, or of property of any kind, while according to the application of the money raised by taxation, many forms of industry may have been stimulated, and employment productive of maintenance may have been afforded to many who otherwise would not have obtained it at all, or have enjoyed it, advantages only in less degree. Taxation is gathered in money

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the indestructible property of the nation, and by its redistribution in the public expenditure the power of purchase is redistributed. The equity of the incidence of the contribution of the power of purchase for the time is the point of most importance in connection with taxation; but the sole effect of taxation is redistribution; the most onerous taxes cannot destroy an ounce of food, or a shred of clothing, or a stick of shelter, nor do they lessen the amount of exchangeable value in money belonging to the community; nor can they, unless under very exceptional circumstances, have any effect in diminishing production, and probably in no case can they diminish production as a whole. Although the intention of the two processes is very different, as well as their moral character, the effects of gambling for money and of the operation of taxation are not unlike. Imagine a hundred men sitting down to play roulette with ten pounds apiece, or £1,000 in all. At the end of the game the amount will be distributed in very unequal proportions, but it is still all there between the hundred men, and has lost none of its purchasing power. In the game it has been redistributed by chance: by taxation, or by the application of taxation, it may be diverted to useful and in some cases even to additionally productive purposes.

And, although it does not materially affect the point of my argument, it may be noticed that taxation as now adjusted in Great Britain, while it causes no diminution of the wealth of the nation as a whole, even as an affair of redistribution bears little or not at all upon the less wealthy classes of the people. I speak now of the revenue raised for national, not for municipal, purposes. The income-tax does not touch any one with an income below a certain amount, and the few customs duties which remain upon articles such as tea, tobacco, coffee, wines, and spirits, and the excise duty upon spirits, are taxes which are only voluntarily assumed by the persons who choose to use these articles, not one of which is really a necessary of life, and the consumption of all of which is studiously avoided on dietetic grounds by yearly increasing numbers of persons. By far the greater portion of the national revenue is raised from income-tax and customs duties and excise, and the great mass of the nation are practically exempt from any taxation compulsorily levied. The redistribution of what is collected, however, enures chiefly to the benefit of the numerous members of the various working classes whose labour is required in the execution of public works and services and the maintenance of the army and navy.

The view which I am bold enough to submit of the character and effect of taxation will, I have no doubt, seem startling to

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those who have been trained to regard money as if it were an intangible medium like luminiferous ether, through which exchanges are merely transmitted; and, if the schoolmen condescend to notice it at all, it will be regarded and treated as a resurrection of that awful mercantile system, dug up again by one of those objectionable "practical men who swarm with theories," according to Mr. Bonamy Price, and are foolish enough to think they may, perchance, know something of facts, even though these belong to a science of which they are not professors. But, notwithstanding this, I pluck up courage to say that my view appears to me to be the only one which will account for the state of things which we find existent in some new and growing communities.

I believe that very few people have given more than cursory attention to the financial phenomena exhibited in the Australasian group of colonies. It is known that taxation is exceedingly large in amount per head, compared to what it is in other countries, and that the extent of indebtedness for loans borrowed is very great—almost enormous. But people only shake their heads in a general way over the recklessness of these young communities, and believe that after all, somehow or other, the great natural wealth of Australia justifies these proceedings, even if they do appear a little risky.

But, as a matter of physical fact, except in the possession of a very great extent of rather poor land well adapted for grazing sheep, the land of the golden fleece—Australia—is not naturally a rich country. The results of agriculture per acre, on an average, are nothing like what are obtained in other places. Manufactures of any degree of importance she cannot be said to have; and those that exist depend mainly for their life upon the protection which they enjoy in their home markets. The profits on mining industries are uncertain, precarious, and in some cases altogether questionable. Even as regards gold-mining it may be doubted whether each ounce of gold, though that is added to the total possessions of the community as a whole, has not often cost the shareholders of the mine more than £3 17*s.* 10½*d.*

When the very heavy nominal amount of taxation, especially in some colonies, is considered, it appears inconceivable, almost "unthinkable," that it can represent exchangeable property or merchandise really destroyed as bread is eaten, or wine is drunk, or a cigar is burnt, or as clothes are worn out. No community, not the naturally richest, could stand such an annual holocaust of property; and, as a matter of fact, none has taken place. The whole affair has only been one of the redistribution of purchasing power, accompanied in some cases by inconvenience, no

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doubt, but in the end, and upon the whole, only quickening the circulation of money among the working classes, and in some respects adding vigour to the life of the body politic. I am not without support for the explanation which I present in the admissions made by Mr. Mill as regards the financial phenomena which were observed after the last great Continental war to follow upon what was regarded as wasteful and unproductive expenditure. An illustration of the sams kind has been since afforded by the great American Civil War, as well as the Franco-German war of 1870.

And so with respect to the enormous loans which have been borrowed and are still being obtained by the Australian group. It is an absolute delusion to suppose, according to Mill, that "the whole amount borrowed by the Government is destroyed." Nothing is destroyed but what is bought with the money for destruction. The money remains and changes hands. Part is exchanged in England for railway plant and material, and other material for other public works, or is expended in England for services connected with immigration or other purposes; but the greater part of that money is expended in the colonies for labour; the labourers in their turn exchange the money with the tradesmen for food, drink, clothes, and shelter, and the tradesmen into whose hands it falls pass it on likewise to others in the innumerable ramifications and endless chain of human transactions; but the bulk of the money still exists within the borders of the community as small fragments of an exchangeable quantity, continuing to possess—notwithstanding the first exchanges taking place for the original purpose of the loan—all the beneficial qualities acknowledged to appertain to the potential energy which we call capital. It is the possession of this capital—burdened, of course, with the necessity to pay annual interest for the use of it, which augments taxation; and subject, of course, to the liability of the community to repay it—which has rendered such important services to these young communities in fostering industry and stimulating production, over and above the first great assistance rendered, for instance, in establishing railways, and thus, by facilitating communication and transport, giving value to products which are valueless unless they can be taken to a market. Subject to the burden and liability which I have mentioned, these loans have produced the same effect that would have been produced if these additional millions had really been gold, produced, coined, and put into circulation in the colonies. They have, indeed, been a mine of wealth to thousands, and have not perished in the using. Some have gone back to England, some have been

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transmitted, in the operations of commerce, to other countries; but the major part remains in Australia, and all the vast amount still exists somewhere as money, as a store of value again exchangeable.

Some years ago I endeavoured, in an article published in the *Contemporary Review* (January, 1877), to draw attention to the effect which is produced in the operation of free-trade by the circumstance that money is an article of exchange, and from its peculiar character, the article in which all profits in exchanges or trade are finally embodied. I had reason to think that that article was regarded as only another heretical attack, by "one of the practical men swarming with theories," on the sacred principles of free-trade. It was not so. I would as soon speak disrespectfully of the law of gravitation as of the principles upon which free-trade is based. I believe free-trade to be grounded upon laws from the action of which certain causes will produce certain consequences; only it does not appear to me that these consequences must necessarily always be beneficial any more than are those of the action of the law of gravitation; and I see no scientific justification for the fetish worship of the idea of free-trade which is set up by the Cobden Club and other bodies and economists. We do not always find it expedient to allow great laws to have their effect without let or hindrance. Take the law of gravitation to which I have just referred. It keeps the bodies of the solar system in their orbits; it enables me to walk upon the surface of the earth; it retains my coffee-cup in its place when I put it on the table. But, nevertheless, our lives are full of acts of resistance to its operation. If there was no centrifugal force the solar system would fall into the sun. I do not jump out of the window as the readiest mode of finding my way to the ground; I put my coffee-cup quietly down instead of dropping it for the law of gravitation to act upon; and I do not let my carriage go downhill without applying the brake. In like manner, the great law of perfectly free and untrammelled trade will certainly produce ascertained effects, but it may be permitted to doubt whether it is always wise or beneficial to allow these to occur without counteraction—whether sometimes it may not be expedient to apply the brake.

David Hume, who was not supposed to be a man without mental power, long ago in his "Essay on Money," pointed attention to one great effect which might be expected as the result of the national policy which has been pursued for the last half-century. We have developed our manufactures and our foreign trade, to a certain extent at the expense of our agricultural industries, until the nation now largely depends upon foreign

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supplies for food, and the value for the use (or rent) of land is greatly diminished; and not only so, but until the check to the growth of trade and riches, of which Hume spoke, may be seen in operation. I do not know that all will regard it with him as "a happy concurrence of causes in human affairs" to which he refers when he says that

> where one nation has got the start of another in trade it is very difficult for the latter to regain the ground it has lost; because of the superior skill and industry of the former and the greater stocks of which its merchants are possessed, and which enable them to trade on so much smaller profits. But these advantages are compensated in some measure by the low price of labour in every nation which has not an extensive commerce and does not abound in gold and silver. Manufactures, therefore, gradually shift their places, leaving those countries which they have already enriched, and flying to others whither they are allured by the cheapness of provisions and labour till they have enriched these also and are again banished by the same causes.

It certainly appears that our commerce is now experiencing some of these effects. There can be no doubt that we are now meeting severe competition in all our principal productive industries, and in many it is as much as we can do to hold our own. Freedom of trade and the wealth we have gained from it does not seem to have given us greater command of any markets, not even of our own.

And it is noteworthy that the depression of trade—of which there has been so much complaint that a Royal Commission has been appointed to inquire into the causes—exists simultaneously with such abundance of money, or capital, that it is seeking investment everywhere. Never was there a time when money could be obtained in larger sums or at lower rates of interest by colonial governments or other borrowers of loans. The explanation, I believe, is to be found in the fact that all the national profits on the successful trade of the last forty years are embodied in money as the store of value, into which they have to be exchanged to permit of their being retained. In the flux and reflux of commerce Great Britain has become rich in money; and the abundance of this article of exchange has tended to raise the prices of all other articles of which the production has not been proportionately co-extensive with the increase in quantity of money.

The price of labour and the cost of material has risen, and some production, at least, does not take place under such favourable circumstances for the manufacturers as had formerly existed. Depression of trade is the result.

It may appear to be a paradox, and it is of course inconsistent

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with the injunctions of the orthodox school of economists, to say that excessive saving may be at times a cause of commercial distress, but it is the case nevertheless. The profane vulgar have a sort of impression that expenditure is good for trade, and the notion receives support from the common sense (in the logical signification of the common agreement from experience) of mankind. Money put into circulation stimulates exchanges and directly encourages production. But production has no object besides that of providing for consumption. If consumption is restricted or ceases, the same effect must, after a short time, be produced upon production. Systematic and widely extended economy in expenditure, and consequently of consumption, must, as a physical result, produce accumulations of large sums of money waiting for investment, and corresponding depression and inactivity in manufacturing industry. Where there is arrested development or diminished vitality in production, or where there has been temporary over-production, remunerative investment in manufactures for capital lying idle is not so easily found; and we find the state of things with which all nations are from time to time familiar, where money is abundant and men want employment. For this no intelligible explanation will be found until money is recognized as a store of value, and the prevalent fantastic imaginations on the subject of capital are seen for what they are worth. I do not know any well-meant doctrine of excellent moral character that has been productive of more error in scientific investigation than the teaching of the school of Mill and Fawcett that the consumption of luxuries diminishes the production of wealth. That the abstinence from luxuries on the part of the individual is morally praiseworthy, and will undoubtedly tend to the accumulation of wealth in the shape of money in his own pocket, is perfectly true; but when we look a little further and inquire what will be the effect if every one does the same thing, it will be seen that then there will be a great accumulation of the store of value, very little wealth to purchase with it, and great lack of employment for the workman who had been before engaged in production.

My contention for the function of money as a store of value is not without its bearing also upon the great land question; though the connection here may not be at the first glance so obvious. If the land were made ever so "free" from the law and custom which have grown up in respect of it as a matter of evolution, the case would be this, that "free land simply means free play for capitalism in regard to land, and certainly cannot benefit the mass of people in town or country who have neither the money to buy land when it is 'free,' nor to stock it and work it even if the preliminary difficulty of purchase were got

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over;" as has been so well pointed out by Mr. Hyndman in a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century Review* (November, 1885). The fact that capital, the store of value, consists of the article of exchange fixed upon by natural selection as that which is most durable, most portable, and most greedily sought after for these reasons, will always make the capitalist, the man who has the money, the master of the situation. Land is not movable, moreover, and money is. Men will not part with their exchangeable property in money either to buy land or to work it unless their tenure is certain and indefeasible. To part with money which may be taken to another country, and there exchanged for the right to use land under more favourable circumstances, or for public stock, or for railway shares, giving a far larger rate of interest, would be the height of folly. Why should a man with £100,000 in Californian or Australian gold give it now for the right to use land in Ireland, or, indeed, in England for that matter? He can get very much better and far safer investments for the value of his property elsewhere. Men like a fee-simple, because upon the whole it gives the greatest security of possession to him who cultivates the land, and any change of tenure which has a tendency to diminish absolute security for the future will discourage improvement and lessen the probability of the land being most profitably used, thereby inflicting loss upon the community as a whole. But it is essential to bear in mind that, except from this point of view, as regards the community as a whole the tenure of land is quite a secondary matter. Whatever the tenure of individuals may be, the public—that is, the commonwealth—always possesses the land. It cannot be moved: England will always belong to the English. But land is valueless to any one unless good use is made of it; and individuals will not exchange their portable property for the right to do so, unless their tenure is made secure.

A society is a very complex organization, and for the good of society the land must be worked to the best advantage by some portion of the body politic; but it matters comparatively little to the body what portion derives the immediate benefit—all will eventually share the advantage of cultivation. The produce of the land can only be diffused for consumption; none of it is itself physically capable of being saved or preserved as capital. The profits on cultivation, or for rent of land, can only be eventually saved by being exchanged into gold, or some form of money which represents gold. These are not consumed, but put into circulation as capital—that stream of power which drives the wheel of circulation, but is not the wheel itself.

We know as a fact that the wealthiest and most luxurious classes,

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even in England, and certainly in America and France, are not landholders. It may be seen even in new countries that land is often only an encumbrance to its possessor, itself encumbered by debt incurred on working it. It seems to me quite a delusion to suppose that the question of the immediate future is a land question The real crux is the unequal distribution of any property. But so long as there is any such thing as private property there can be no philosophical objection to a personal possession of the right to use a particular portion of land without molestation from others, and the derivative right to hire that right to others on terms settled by private contract. This right is what constitutes the possession, and if it is purchased by giving to the State, or to the individual, as the case may be, a certain amount of exchangeable property of imperishable character in the shape of gold, I do not think that the commonwealth has anything to complain of, seeing that in their corporate capacity the community retain both the land and the capital. The fact that money is an article of exchange which does not perish and is not lost to the community—unless it goes out of it in exchange for something it wants more than money, and which cannot otherwise be paid for—although systematically disregarded, leaves scarcely a question in political or social economy unaffected by it.

I probably have said enough for my purpose, which is only to ask that some examination may be given by those better qualified for the task than myself, to the remark of the late Mr. Jevons, that "it is worthy of inquiry whether money does not also serve a fourth distinct purpose"—that of a store of value. No one would regard him as a thoughtless man, or one who spoke without consideration. In a paper read before the Manchester Statistical Society on the 11th of November, 1874, he observed that

> in our subject of political economy it has been much too commonly assumed that Adam Smith founded the science, that Ricardo systematized, and that Mill finally expounded it in a nearly perfect form. An orthodox economical creed has thus been established, and all who call its truth in question are too likely to be treated as noxious heretics, or at the best as harmless crotcheteers. But in spite of all danger of being thus regarded, I maintain that it is only by going back and reconsidering the primary notions of the science that we can arrive at a true theory of economy, and be enabled to distinguish between the true and the false in current docrines.

With these observations I entirely coincide. I am not sufficiently important to be a noxious heretic; I probably shall be treated as a harmless crotcheteer; but, nevertheless, I contend that it is not only illogical but absolutely irrational, while resolutely insisting upon a basis of gold as a store of value for

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small exchanges, to treat all larger pecuniary transactions as if they were positively baseless. I believe that I have made no statements which cannot be shown to be true. Let others examine whether my inferences are justified.

A. MUSGRAVE.

II.—CHRISTIAN THOUGHT TESTED BY MODERN IDEAS.

1. *Die Selbstzersetzung des Christenthums und die Religion der Zukunft.* By EDUARD VON HARTMANN. Zweite Auflage. Berlin: Carl Duncker. 1874.
2. *Die Krisis des Christenthums in der Modernen Theologie.* By E. VON HARTMANN. Berlin: Carl Duncker. 1880.

THE titles of the treatises on Christianity by Eduard von Hartmann will, in our country, excite first surprise and then probably indignation in the minds of some, and lead many to throw them aside without serious examination. We do not, of course, speak of those who are more or less acquainted with the philosophical system of the author, his methods, and the position from which he views metaphysical and religious questions. The former class of readers may, however, be induced to consider the outlines of an essay on the crises of Christianity, or even of one on its natural dissolution, when they learn that the author of these treatises is not speaking about what will take place in the present year, or even the present century, but in two or three centuries hence.

In throwing the period of change into a future so distant, the distinguished author gains for himself, and may presume to win from his hearers, a spirit and temper, not of indifference, but of intellectual, historical, and philosophical calm. This is unquestionably his intention. No writer has handled controversial subjects more fairly than von Hartmann. He has, in a manner, made this a point of personal honour and self-consistency. In his recently collected miscellaneous essays, he has stated the principles on which polemics and literary criticism should be conducted, and in his writings one has the sense that he carries on his warfare under the consciousness of the laws which he has himself laid down, and with a scrupulous desire to be faithful to them. He is, indeed, a man of war; but his honour in war is

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quite as conspicuous as his ability to fight. After his first great work, "The Philosophy of the Unconscious," and his more recent contributions to the history and philosophy of religion, "The Religious Consciousness," and "The Religion of the Spirit," his fruitful literary activity may be described as polemical, but polemical in a sense that we are far too little accustomed to. Without entering on these numerous contributions to his main thesis to show what we mean, it will be sufficient to say that although they are polemical in character, they bear, quite as much as his larger and positive works, the marks of what he would not probably object to hear designated as synthetic criticism.

So much seems necessary, by way of introduction, to a writer who is known to many among us only by name, and chiefly, perhaps, as the leading representative of a school of German pessimism. We cannot stay to repel every damaging association connected with his name, but, were this the place, von Hartmann's philosophic pessimism could easily and truthfully be stripped of those features which have been vulgarly and ignorantly associated with this phase of his opinions. It may be, however, not altogether uninteresting to the general reader to see an extract from a communication of his own, on the more personal side of his life, and given by him as an indirect reply to the objections raised against the principles of philosophic pessimism, which he has endeavoured to establish, both from experience and from a metaphysical view of the world. It consists of a slight picture of his home in Berlin.

> The dear spouse, intelligent companion of my ideal aspirations, rules in my modest but friendly home—a dwelling which stands in pleasant surroundings, over against the botanical gardens of Berlin, uniting in itself the pleasures of a winter and summer house. At our feet plays, with the faithful four-footed companion, a beautiful blooming child, who just now experiments with the union of nouns and verbs, and has advanced to the Fichtean principle of Ich, but unites it as Fichte was in the habit of doing with the third person of the verb. My parents and those of my wife, as well as a select circle of friends, provide for spiritual converse and emotional delight, and a philosophical friend said lately, "If one wishes to see cheerful and peaceful faces, one must go to the pessimists."

We mention these facts not because we are anxious to defend or recommend his chief position in philosophy, or in the history of religion. This is not to be done, nor is the contrary to be done, by way of parenthesis. Nor do we mention them to ensure acceptance of his opinions in the essays under review, but merely to gain a fair and respectful hearing for these opinions. We do not, in fact, propose for the present to take up a position

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either of defence or attack in regard to von Hartmann's criticisms of Christianity, but rather to bring under the notice of all who may be interested, the opinions of one of the ablest modern writers, and one of the finest spirits on the great matter of the Christian religion. There are indications in our country that we do not anticipate the advance of religious thought too much in bringing the special topics treated of by von Hartmann before thoughtful religious men. There is, however, a "parochial" character about most of the discussions on religion among ourselves which may be entertaining, but cannot be called either historical or philosophical. Sooner or later we must come within the lines of an historical and philosophical treatment, and it is not amiss to be made aware of what has been going on elsewhere within these lines. It will then become matter for those who are competent to deal with these questions in the right method. The danger in England hitherto has been that we have been thrown into the very centre of a new movement in religion, without knowing its exact nature, and with but a poor equipment for action.*

Von Hartmann's earlier treatise, "Die Selbstzersetzung des Christenthums und die religion der Zukunft," was written in February, 1874, and by careless and cursory readers, who will not take the trouble to distinguish an author's position and aim, it might be set down as a sequel to Strauss' last work. No greater literary injustice could be done. Von Hartmann, in the preface to his "Philosophie des Unbewussten," says expressly, what is everywhere apparent in this smaller treatise, that "It is fitted to set in the light the author's opposition to the shallow negation of a Strauss, and to show that when he combats Christianity, he does this, not in order to combat religion, but to serve religion, and to bring again to order and render possible that which has become impossible through its representatives." And this may be no unnecessary work, as the historian of religion knows. Whatever Christians may think of von Hartmann's method and of its results, his intention cannot be made matter of dispute. He is a zealous reformer in religion. From his historical position, indeed, he cannot as a critic be, what Strauss and earlier critical workers were—merely negative. The day is past for any competent historian or informed philosopher to employ himself in "sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer,"

* Papers submitted at certain Free Church Synodical gatherings in Scotland, in which new departures in theology, so far as we can make out, in lines not unlike those criticised by von Hartmann, were proposed, are an instance of this. There may be much to commend these proposals, but they come upon a people wholly unprepared, and do not themselves depend on any definite principle.

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as Byron says of Gibbon. This, of course, gives us no assurance of the truth of von Hartmann's views, but it gives us sight of a better day for religious controversy.

Von Hartmann in each of the two essays addresses readers of a different class, easily distinguished by his countrymen, but not perhaps so easily kept apart by us, although the same classes may be found in our country, their existence, in truth, being the motive of this notice of von Hartmann. With us, however, they are as yet without names, because still without any distinctly formulated opinions. In his "Selbstzersetzung" von Hartmann says: "I observe expressly that it is by no means my intention in this place to carry on a polemic against the fundamental dogmas of Christianity. I turn here only to such readers as have the criticism of these behind them, in order to consult with them whether liberal Protestantism, as it maintains, is in a position to replace what is lost." In the preface to the "Krisis," written six years later than the previous work, he sums up the intention of the earlier essay still more exactly and fully:—

> The result of this investigation went to show that liberal Protestantism could no longer in any sense claim the right of standing within Christianity, but that in addition, with its shallow optimism and trivial Deism, it is as little able as the materialism of Strauss to offer to the religious desires a useful fundamental conception in the place of the one left—that, in a word, it is as irreligious as it is un-Christian. At the same time, in conclusion, I gave some slight indications as to how the circle of conception must, according to my own idea, be qualified, which should be able, in the place of the Christian, and, indeed, even better than it, to give satisfaction to the necessary feeling of a deepened and purified religious consciousness.

The "Krisis," on the other hand, follows a similar course of thought, with reference to what von Hartmann calls "speculative Protestantism." As representatives of the latter party he selects names known and respected wherever speculative religious thought is cultivated—Biedermann, Otto Pfleiderer, R. A. Lipsius. The treatment which these writers receive at the hands of von Hartmann reveals the honour in which their work and ability are held by him. He distinguishes them, and it may not be out of place in us to note the distinction as the mark of a small body of thinkers in our own country, "as finding the centre of their endeavours in the desire (away from and beyond the flat rationalism of vulgar Protestantism) for a deepening of the life in concatenated thought and religious sentiment, without at the same time falling into orthodox restoration or into the watery instability of a theological accommodation." The problem in the "Krisis," then, is to test the nature of these

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endeavours of the speculative Protestants in a manner similar to that pursued with the party called liberal Protestants.

The critic is concerned, on the one hand, with the position of these parties relative to Christianity, and, on the other, with their significance for the religious consciousness. That is to say, he seeks to find how far each can be taken as historically representative of Christianity, and in what relation they stand to the religion of the future.

There is, one can see at a glance, historical method and spirit in von Hartmann's criticisms, and also a serious effort to find a true philosophical basis for religion. And, indeed, of both, it may be said in passing, he has given detailed and ample evidence in an historical work, lately published, on "The Religious Consciousness," and in a still later, more constructive philosophical treatise, on "The Religion of the Spirit."

Von Hartman, is somewhat singular in his own country in this controversy, and he is singular enough in ours to excuse us bringing him within the observation of those who take an interest in religious, theological, or purely speculative thought.

He emphasizes the fact that the common opponent of Christianity is one who desires to know nothing of religion in general, and who views another who regards the question of religion to be of the highest human importance as an enthusiast or mystic. He is quite willing to be regarded as a religious mystic, and he cannot, as we may afterwards see, very well escape being so regarded—but in the true sense of the word. For there is an unmistakable strain of what is best in the best days of German mysticism, both in his religious and speculative works. "I fight the orthodox," he remarks, in fixing his own standpoint, "because they are Christian—that is, for us of the present, they are unprofitable." One might suppose that he had the writer of the letter to Titus in his mind, who identifies Christianity with what is fair and useful to mankind; but this is not the case. His combat with the orthodox arises from the central thought of his system. "I fight," he continues, "the radical opponents of Christianity, like Strauss, because they are irreligious; the mediating liberal Protestants, because they are not only irreligious, but would, in addition, still like to be Christian." This will appear to many religious parties in our country a position hardly tenable, for our classification of religious disputants is of orthodox and liberal, either of the mediatory or more deeply speculative kind, and broadly enemies of Christianity, and therefore of religion. On the ground of religion to declare war against all the hitherto recognized parties in religious strife is, for us at least, a somewhat novel attitude. What compels one to notice it as a phase of modern life is the fact that this attitude is maintained by a

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man of extraordinary speculative capacity, of most uncommon range of historical, philosophical, and scientific knowledge, of the deepest spiritual temperament, and moved by the noblest ideals ever presented to the mind of man. He is in some respects an enthusiast also, but of an unusual kind—viz., of the philosophic caste—who is strongly stirred by the irreligion of so-called religious and irreligious parties. If we cannot accept his conclusions, his criticisms, coming from the impulse they do, ought not to be without good effect. The majority of earnest men, of whatever school, or of no school, will probably respond to a general declaration of his positive contention, "that for any length of time secularized irreligiosity will not do, and that if the whole of modern culture is not to fall a prey to Ultramontanism (or perhaps worse), something new must come—not an impossible abstract religiosity, but a new concrete religion on a metaphysical basis, in accordance with reason, and at the same time profound." He would put the religion of which he here speaks on a deeper rational metaphysical basis, because he sees, with the evangelical party in theology, and with serious-minded philanthropic men everywhere, that the shallow irreligious secularization of the false Christianity of liberal Protestantism stands always much farther off from deep Christian religiosity than a philosophy of a pessimistic and pantheistic kind, which he holds to be concerned with genuine religiosity and ethics in its effort to ground both on metaphysics.

We are introduced by von Hartmann, in his first essay, to a criticism of existing phases of religion which is unusual both as regards its rigour and spirit. It is fundamental and thoroughgoing, but it is not destructive. It may, perhaps, be taken as one of the earliest contributions of its kind—a criticism from the side of religion, looked upon historically as an expression of the human spirit, and it deserves for this, as well as for other reasons, special attention. That such a writer should be feared and misrepresented by those who are ill-informed is to be expected; and he has to complain of this in his second essay. "The title of the first essay was sufficient," he says, "for most theologians to lead them to ascribe to me a diabolical pleasure in the overthrow and destruction of the Holiest, and to damn me as if I had first discerned the self-dissolution of Christianity, and wished to be first in seeking to set it in operation." We ought to try to avoid this mistake, at least, by keeping clearly before us the aim of the writer as a philosophical critic and historian of a certain phase of the life of man.

The underlying thought, both in the critical and the positive parts of von Hartmann's two essays, is that the present religion must harmonize with the modern spirit on its ethical and

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intellectual side. Here is the reason why the religious question is worked out by him with so much eagerness: "To win such a religion as may be in union with the modern Zeitgeist and the aims of modern culture, and may thereby be useful in the fulfilment of its problem—the ideal education of the people." This is not peculiar to von Hartmann. It is recognized by all cultivated religious men and by some of those whom he has to oppose in his essays. But it is not always so well expressed as it is by von Hartmann, and it seems to us that the idea is not thoroughly and consistently and intelligently worked out by others. Pfleiderer, in his popular essays, "Zur religiösen Verständigung," lays stress on this very point. He wishes to indicate, setting himself equally against the extremes of the right and left, "the possibility of the union of Christian truth with the right method of thinking, which is accustomed to be shortly described as the modern view of the world." It is, in fact, the effort which has been made from time to time through the whole history of religion and religious conceptions; the only peculiarity for us is that we stand in the thick of the modern attempts. What separates von Hartmann, however, from many who face the very same problem, is the manner in which he approaches it. The liberal Protestant party and the speculative party within Christianity attach themselves to the traditional religion, he says, and they do so from a feeling that historical continuity has pressed itself upon the modern consciousness as a good whose worth is not to be replaced, for whose preservation the greatest concessions permissible are not to appear too great. This he considers the centre of their position. This, any one may see, is in strong contrast to what we have described as guiding him in his criticisms and constructive positions. Critically he desires to show that liberal Protestantism has virtually abandoned while seeking to maintain its historical connection with Christianity; that speculative Protestantism has done the same thing, but retained more of the religious spirit in the passage between the old and the new. They both seek, von Hartmann would allow, to propitiate the "Zeitgeist," but it is at the cost of their central position described above; and, in reality, their attempted historical continuity is the measure, not only of their failure at a reconciliation of Christian thought with modern ideas, but the measure also of their departure from Christianity. In the positive part of his works he tries to base religion, so far as it is concerned with metaphysical conceptions, on those peculiar to the spirit of our time, rejecting the historic ideas connected with Christian thought. He would say, probably, with a modern poet and fellow-countryman of his own,

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Die Kirche krankt; wer schafft ihr Heil?
Da kamen die Herren Doktoren in Eil.

He also is found among the doctors, but his treatment he, no doubt, regards as radical, philosophical, with an eye on the future rather than on the past. His aim is high, and inspired, we must acknowledge, by an evident love for his kind and an intimate acquaintance with the deeper cravings of the soul of man.

"From whatever side we may view the fundamental ideas of Christianity and those of modern culture there stands forth everywhere the irreconcilable contradiction of both." From such a position we can hardly look for much regard to considerations of historical continuity. We have accordingly this alternative: the battle must necessarily end either in a victorious reaction of Christianity, or in a perfect overthrow of Christianity by the non-Christian modern culture—either in the binding of all national freeedom by the violent storming of Ultramontanism, or in the fall of Christianity, if not in name then in fact. Von Hartmann, in this picture of the result of what is called the Cultur-Kampf, has, one can see, dropped into the mistake cleverly described by Goethe in "Hanswurst's Hochzeit":

Es ist ein grosses, wichtiges Werk
Der ganzen Welt ein Augenmerk,
Dass Hanswurst seine Hochzeit hält
Und sich eine Hanswurstin zugesellt.

One is naturally disposed to consider the whole universe to be involved in some issues nearly concerning us or our country. "The final and deepest meaning of this battle is the decision of the question whether for the consciousness of the present race of men, 'Jenseits' or 'Diesseits,' the heavenly or the worldly, the eternal or earthly, is to have the preference—whether the religious or worldly, the Christian or culture-interest weighs most." This battle is therefore to him the last desperate encounter of the Christian idea before its departure from the stage of history, and against which modern culture must, as a matter of life and death, defend to the utmost of its powers its great acquisitions. There is here, we cannot but think, considerable exaggeration, which could only escape the pen of a writer of von Hartmann's reputation in the atmosphere of Prussia. He appears to have overemphasized the position of the friends of culture, and to have overdrawn the contention of the Christian party. He has here evidently taken the extremes of both sides as representative of the main bodies. But how, it will be asked, does the writer establish his chief position? It is not enough for his contention to convict liberal Protestants and speculative Protestants of upholding the remnants of a culture irreconcilable with the modern

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spirit; he must show that the opposition is likewise to be found in the primitive source of their religion. Accordingly he asks what, on nearer reckoning, is our capital sum as Christians, religiously speaking, since it is better, like the bankrupt—and some of us are bankrupt in religious matters—to make strict account of this? "The essence of Christianity," he replies, "exhausted in primitive Christianity and in the Middle Ages, is the absolute opposition of 'Diesseits' and 'Jenseits'—the transposing of the centre of interest in 'Jenseits,' and the prescription of 'Diesseits' as a snare of the devil." To the obvious objection that Christians have got beyond this, von Hartmann replies that their getting beyond it is a falsifying of Christianity, as the history of this very idea shows. "The manifest attempts at a restitution of esoteric primitive Christianity through Huss, Savonarola, &c., were wrecked on the increasing estrangement of the time to this Christian idea, until finally the Reformation demolished, through abolition of the religious orders, the empty building in which esoteric Christianity had dwelt longest and upheld only the exoteric world—Christianity which she continued energetically more and more to secularize."

Then in morals we encounter the same opposition. The absolute moral principle of Christianity is that of obedience to the Divine will expressed in the sacred writings. Christianity itself proceeds from a eudæmonistic pessimism, but it even deforms the pessimistic standpoint (which von Hartmann represents in modern times) by what he calls egoistic vitalization through a transcendent optimism, which supports itself on the belief in individual immortality and eternal blessedness, and in this way really introduces a refined egoism into its ethics, and is thus fundamentally at variance with modern ethics, which rests on the abnegation of self. If we take even the general scope of the moral teaching of Jesus we find that it was simply what he had received from the Talmudic culture of the time. His positive contribution was in making this esoteric tradition the property of the poorest and most necessitous. Now, this gospel was the prophetic declaration that the national Jewish kingdom of Jehovah was at hand—*i.e.*, an earthly theocracy on a new created earth—that is again the destruction of the present world and the last judgment. Some of the other features of Christ's teaching which have been criticized by Strauss and others with very great historical crudeness, are treated by von Hartmann as mere corollaries of this main position. For example, in view of the nearness of the new kingdom, it is natural for Jesus to regard domestic life for the short time that remains as not worth the while. For the same reason one occupies one's self as a matter of course exclusively with penitence and repentance, in order that

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in the judgment one may escape being eaten by fire, or being excluded from the kingdom of the new earth. This is for Jesus the specific content of His doctrine. At another point in the essay on "Selbstzersetzung" von Hartmann sums up still more fully the consequences of this central doctrine of Christ. The conclusions, von Hartmann says, which Jesus draws from his view of the immediate overthrow of the world are contempt of the State, of the administration of justice, of the family, of labour, of property—in short, of all worldly goods and the means of securing a continued maintenance of the order of the world. Some would refer to the teaching of John's gospel as giving us another picture of the moral instruction of the Christ; but von Hartmann replies that it is unhistorical to transport the later ethics of John, in which love is made the centre, into the doctrine of Jesus. The morality of Jesus, like that of his Jewish contemporaries, in its innermost nature rests on an egoistic motive, that is to say, in manifestly preferring the smaller evil and the greater advantage; and this motive is strengthened by the near approach of the reward and punishment in the world about to be overthrown. The love of God and one's neighbour is nothing else nor higher than the practical rule of reciprocity dictated by worldly wisdom. The object of this rapid analysis of the Christianity of Christ, as it is sometimes called at present, is to show that if we would have primitive Christianity it must be something different from that which we profess; and this would also be no advantage, because it is likewise irreconcilable with the modern spirit. Again, to reject the gospel of Christ—the near advent of the kingdom, as taught by Jesus—would be, in von Hartmann's opinion, to reach back to the standpoint of Judaism at the time of Jesus. But, since we do not care to go behind Christ to Judaism, there is really nothing remaining—the standpoint is a pure nothing—the Christianity of Christ becomes a white leaf, from which everything historical is obliterated. And then, the critic observes, there is plenty of room for so-called Christians, liberal and speculative and others, to sail modern ideas of culture under the Christian flag. This last expression, although a picture, may be taken as a fair summary of what he sets himself to make out against modern Christians.

How this sailing of modern ideas under the Christian flag is carried out we must allow von Hartmann himself to state, and we shall keep very strictly in our exposition to the exact words of the author.

Reference has been made to the fundamental contradiction between the absolute moral principle in Christianity and that of modern times. How does positive Protestantism deal with this? As is known, he says, logical Protestantism places man imme-

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diately in face of God and His revelation, and finally erects his autonomous moral consciousness as a measure of revelation. But that is, as any one may see, to substitute the moral autonomy of the conscience, which is a modern idea, for the heteronomy of the Divine will and revelation—a clear forsaking of Christian ground.

But Christian ground is left on every important point by the liberal Protestant. For example, it is well known to the historical literary student that there are contradictions in the New Testament writings, because we have in them a mirror of the development of Christian doctrine during the first hundred or one hundred and fifty years of the Christian era. There are contradictions also between these records and later developments. But these are overlooked. Protestantism opposed the teaching of Catholicism, which held that the resolutions of councils merely defined doctrine held from the beginning in the Church. In opposing Catholicism it reached out to early Christianity and carried back its own beliefs and read them into the early Church by distorting the early doctrine. Fundamental contradictions, however, were felt, and artificial sophisms were needed to make apparent reconciliations. The deception succeeded easily, because the fundamental principles were only formally held, but in truth deprived of their proper contents, and so one imagined one's self to be Christian. Luther himself has no claim, strictly speaking, to be Christian. He has built on Paul's conception, thinking it to be original Christianity, while it has nothing to do with the teaching of Jesus, holding, as it does, to a deliverance through Christ's death, by which satisfaction was made to the righteousness of the law before God.

Von Hartmann goes further, and charges modern Christians of the liberal Protestant school with making Jesus say what he never meant to say. They hold an historical conception of him which is mere pretence of historical. They make him not a Jew of Palestine under Tiberius, but an anticipation of a member of the Protestant Verein of our most enlightened times. It would be well if the followers of the Christianity of Christ only believed in him as he believed in himself. And this was not as a pre-existent Divine personality—not as a Mediator in John's sense, nor a Saviour in Paul's—not as free from sin, nor an ethical type—not as proclaimer of a new religious doctrine, nor founder of a new religion. He would have been astonished had he been told that he would found a new religion which should prosecute its mother, Judaism. The historical or Christian conception of Jesus therefore, if held sincerely, would see in Jesus the son of a carpenter. But this would not be consistent with the idea of Jesus as a Saviour. He could not

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save me, says von Hartmann, any more than Bismarck or Lasker could.

Von Hartmann does not withhold wonder at the diligence and talent of the liberal theologians as shown in their critical works—a talent, however, which is spent in the task of emptying current dogmas of all essential content, and imposing on them a sense no longer fitting to the phrase. This ability has, however, another side; and he says that to-day we are at the point where the informed reader is only moved to disgust, on reading the most unctuous apologetic writings, at the professional narrowness which is rash enough to impose on the half-educated or uneducated through the mask of scientific treatment, but where we can see the ass's ears peeping out of the lion's hide.

He sees in the preaching of the liberal Protestants a popular illustration of the practice just noticed. Taking a text from the Bible as the basis of their addresses would be innocent enough, did it not hold to the now empty form of considering preaching as the exposition of the revealed Word of God. The preaching from a Bible motto transgresses, in his opinion, in arbitrariness the efforts of the earlier centuries in allegorical exposition. Through such thimblerigging liberal Protestantism seeks to mirror forth the appearance of an historical continuity with positive Christianity, while it has absolutely destroyed this connection by giving up belief in revelation and the authority of Scripture. In the controversy between reason and revelation carried on by the party of reason since the fall of the Middle Ages, von Hartmann finds the attempts at mediation made by Protestants tending in the same direction as its mediation with doctrines. It is half-hearted. It has a kind of faith in the possibility of a reconciliation between knowledge and belief, or in whatever terms the contrast is made. But with their changed belief, already noticed, in Scripture this must vanish; and, in fact, the liberal Protestantism of the day has come hard on this. It saves itself by an inconsequence. What is its belief in a revelation? That every genius which is creative and original is nothing but the result of its historical development; and among these geniuses Jesus and His followers must take a very modest place, according to von Hartmann, in view of what he is seeking to establish—viz., the rejection of their chief standpoint by later times and the new modern spirit. If religious founders, as he adds, have only taken advantage of current ideas and not sucked them out of their fingers, an historical interpretation of the Christianity of Christ can have little to say to the men of to-day.

Von Hartmann considers this form of Protestantism to be irreligious, and this accounts for the somewhat rigorous treatment

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it receives at his hands. He does not mean to say that the men are irreligious, but that their position is, in principle, irreligious, and will, if continued, have a bad effect on religion. Its irreligion is specially evident in making common cause with modern culture: taking this culture, which is irreligious, as a measure of religion, it has itself become irreligious. Some readers may think that, in this statement, von Hartmann is making a serious thrust at his own position, which is a criticism of the spirit of Christianity by the time-spirit. But the time-spirit must be distinguished from modern culture; and substantially von Hartmann has done this, although it would not be a difficult thing to get a cheap victory over him on mere verbal grounds. We shall see immediately, in his main position with reference to the irreligion of the liberal Protestants, how impossible it is to classify him with the votaries of modern culture. Religion, according to von Hartmann, springs from the stumbling of the human spirit over evil and sin, and the desire to explain the existence of both. He who knows not this great dissatisfaction and desire for reconciliation does not know religion. This is a decided note in the religion of Jesus. It was partly from this view of the world that his peculiar teaching about the State, family, property, as we have seen, took their rise. This, as is known, is opposed to modern culture; and this side of Christ's teaching is accordingly put aside by modern Christians, and ascribed to the colouring of the accounts in the synoptical gospels by the writers of these histories. We have thus, according to von Hartmann, a double mistake. Jesus is made inconsequent that His teaching might fit in with modern thought, and the most distinctive feature of His doctrine is omitted. This is the result of the comfortable worldliness of a satisfied Protestant rationalism—what he called before its secularization of Christianity—which nourishes itself on irreligious modern culture. His picture of the liberal theologians, and of all modern Christians for that matter, turning their backs on this fundamental doctrine in religion and Christianity should be given in full. Liberals, he says, through the Renaissance, accepted the heathen joy in the world. They entertain this feeling with an optimistic satisfaction opposed to the religious view of the world. It is the special talent, as we have seen, of the liberal Protestant to move amid compromises; and he has no difficulty in neutralizing evil and sin who can live as jolly and comfortable as a Protestant pastor. This heathenish and renaissant irreligious belief has infected both the camps in Christianity. The orthodox and liberals are alike as eggs in thinking that the world in its sin and evil is not so bad. The Reformers looked with other eyes on the world—thought of it as given over to the devil—and,

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theoretically, modern Lutherans, and the orthodox generally, speak of a world groaning under the curse of God, but practically, in their manse, and with their glebe given them to nourish wife and cow, they find things passing comfortable; in fact, with the liberals and theists of all sorts, they consider this as the best of all worlds. This may be very shrewd and practical, he thinks—natural and idyllic—only it is not Christian nor even religious. It is only carrying this modern opinion into detail when Protestants attempt a compromise between the Christian Middle Ages and heathen Renaissance in regard to the claims of this world and the next, which results in what von Hartmann calls a middle-thing, and which, as we have already seen, has rendered worldly and unchristian the true form of the Christian idea from New Testament days to Thomas Aquinas. We find ourselves so sunk in worldly interests that we need Protestant spectacles to know what it is to be Christian and religious. For illustration he points to the modern conscience setting interest in the country above religious interest—State law above church law—and he affects to wonder why a Christian can venture to place, even by way of comparison, the interests of the short space of his earthly pilgrimage alongside those of the eternal salvation of his soul. But this is another proof to him of the reversal of the contrast in the Christian conscience between here and hereafter.

We have the same uncertainty and a similar opposition to Christian ideas if we follow the liberal Christians into their metaphysics. Ask the liberal Protestant what is his metaphysic of religion and he is thrown into wild perplexity. The fact is, each one has his own metaphysic; but they are all alike involved in real difficulty when they come to this part of the subject. They would reject the popular metaphysics, but their historical continuity still involves an anthropomorphic conception of God and a theistic belief which practically drags in all that they wished to reject—viz., the heteronomy of morals, as has been seen; the necessity of a theodice; the promises of a future optimism; in fact, a shutting of the eyes to the philosophical development since Kant. It will be asked by some of our readers, What has metaphysics to do with religion? As a country we are supposed to have very little sympathy with metaphysics, and, as a religious people, to draw the line clearly between metaphysics and religion. This is not intelligible to a speculative religious thinker like von Hartmann. He acknowledges the existence of this feeling. "Deism, materialism and rationalism have a dryness and disinclination to all that is deep and not to be put in the form of a conception. All problems are for them flat and open as their own understandings." England and France, he considers, repre-

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sent this type of mind. The world is looked upon as a machine made by God, and wound up. For von Hartmann, however, a religion is not a mechanical appendage to any view of the world, so that a man may take it from this view and add it to another opposed to it merely of his good will. It is to him an organic growth of the whole spirit. It springs out of the view of the world lying at the base of the man's intellectual world, and grows with it. Tear it from its base, he says, and it is no longer an organism, but an amputated limb of a destroyed organism, like a tree sawn across from the earth. Hence it is that the modern view of the world, as a metaphysical conception, is, of itself, enough to make the Christian position untenable. This is a mere necessary result of their relative positions in history. The ancients had not, in our sense, either a science of history or of nature. This consideration, of itself, would be decisive for him on the present question, and would also be conclusive in regard to the proposal of rebuilding or reforming the traditional religion. For example, Melancthon might protest with honesty as well as vehemence against the Copernican system; but it is only laughable to find orthodox Lutherans of to-day in the contradictions, not to be put aside by sophistry, between the Bible and science about the movement of the sun, set themselves on the side of the Bible. And this feeling is excited because modern culture, where it is accessible, makes it impossible for believing Christians to be so in the commonly understood sense of the word. We have been told lately by many that religion may be taught apart from metaphysics. Von Hartmann looks upon the metaphysical idea as at the foundation of religion. He who carries such metaphysical representations in himself, that his feeling is positively affected by them, possesses religion. He is not deterred by those who try to make merry over the notion of the vulgar having a metaphysical conception. Metaphysics, he says, belongs to science, but there is a popular metaphysics which is a necessity of man: this popular metaphysics is religion. Religion, of course, is more than the metaphysical view of the world by the people. This view of the world is a means to excite religious feeling, and there are consequences of a practical kind from popular metaphysic—viz., religious, ethical. Religious ethics is also an unconscious custom, and a science as well as a religion. This religion, then, embraces philosophy, includes idealism in a raw form, holds before men's eyes something higher than eating and drinking and generating, keeps alive the belief that this temporal visible world is only phenomenal of the eternal, unseen, ideal; and this, in fact, is the common problem of religion. Metaphysics may be dissociated from religion, it is true, but when it loses its religious character it becomes a mere theoretic

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science. On the other hand, if metaphysics is neglected or becomes barren, the effect is evident in ethics and religious cultus—in baldness, ceremony, and sentimental phrasing. It is from this side of it that we have the element of mystery in religion which von Hartmann considers to be present in all religions. It is with mystery in religion as in art, he says. Art begins where its external appearance is symbol of a mystery which opens to the longing soul an infinite world where each draws forth his own treasure. This recognition of mystery and metaphysic explains von Hartmann's attitude to the rationalists, so called. Strauss erred, he says, in not recognizing this element, and then, as a consequence, in making what was ordinary and common take the place of the destroyed ideals. Liberal Protestants have done the same thing in the mistaken belief that the people object to mystery.

So far as the liberal Protestants have to do with art also, von Hartmann considers his position to be established—that they are non-Christian. And he has in this connection some observations that may interest a section in certain districts of our country. Agitators against organs and statues have the pure Christian idea on their side, because the admission of art in religious culture is only a decoy for the great mass of those whose religious feeling is not strong enough to do without some assistance of an exoteric exciting effect on the disposition. On the other hand, living art has ceased to be Christian, either in sculpture or music. When it appears to be Christian it is merely an academic study in the manner of dead Christian styles. So far as it is really living it is worldly. Another proof of the un-Christian character of our times, which he commends to the theologians who maintain the contrary.

He pursues the liberal Protestant to a point which has been considered secure ground—his teaching of a high and pure morality. But von Hartmann asks what is the authority of the teaching? It cannot be, with the liberal Protestant's known opinions, the Bible, and it is not the Church. But we have not given up Moses and the Roman Church to be dictated to by a liberal preacher on morals. He has surrendered the only other basis, metaphysics, as we have seen. But ethics is not moral philosophy when it is a mere explanation of the psychological play of impulses. It must be nourished by metaphysics. Driven, therefore, from all heteronomic authority, and voluntarily abandoning what is autonomic, he falls back, arbitrarily, upon love as the authentic moral principle. He analyses all religion to ethics, and sweetens all ethics to love, on which von Hartmann observes that religion is not a whale, as the inquisitors believed, but it is also no jelly-fish. A whale can at least

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be terrible, but a jelly-fish has a structure and a movement that do not at least inspire dignity. This observation is not made against the principle of love and its high significance—that would be foreign to von Hartmann's philosophy—it is made against current views in certain Christian quarters, which, without principle and philosophy, take a part for the whole. This is merely another proof of his general charge against the liberal Protestants—that its pretended theology is no science or philosophy. It is a resolute holding to phrases and filling them with new meanings. His picture of this kind of theologian, is of a man who has cut off the legs of the stool he is seated on, and who holds on to all that lies about him. And he asks, will the people look to find truth in religion in any position resembling that? The theology here represented, is in the main destructive, and all attempts at mediation with whatever talent they are made, only show that the process of destruction is hurrying to its end. The danger which von Hartmann dreads, and which is probably not imaginary, is lest rejection of the untenable doctrines of the liberal Protestants should lead to the rejection of religion—to the throwing out of the child with the bath, as he puts it. For example, his fear is that with the rejection of the belief in God given it by Christianity—the theistic idea in its varied anthropomorphic form,—modern opinion should go on to reject as absurd the belief in God altogether. The inculcation of Christ's teaching on this subject, lofty as that is, he does not even think would finally save this belief. He alludes to the words "be perfect like God." This too must fall with a transcendent theism, because with the belief in an immanent God, there can be no word of ethical relation to his phenomena. These matters are dwelt on, he distinctly states, for the sake of all who do not wish to indulge in self-deception, but who will rather acknowledge, when it is brought under their notice, the worm-eaten religious building, the sight of which should be the sharpest spur to the investigation of other religious conceptions.

And it is probably this sight, acting in the way here described, that led the author to submit to analysis the opinions of the speculative theologians in the second treatise, called the "Crisis of Christianity." For these theologians, von Hartmann has, as we have said, a vast deal more respect than he has for those he calls vulgar liberal Protestants. They both deal, it is true, in fictions and in inconsequences, but speculative theology does not run into irreligion like liberal Protestantism. It is more like the birth-place of the future religion. Rationalism, he says, has no creative power; while it dissolves the form of religious ideas, which have been given under what is technically called representation—this is, as he explains elsewhere, the passage of the

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idea between sensible phantasy and spiritual conception—the content itself vanishes with the form, the kernel of deeper religious living truth which is concealed under the symbolical shell of the representation. And it is here that supernaturalism is right as against rationalism, because in such an emptying of belief all deeper religious life must cease. While rationalism shows the inadequacy of the dogmatic form of the past, the problem of speculative religious philosophy is to aid the acknowledgment of the positive religious content in this formally insufficient state, and to the understanding of the historical grounds which called forth this insufficient shape. The two dangers to be avoided are the extreme of rationalism, and the maintenance of inadequate forms, in spite of their acknowledged unfitness for the present, under pretence that they include a kernel of truth. Certainly, he holds, all historical forms of religious representation contain this kernel, and they are good so long as their inadequacy is not seen. And this we may take to be his main charge against the speculative theologians: that they, in the altered circumstances here noticed, support past forms of thought on the plea just stated, and also on that of historical continuity.

Von Hartmann's criticism of this school of Christian religious thought is directed, as in the former case, at the manner in which certain leading doctrines of Christianity are expounded by it. These are simply taken as crucial points in determining his thesis. The doctrine of salvation is one of these. The church theology, von Hartmann says, has as its centre the immediate identity of the principle effecting the salvation of every man with the person Jesus Christ. But the history of Christology is the critical process of dissolution of this identity. The Christian theory of salvation, according to von Hartmann, is that salvation is through Christ's suffering and doing, and depends on belief in the wonderful historical facts connected with these. But since Lessing, he remarks, men have rebelled against making eternal religious truths dependent on accidental historical facts, subject to critical and historical doubts. How does the matter stand with those like the speculative theologians, who act as philosophical mediators between these two leading conceptions of salvation? He thinks it unquestionable that the tendency has been for the centre of the theory of salvation, to use his own expression, to incline from historical and objective facts to a subjective process in which there is a choice, on the one hand, of moral purification in the old legal sense; and into this pre-Christian, or after and under Christian stage, vulgar liberalism has sunk. On the other hand, the principle of deliverance may be sought in a power immanent in the spirit of man, but not to be identified with a third person, or to be made dependent on

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historical facts. Speculative theologians of the higher rank, von Hartmann says, have accepted the immanent principle of salvation; but what he objects to is, that they seek to preserve the Christian tone by an indirect connection of the principle with the author of Christianity, not by its immediate identification with Him. In reality, however, he says, they hold the conception of immanency. But with the acceptance of this idea, von Hartmann says, the modern religious consciousness has broken with the Christian consciousness. The speculative theologian of the mediating school, touched by the spirit of the times since Lessing, borrowing from him the destinction of eternal and historical truth, from Schleiermacher, the idealized human Christ, from Kant, the distinction between the ideal and historical Christ, from Fichte and Hegel, the doctrine of the immanency of the absolute in man, immediately obliterates these distinctions, and claims for Christ alone what was maintained by these thinkers for all men. The result is that we inherit from the speculative theologians a weakening of the church doctrines, and receive in exchange for the palpable contradictions of orthodoxy, contradictions veiled and obscured, and endless phrases with double meanings. Their desire to preserve historical continuity prevents them from doing justice to the philosophical principle that has determined their criticism. They have only succeeded, in fact, in cutting in two the nerve of the Christian theory of salvation through the person of Christ, and in reducing the sufferings and acts of Jesus to incidents in his personal life.

But although this result is somewhat halting, von Hartmann sees in it something more than merely negative; it is a preparation for the religious estimation of the immanent principle of salvation. And, he asks, how can we perhaps have more? A view so revolutionary does not make its way suddenly, and hence, in the meantime, the confused attempts at reconciling the Church Christology with the pure negative results of historical decomposition. But what else, he inquires, have we set ourselves to show? Since the Christian central dogma consists in the belief in salvation through Jesus Christ, the decomposition of this doctrine is the decomposition of the inmost nature of Christianity, and nothing remains for us but the formation of a religion on a new basis. There is, however—and this is repeatedly confessed by von Hartmann—a power of persistency in history, and the consequences of proceeding to such a formation appear to an age like ours, which lays so much stress on historical continuity, too rapid and too radical. We have, therefore, the historical connection insisted on, although in principle a change has been made, and names and doctrines filled with new contents. He

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does not think, however, that the old bottles can permanently or long hold the new wine.

We need hardly follow von Hartmann into detailed criticism of the views held on the doctrine of salvation by the speculative theologians. We must, however, indicate this. He takes as representatives the writers already mentioned, men well known and held in the highest esteem. One point in support of the object of his critical inquiry, which von Hartmann wishes to mark in Biedermann's "Dogmatik," is, that while Biedermann acknowledges the principle of salvation to be in a divine humanity—that is, in the self-activity of the absolute spirit in the human I, and regards the personality of Christ as the first self-realization of that principle, the source of its activity in time, and therefore for all time a world-historical type—in other words, as the historical revelation of the principle of salvation—while doing this he makes a leap from what plainly divides him from historical Christianity, and calls the revelation of the impersonal principle of salvation by the name of Saviour. This is, to von Hartmann, a well-marked instance of the contrast of the modern with the ancient Christian consciousness—an example of the historical continuation of doctrine charged with new ideas. Von Hartmann, in reflecting on this attitude in a man like Biedermann, is led to give a psychological explanation of it. It lies in Biedermann's training. Starting from the Christian circle of vision, educated and grown up in a religious reverence and love for the person of Christ which passes all human measure, it is not difficult to understand the association in the mind of Biedermann. But looked at philosophically, how can he, von Hartmann asks, reconcile the immanent impersonal principle of salvation with the transcendent personal Saviour of Christianity? He must acknowledge, and does acknowledge, that the religious self-consciousness of Jesus was at best one historically primitive, that it contained religious truth only in its historically conditioned expression, that Christ himself had not attained to the consciousness of the immanent impersonal principle of salvation, but was convinced of the consciousness of a personal fellowship of love with God. But, further, this conception of Jesus as typical can only be upheld by the double contradiction that the primitive embryonic form in which a principle first enters into history is to be the perfect type for all time, and also that Jesus had no idea of the dogma of his god-manhood, but yet carried this in his consciousness as the living spring of his spiritual life.

R. A. Lipsius, who has himself criticized these and other attempts of members of the mediating school in philosophical theology, has, according to von Hartmann, fallen into the very

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same mistake in principle. On this very doctrine, for example, Lipsius maintains that Jesus is to be considered the historical Saviour, because he is, if indirectly, the historical condition of the individual attaining salvation, in so far as he has founded the religious community through whose historical mediation the individual gains a personal realization of the eternal salvation. To which the reply is made that was made to Biedermann: that the personal Christ cannot be considered the Saviour, because the immediate cause of our salvation is not Jesus, but our present teachers or institutions. If the principle is immanent, and awakened only by an historical personage and historical conditions, the person may be called my awakener but not my deliverer. And besides, he asks, what has the awakener to do with the principle of salvation? It is an interesting historical inquiry whether the awakening be due to Jesus or not; but the principle would not be lost if his name were lost, any more than the geometrical truths connected with the name of Euclid would be forgotten if the man became unknown. But more than that, the immanent principle of salvation is not awakened by the Christian Church. The Christian Church, by its adherence to the transcendent principle of salvation through Jesus, is a hindrance to the growth of the principle which Lipsius would have us believe was awakened by Jesus, or, if it be not, then it has left, as we have seen, the peculiar standpoint of Christianity. If, in short, Lipsius's view be accepted, the position is a non-Christian one; and if the Church is correct, then the explanation of Lipsius is a mere fiction. It is a fiction also in Lipsius to suppose that Jesus was the founder of a new religion, and of the *institution* through which we receive salvation. But these *attempts* to keep the kernel of the Christian doctrine of salvation, after stripping it of its historical coverings, are, to von Hartmann, so many illustrations of self-deception natural to men trained under Christian influences. For example, Lipsius's identification of the historical and ideal Christ through the operation of the Holy Ghost that was to come by Jesus, whereby, in accordance with the doctrine of Lipsius, the ever-living Christ should show himself spiritually present in the community as one who could not be a prey to death, is, to von Hartmann, simply a conundrum, until he remembers that these assertions are made by a Christian theologian, of great ability and learning no doubt, but who, being what he is, indulges in illusions of historical reality and symbolical identity. It is quite true that the Christian community may accept this identification, being under the influence of abstract Church thought and doctrine, or, at least, under the influence of the feelings which have been created by this doctrine. Culture and modern thought, von

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Hartmann remarks, by dissolving the doctrines, will make the feelings vanish, and the best preparation for this is a theologian of the stamp of Lipsius. Otto Pfleiderer, some of whose opinions will be noticed immediately, is also to be reckoned a preparatory force. He gives an explanation of the doctrine of salvation from another side, but which, in von Hartmann's estimation, is a mere Christian illusion. In the whole history of Christianity, the external conception of the work of salvation, Pfleiderer teaches, is predominant because the conception, which is under the formof representation already explained, has to depict the inward and spiritual principles of sin and salvation in concrete sensible phenomenal form—that is, to personify them in Adam and Christ. But he considers that the representative consciousness itself corrects this unfitness for religious practice, and, besides, the outward fact affirms an inner event. For instance, Christ has made reconciliation through his death, but we are to realize the reconciliation in ourselves through the spiritual death of the old man. But on this or any other theory started by the speculative theologians we are, von Hartmann maintains, at a very considerable distance from the traditional opinion on this subject. This departure of speculative Protestantism, he says, from the Church theory of salvation, especially as resting on the Pauline and Anselmic theory, can only be looked upon by the speculative Protestant as poetry of the Christian consciousness equally against reason and opposed to history. And yet, he continues, while speculative Protestantism perceives the identification of the principle of salvation with the founder of a religion of salvation to be an uncritical act and a hindrance to our surmounting the difficulties already mentioned, it sticks half-way in this very identification. This is both unhistorical and unphilosophical, because it weights an ideal principle with historical ballast and destroys the purity of the principle, while its critical destruction endangers the principle itself. The historical Jesus cannot be in the ordinary sense a Saviour to the speculative Protestant. An ideal poesy attaches itself to this name, which then serves as a symbolical personification of the pure principle of salvation, exactly as one would allow a similar significance to the symbolical worship of Catholic saints. Logically, then, on this theory, Jesus should be satisfied with being the one who taught this doctrine to the people on the Mediterranean shores, and brought it, in himself, to typical realization.

The ideal position of Jesus, with its symbolical dependence on history, is indeed praised by Pfleiderer, on practical grounds, "as the most useful and effective means for the continued communication and instruction of the principle of salvation within the

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community." So that von Hartmann feels driven to the conclusion that this part of the Christology of the speculative Protestants contracts, first, into a pedagogic recommendation to hold fast to the image of Christ as symbol and ideal poesy of a principle, and, secondly, into the request to treat with historical piety the founder of Christianity as the religion of immanent salvation. When, therefore, the speculative Protestant finds in Christ his reconciliation with God and His blessedness, he is conscious at the same time that the expression Christ, taken as a conception, indicates an impersonal universal principle, and that the typical representation through a personal Christ idealized is only to be understood symbolically, without our being able to claim an historical or metaphysical truth for the symbolical fiction. This is to the simple believer, von Hartmann thinks, a useless play with poetry, and the attempt is looked upon by such a believer as a denial of personal deliverance by a crucified Saviour, and the position as outside the Christian religion.

Critically the speculative Protestant is distinguished from others who have mediated between the historical Christ and the immanent principle of salvation in the fact that he recognizes them to be irreconcilable. When, therefore, he holds this irreconcilable conception as ideal Christ, he does it against his historical sense, which tells him that the historical Jesus was this ideal Christ, and against his speculative conscience, which tells him that this immanent principle of salvation is impersonal and purely spiritual, and can only be personified in self-contradiction. And with reference to the compromise effected at the Reformation on the cultus of Mary and the saints, it is remarked by von Hartmann that in identifying the pure spiritual principle with an historical personage, Jesus, and shifting the authority from the priest to the Scriptures, only a half conclusion was come to, which is inconsequent in denying deliverance through acts acceptably done within the Church, but maintaining this through what was done at the beginning of its history.

But it may be that speculative Protestants are right when they say that they are restoring the Christianity of Christ by freeing it from the misconceptions to which it has been subjected by dogmatic Christianity—that at least they are bringing to its full development what lay in it as a seed. But if they are nearer modern thought than other Christians, they are therein farther from genuine Christian thought. Christ, as we have seen, never reflected on transcendency and immanency. In contradiction to the petrified conception of creation and the transcendent God of his own people, it did not occur to him to preach an immanent God and an immanent salvation. He never understood the idea of a child of God otherwise than in the sense of a patriarchal family

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relation, and he nowhere places this conception even in the centre of his preaching. His teaching rather deals with the joyful hope of the near approach of the Kingdom of God on the earth and the means of sharing in its blessings. John reached the highest stage in the New Testament teaching in morals, but this we have seen in the former treatise is a later development of Christianity. But even John's teaching cannot be our position. There is in John's thought a rude dualism. Devil's children and God's children are determined from eternity, and this is in direct opposition to the all-embracing humanity of modern culture. And, besides, John's central position on the doctrine under review is that of Christ's mediatorship, that no one can come to the Father but through Christ.

But to return to the origin of Christianity. Jesus was no teacher of immanent salvation. He taught salvation, although not the first to do so; still he never taught it in the sense of the speculative Protestants, and the imagined historical continuity has no historical basis. The historical continuity, von Hartmann asserts, is that of a series of mist-forms, each of which dissolves the preceding; two may shimmer through each other for awhile before the one is destroyed by the other. To von Hartmann indeed there is more opposition between an immanent religion and Christianity than between the Christian religion of salvation and the religion of law in Judaism, because the two last have a common root in theism, whilst the first rests on pantheism, which is opposed in metaphysical principle to Christianity. But as the Christian religion of salvation exerted itself to express its new spiritual content in the dogmatic formulæ of Judaism, which were contrary to it, so speculative Protestantism seeks to express what is essentially new in its content (which is drawn not from Christian thought but from speculative German philosophy) in the formulæ of Christian dogma which is opposed to it. We make no apology for dwelling at some length on von Hartmann's criticism of this doctrine. It brings out very clearly his own position, and his leading objection to the various forms of Christian thought. For example, in further expounding this difference between modern thought and Christian thought in his remarks on Pfleiderer, he observes that the principle of immanency is one of those which has not been strange to the Church doctrine, but which the Church cannot seriously grapple with so long as it holds to the grounds of theistic tradition. As theism, with reference to the moral aspect of religion is necessarily a legal religion, so soteriologically considered it can only be an external magical religion. It is quite true, he acknowledges, that the speculative Protestant by no means understands by salvation a magical process, but an inner psychical process. He

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rejects the representative deliverance through Christ's death on the cross as well as the idea of hereditary sin through Adam. Such a deliverance through sacrifice is opposed to a genuine autonomic religious consciousness, which is the modern and belongs to an earlier egoistic or heteronomic consciousness. And it is from its labouring to establish historical continuity with this earlier stage of religion that von Hartmann says speculative Protestantism as a Christian sect belongs to a dead past, and is the last outrunner of the self-dissolution of Christianity. On the other hand, as a free speculative philosophy of religion, it is the embryo of a new pantheistic religion of the future, which freely assigns the highest value to the results of speculative philosophy for the full satisfaction of the religious consciousness. And herein, as he remarks in his preface to the "Krisis," is it distinguished from vulgar liberal Protestantism. It goes beyond the flat rationalism of this form of Protestantism and its irreligion, in allowing for a deepening of religious thought, and is accordingly of the utmost consequence to the religious consciousness. It brings to a head the historical crisis in Christianity. It leads us directly to the turning-point of a new religious principle opposed to the Christian. As he termed it before, it is the last stage in the dissolution of the old and the birth-place of the new.

There is a doctrine known in our own philosophical and religious schools, and also espoused by some speculative Protestants—the symbolical knowledge of God, or the symbolical expression of our knowledge of the divine. Lipsius, as von Hartmann puts it, says we can have no adequate scientific knowledge of the supersensible object of belief, but that we may have a symbolical, pictorial knowledge, and that this may become more and more spiritualized, and that pictures or symbols more appropriate may take the place of those less so. This process of spiritualization, Lipsius allows, is one of abstraction or emptying the content of the idea, but in order to avoid the finality of such a process he assigns an arbitrary limit to it. This is determined by saying that we must be satisfied with an approximate removal of contradictions contained in the ideas which are matter of belief. This is a very comfortable manner of dealing with a difficulty, which is more effectually and on the whole more rationally dealt with, von Hartmann thinks, by those who never allow the spiritualizing process to begin. But even granting, says the critic, that the ideas so treated may become more free from errors, they do not become any truer, if they contained no positive truth to start with. If in a positive respect the idea remains inconsequent, incommensurable, and inadequate, it is no use to deliver it from errors, or to make it adequate in a merely negative respect. This spiritualization of the transcendent is

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therefore a mere thrashing of straw, so long as we are denied the capacity of seizing what is essential in our conception of the transcendent reality. Lipsius therefore is wrecked on the antinomy between dogmatic knowledge and spiritual incapacity of knowing, as well as on that between theoretic scepticism and religious dogmatism, and from which he can only save himself, in von Hartmann's opinion, by transcendent realism—that is, on the acceptance of the doctrine that the forms of thought have a transcendent validity, which alone can give us the possibility of a positive knowledge of the transcendent sphere. As it is, the dogmatism of Lipsius rests on the mystery in religion to which, on the one hand, is ascribed the capacity of assimilating all contradictions without digestion, and out of which, on the other hand, every dogmatic statement is forced as a fact of experience of the religious conciousness. But any one, it is replied, who cannot blindfold receive as a true religious subject what as a thinking subject he has seen to be an illusion, has no way left him but to break with scepticism and dogmatism in religion, and enter with earnestness on the scientific investigation of the question, whether his religious belief be true or illusory. With Biedermann this is the problem of dogmatics. Lipsius gives up the scientific character of dogmatics, and those problems which, according to him, are insoluble, he leaves to a philosophy of religion. But if, on the philosophical principle just mentioned—viz., the transcendent validity of the forms of thought, this turns out to be successful, and not only the subjective necessity of the religious consciousness, but the objective truth of the suppositions of it are proved, every remnant of dogmatism is stripped from dogmatics, and the distinction between it and religious philosophy is abolished. And we all know what that means so far as religious symbolical conceptions are concerned.

One need not and cannot deny the ability in all these theories. The careful analysis, for instance, by Lipsius of the subjective process of salvation leaves hardly anything to be desired; but it shows at the same time how superfluous it is, after granting the general principle of autonomic life, to introduce into this special doctrine the heterosoteric instead of the autosoteric principle, to refer, that is, the principle of deliverance developed through the human spirit to any historical facts. But when we leave out these irrational additions, the works of Biedermann, Lipsius, and Pfleiderer are the most valuable preparation for the unfolding of the idea of an eternal order of salvation independent of all objective historical facts, and so far for the upbuilding of an autosoteric religion, which may claim to be a universal human religion, because it is based solely on the facts of religious consciousness, and so satisfies the deepest necessities of the religious

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soul. But this is no Christian idea. This is, however, the "Krisis" we have indicated, the ideal end of Christianity and its positive overthrow—that is, the ideal beginning of a new and higher stage of development of the religious consciousness.

The modern idea of immanency is brought to bear upon the conception of revelation held by the speculative Protestants, and their opinion in regard to this doctrine is placed alongside the Christian idea, in order to see again how far they sustain the historical continuity so much spoken about already. On the theistic basis of belief von Hartmann remarks, quite generally, revelation can only be a making known by God, mediated either sensibly or magically, to a man who stands over against him. It can never be a direct perception of the Divine Presence in our own spirit. This is only conceivable where God is essentially immanent in the human spirit. So that what in theism is possible only through an act of demonaic possession, is, according to pantheism, accomplished under normal conditions, only that the act usually remains unconscious.

Von Hartmann sees a special connection between the Protestant principle of revelation and that of salvation criticised above. And probably no one will deny the connection. It is of importance, he says, for the work of salvation in its effect on men, how it has been awakened in the religious consciousness. Because only when this consciousness has won in a direct manner the certainty of its being in union with God, can this knowledge of oneness unfold the necessary force in the soul to become effective as a principle of revelation. All externally mediated revelation can accordingly have nothing more than mediate worth in exciting the inner revelation and in awakening it. It can never replace the latter. Hence the necessary distinction between immediate and mediate revelation, not to be confounded with the unjustifiable distinction between general and special, common and uncommon revelation. If the revelation proper is inner or immediate, instances of it can only be distinguished by degree. And, indeed, Pfleiderer brings this out; but von Hartmann says here again he has mixed with it elements derived from the Church doctrine—that is, from the principles of heteronomy and theism, because significance is attached to the second distinction mentioned above in favour of the founder of a religion, or specially favoured bearer of revelation, where a high degree of divine action is evident, while the human falls into the background. But von Hartmann replies, on Pfleiderer's own principles, this cannot be maintained. The act of revelation is not a product of two factors, the divine and the human, with varied degree of strength. Wherever it is found, it is out-and-out divine, and at the same time out-and-out human, so that any distinction there

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is lies only in the degree of its unfolding to the consciousness. And here we come to a point on which Pfleiderer and his critic take common ground—viz., in discussing the distinction between supernatural and natural revelation, represented by supernaturalists and rationalists. The latter are right, both allow, to deny a revelation which transcends the natural capacity of man's perception; and the former are right in despising a revelation which proceeds merely from a natural human knowledge in the narrower sense of the word. In truth, the religious action is purely natural, if we consider the immanency of the absolute natural to man. It is supernatural in its being and aim, in so far as it rests upon a transcendent monistic ground of the individual spirit, and is transcendently referred to this its transcendent basis. Von Hartmann, however, parts with Pfleiderer on a further development of the doctrine, because Pfleiderer may be understood in a double sense—speculative and supernatural. There takes place, Pfleiderer holds, in every religious act, in every elevation of self-consciousness and world-consciousness to the God-consciousness, a real revelation of God to man, a self-opening of the creative ground of the Ich and the world in which He gives Himself to be perceived and felt. The subjective relation in belief and love of God is only possible as an objective work of God producing Himself actively in man, lifting him above his naturalness. But von Hartmann replies, revelation and belief are not two acts of different subjects, but one and the same act of a single subject, differently named according as man looks at his producing activity, or his receptive relation to his own product. Revelation, therefore, is not a self-revelation of God to man, but God becoming revealed in man through the autonomy of man's spirit. But, notwithstanding Pfleiderer's reluctance to go the whole way with von Hartmann, and the whole length of his own principle, it is clear to von Hartmann that the conception of revelation maintained by Pfleiderer makes the rôle of a religious founder appear in quite another light than the purely supernatural conception does. The historical work of the founder appears now as a spiritual process regulated by law, and the compass of the work is made dependent on the strength of the immanent principle in him, on his energy of character, and the whole combination of historic and cultured relations of his time. Thus it is only fair to conclude that the religious revelation of a religious founder and that of one of the members of the community cannot be called absolute and relative, and still less can such a distinction be maintained between different religious founders, as, for example, Buddha and Jesus.

It is only by way of further illustration of the position of von Hartmann to the representatives of speculative Protestantism

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that we give Lipsius' view of inspiration and von Hartmann's observations thereon. Lipsius, he says, rejects unconditionally every supernatural conception, of revelation, miracle, inspiration and grace, and acknowledges that in the human spirit nothing has place which has not been developed in it on the basis of natural and historical data, and with psychological uniformity. On the other hand, he sees that an historical and psychological explanation of religion, as a merely human spiritual phenomenon, means the dissolution of religion into a series of illusions, and that an interpenetration of a divine spiritual activity must be avowed, but that this must be asserted in its indivisible unity. Popular representation tears these factors asunder, and makes of them two different and independent processes, and in this way arrives at the unnatural conception of revelation, which is seen by criticism to be a psychological impossibility. But von Hartmann sees in Lipsius' suggestion the very same popular idea. It is the introduction of the personality of God for dogmatic purposes; and this is only a popular survival of the idea of God to be immediately noticed. So long, continues von Hartmann, as man considers God to be another than himself, or a being not identical with himself—that is, to introduce a useful phrase, so long as he is in the stage of a heterousian religious consciousness, he desires as a substitute for the absent homousie or identity of being with God, a union as near, confident and intimate as possible, through a personal relation of love. He sees that he can only gain this from a personal God, capable of love and full of "Gemüth." This is right and proper with a religious consciousness standing in a relation of I and Thou with God, but it is quite otherwise if the conceptual ideas have ceased to exist, on the ground of which this representation was possible. For, he maintains, every relation, however inward, of God to man, remains formally demonaic possession so long as you have the connection Thou and I—that is, a personality standing over against me. The same must be said, as has indeed been already hinted, of the dispositions of spirit ascribed to God on the ground of this idea of personality. God, it is true, is the original source of all dispositions of spirit, even as He is of all personality, but love belongs to Him as little as hate. The so-called experiences of God's dispositions, like the experiences of His personality, rest, in fact, on a confusion not observed, of experience and arbitrary conclusion. What, in this case, has to be disputed is not the religious experience nor conclusion from it, but the correctness of what was just now termed the conceptual suppositions, which are taken for assured premises and are in truth erroneous, and at best propædeutic, but are dragged unnoticed into the conclusion. The belief, for instance, in miracle is one

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in keeping with the ideas of those in the stage of heterousie in religion. The definition of it by Lipsius, in trying to escape from this position, does violence to the popular use of language. He says it is only the realization of divine ends, within and by means in keeping with law. The kernel of the conception, miracle, van Hartmann replies, is not given in this definition, it is abolished and annihilated. And the conception of inspiration put forward by Lipsius is open to a similar criticism. The form of inspiration, as von Hartmann observes, so far as it is essential for the religious consciousness, has nothing to do with the subjective representation of it by the person inspired, as to the art and manner of divine inspiration and its relation to natural psychological mediation, but is only determined by the inward elevation of the spirit above its finite natural determination in the world, and the immediate certainty of divine activity in this elevation. But when Lipsius, acknowledging this principle, seeks to find a distinction for inspiration in the novelty and originality of disclosed religious spiritual contents, he seeks a mere distinction of degree, because, asks von Hartmann, how can we tell what is quite original and what is not? In fact, on the standpoint of the immanency of God in man, there is no religious interest or distinctive inspiration. To adduce the testimony of the Holy Spirit on behalf of the truth of a revelation of a magical-supernatural kind, as is done by some speculative Protestants, is for those in the heterousian stage of the religious consciousness—the present popular belief—synonymous with the abolition of inspiration and revelation in the proper and simple sense. The idea of Lipsius is very excellent in its way, von Hartmann thinks, but it is evidently not the continuity of an historical Christian idea.

In criticising speculative Protestantism, von Hartmann finds no lack of metaphysical thought and no unwillingness to treat this element of religion. His remarks on what may be termed the metaphysics of the subject, proceed on a review of Pfleiderer's work on religion. He states, for the purpose he has immediately in view, the position of the Church in order to get a standard of comparison between Christian thought proper, and the teaching of Pfleiderer and of modern thinkers generally. The representatives of theism, he remarks, consider, not unjustly, the acknowledgment of the personality of God to be the most decided note in their doctrine, and they meet every apostate, who allows the personality to drop in the interest of the absolute, with the reproach of pantheism, whether he will or not. And von Hartmann does not disguise his opinion, when he advises speculative Protestants that if they cannot avoid the reproach of pantheism by the Christian world, they should make friends with

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the designation pantheism, which in every respect better denotes their opinion. Pfleiderer especially stands on the ground of genuine pantheism, and it is because he does so, that his speculative Protestantism is an advance on the theism of Christian theology. Von Hartmann means at the same time that it is a break in a prominent doctrine with historical Christianity. In speaking on this subject there are some excellent observations made, clear distinctions drawn between deism, theism, and pantheism, and between the last as abstract monism, and pantheism proper as concrete monism.* Most readers will appreciate his distinction between deism and theism. By deism, one understands such a theism as allows indeed the personality of God, but ends by placing a stool before His door. We cannot notice in detail von Hartmann's criticism of Pfleiderer's distinction between deism and theism, which, in von Hartmann's opinion, seems maintained to save Pfleiderer's position as a theist. There can be no question that von Hartmann is right in maintaining against Pfleiderer that the traditional terminology associates theism with a view of the world which supposes a personal God, as world-creator and governor, active in the world. He concludes that an opinion such as Pfleiderer's, which acknowledges neither the personality nor the government in the traditional sense, can only be called theistic by mistake. But Pfleiderer assumes this title, according to von Hartmann, and he does so by including under deism, deism proper and what has been commonly understood as theism. Von Hartmann, of course, holds that it is not only deism but theism, which, through the idea of the personality of God, and through the conception of His opposition to the created world, robs the Deity of absoluteness, makes it impossible for man to be one with God in knowledge, and reduces religion to the early stage which he has called heteronomus. In this way we are brought back to the very point which the speculative theologians were anxious to avoid, and which modern thought repudiates—viz., to a religion of law with or without external

* Monism, Von Hartmann explains in philosophical language, signifies the doctrine of the unity of the all—the doctrine that there is only one substance or being which lies at the basis of all being. This metaphysical conception of monism, however, is not to be confounded with Haeckel's use of the word, which has reference only to the manner of uniformity prevailing in the world (whether this be causal and teleological, or the first alone). Abstract monism is that which makes the many, as mere phenomenal illusion, disappear in the abstract unity. Concrete monism—von Hartmann's theory—is that which preserves the reality and independence of the existing concrete universe over against the unity of being. Pantheism, he says again, is concrete monism, which unites the truth in theism, naturalism, and abstract monism, without sharing their one-sidedness, and satisfies the deepest ethical and religious needs.

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magical salvation, instead of an internal principle of salvation in man. But this is only another illustration of the perplexities in which speculative theologians become involved in their efforts to keep up the continuity of Christianity. Pfleiderer wishes still to hold by theism, while denuding it of its essential Christian elements. His position, when stripped of its phraseology, is essentially pantheism and not theism, and therefore at the very root of the matter, von Hartmann says, modern theology of the best type affords proof of the exactness of the titles of his two books. The real position of Pfleiderer is given in the following paragraph in which are summed up the various well-known proofs of the existence of God. Under the cosmological proof, Pfleiderer understands the conclusion drawn from the regularity of the course of Nature to a single cause of the world; under the teleological, the conclusion from the progress of the world under mechanical laws to a rational design pursued by this world-cause; under the moral proof, the conclusion from the autonomy, given in experience, of the moral consciousness, to the immanent revelation of the absolute in man; under the ontological, the conclusion from the psychical and material sides of the phenomenal world to the identity of thinking and being in the absolute cause. Here we see that God is, and what He is, says Pfleiderer. He is the sole ground of all, therefore absolute, and the ground of the psychical life of the world, and the teleological activity of mechanical laws, and consequently spiritual. And the union of these two, absoluteness and spirituality, gives us the determination of God according to Being.

But it is not correct, von Hartmann remarks, in Pfleiderer to say that pantheism is the emphasis of absoluteness at the expense of spirituality, while deism is the emphasis of spirituality at the expense of absoluteness, and that theism is the proper mean. This abuse of philosophical language has already been alluded to, and it will be seen that, on a comparison of Pfleiderer's ideas with Christian thought, he must be ranked as a pantheist, and not, as he himself claims, as a theist. One cannot overlook several well-known marks of pantheistic teaching in Pfleiderer's opinions: the immanent revelation of the absolute will; God as the single cause of all; the identification of thinking and being; the definition of God as absolute and spiritual. It is not at all necessary to the subject in hand to follow von Hartmann into the details of the distinction between false and true pantheism. It need only be said that, with him, true pantheism is the mean between theism and naturalism—that is, between the theism commonly believed and the belief that Nature is the sole ground of the world-process. This is the pantheism which is associated with concrete monism, explained above, and which unites in one

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conception the reality of the world and God, while the pantheism of abstract monism reduces the finite world to an unreal phenomenon. But to return to Pfleiderer. His position with reference to Christian thought may be made still more evident. The reason why he desires to keep clear of the idea of the personality of God is because this idea cannot be co-ordinated with the idea of the absolute. The belief in a personal God, Pfleiderer remarks, originating in the dominance of the Semitic element in the Aryan religion, naturally strengthens the popular view of an external arbitrary government of the world by God, in opposition to its government according to laws. But, von Hartmann would add, its influence does not stop there. It has the very same effect on all Christian religious ideas—on those that have already come under our notice—so that this conception must stand or fall with these. Pfleiderer himself, indeed, acknowledges that the giving up of the personal conception of God would not injure the interests of piety, but that piety would gain much by it. And herein, says von Hartmann, he shows not only a considerable advance in the metaphysics of religion, but also an advance beyond the continuity of Christian thought. Pfleiderer's reason, however, is worth giving. "The religious consciousness," he says, "in the highest and deepest sense, has chiefly to do with man's union with God, with reconciling the separation and estrangement from God, and belief in a personal God, with the necessary mutual exclusion of persons, is precisely the great hindrance to the highest act of practical piety, whilst the mutual permeation of the divine immanency with man is a thought easily realized as soon as the idea of personality is set aside." Von Hartmann does not point out wherein this differs from popular theism and the Christian idea of a mediator between God and man, and we may leave it as he leaves it. But all along the line of the idea of the absolute, von Hartmann sees evidence that Pfleiderer, like others of his way of thinking, is not quite clear with himself. For example, Pfleiderer, in speaking of the love of God, says that its highest fulfilment is in the relation of immanency. But von Hartmann suggests that he hesitates to go the whole length that pantheism would lead him, or that the true metaphysical idea of God demands, because of a natural fear of finding himself outside the theistic theology. What is the conclusion from the idea of God already given? The love of God must be essentially—that is, of course, apart from conditions—what constitutes the active form of love in man, and this is an unconscious relation to an identity of being. To get at the conception of love as it is in God we must take away its specific conditional character of feeling, or pleasure, as we see it in man. But when this is taken away it is no longer love, so that to retain the conception of love in speaking of the nature of

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God is merely to retain a remnant of the idea of personality—is, in fact, dragging in an anthropomorphic conception; is accordingly a subjective mode of conceiving the divine; and is, in the last resort, of the very same order of conception as the personality of God.

Exactly the same criticism is applied to Pfleiderer's idea of the consciousness of God, in which von Hartmann sees the inconsistencies of a man not quite decided about his road. To Pfleiderer's statement of the distinction in God between His self, explicated and implicated, and of a self-reflecting of the world-consciousness, von Hartmann observes that the absolute can have no other consciousness than an intuitive world-consciousness which, on account of the absence of subject and object, cannot be called consciousness, but is rather unconscious intuition. But that may pass.

Pfleiderer, however, takes his stand on the doctrine of the Trinity, and declares that, instead of taking opinions such as the personality of God to be the test of a true Christian conception of God, this ought to be sought in the accuracy with which the conception reflects the idea of the Trinity. And here again von Hartmann finds him vague—a vagueness which is the result of his departing from the orthodox opinion on this subject. His explanation, von Hartmann says, has no resemblance to the threefold personality which is the fundamental thought of every Trinity. In the Being of the infinite spirit lies the following threefold movement, says Pfleiderer: "It is the infinite ground of the finite spirit, the infinite force in the same, and the infinite object of its destiny; or otherwise, it is that which produces its opposite, that which permeates it, and the principle raising this to union with itself—oneness, in short, before, in, and over the object to which it is opposed." But, von Hartmann answers, this ormu of the Trinity applies to the creator and preserver in the Indian Trimurti as well as to the persons in the Christian Trinity. Other objections are suggested, such as that the three movements of this process form neither distinct subjects nor divided qualities of the same subject. The real Trinity, according to von Hartmann, is nothing more than the bursting of Semitic theism through the pantheistic Aryan consciousness, or a reappearance of pantheism in the heart of theism, and which loses all significance in the overthrow of the latter by the former. Von Hartmann finds no difficulty, therefore, in exposing the absence of historical continuity in Pfleiderer's theory of the Trinity. God being absolute, if the Holy Ghost be the divine spirit itself, so far as it is thought to be immanent, then they fall into one conception; and Jesus, in so far as he is reduced to a man and founder of a Church which is to represent the type of religious immanency, can no longer have a place in the Trinity.

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Von Hartmann finds scope in speculative Protestantism for the discussion of another question in the metaphysic of religion —that of immortality. But we must be brief. Pfleiderer, according to von Hartmann, justly rejects all so-called proofs of personal immortality as empty postulates of sentiment, and resting on misunderstandings. He lays stress on the fact that the religious consciousness has, for a necessary supposition, not so much the continuance of life beyond as that of the present eternal life as a life in God. Biedermann goes further, and maintains, rightly, von Hartmann thinks, that, for the speculative standpoint of concrete monism, this question is decided in the negative, and that the opening of this sphere beyond brings with it the danger of its becoming the "Tummelplatz" of personal wishes and opinions. And besides, by referring the spirit to a future beyond the present life, we injure the religious inwardness of the eternal life and its hold on the living present. In fact, the decision on this question will depend on the inclination of a thinker towards theism or pantheism; and here again the position of speculative Protestantism is instructive in its relation to Christian thought. Pantheism, which, through its principle of immanency, shows the eternal life to be inward and present, satisfies therewith perfectly the just longing after this eternal life, so that the religious consciousness has no motive to seek this in "Jenseits." It sets aside, therefore, the wish for personal perfection beyond, through the certainty that the eternal Being, even after the death of the individual, revivifies his God-filled life in every living thing and in the providential development of the whole. Theism, on the contrary, which satisfies only imperfectly the desire of the religious consciousness for the eternal life by the surrogate of a relation of love to God, compels the phantasy thereby to project that which is missed here into a fulfilment beyond, so that this belief becomes indispensable to theism. In the case of pantheism it is superfluous, and indeed disturbing. And the hesitancy of Pfleiderer on this subject is again the necessary hesitation of one in the position he holds—standing mid-way between ancient and modern thought. Immortality, in fact, in von Hartmann's opinion, rests upon the optimism in Christianity, which he holds to be philosophically false. The religious instinct has no interest in immortality further than as it is optimistic, and teaches in one form the last aim of religion to be the furtherance of human weal through communion with God.

No part, indeed, of the doctrine of the Church escapes overthrow in principle by these modern representatives of Christianity. The doctrines already mentioned are mentioned simply as illustrative of this fact. Every single dogma is subverted formally into its opposite, in order to bring its religious truth to the

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position of the principle of divine immanency. Where any doctrine or part of a doctrine appears to be undisturbed by this revolutionary principle, it is due to an inconsequence in thought, which must be rectified sooner or later. Thus, for the distinction in Being between God and man and man's estrangement from God, you have a community of being; for the mediation through a third you have the self-deliverance of pantheistic thought. And who can see historical continuity in these alterations? asks von Hartmann. And he predicts that the future will not see in speculative Protestantism a speculative restitution and regeneration of Christianity. Its significance will be found to have been in the fact that it distinguished the religious dogmas which have been dissolved by the critical understanding from the fundamental religious ideas in them, and saved these through a new grounding of them on an altered basis of thought, for the religious consciousness. It will then be owned that the religious efforts, striving in vain for 2000 years on a Christian theistic basis of thought, after self-realization without contradictions, were led by speculative theology, not merely to a realization without contradiction, but at the same time to a higher stage of religious consciousness.

We need not follow him over ground touched on in connection with liberal Protestantism—viz., on the claim to continuity by speculative Protestants because they teach the moral principles taught by Jesus. Besides emphasizing what he had already said —that Jesus merely taught in the streets the esoteric tradition of the schools, dragging out of the watery and spongy Talmudic learning genuine pearls, and giving them an imaginative clothing for the popular mind, he maintains on principle that there is here no sufficient reason for claiming continuity, because general moral principles occur in most religious and moral systems.

He meets objections made to a thinker publishing views like these, and with this we shall conclude, leaving untouched, in the meantime, the criticism of his philosophical and historical principles, and also his own exposition of the religion of the future sketched in the "Selbstzersetzung." First of all, von Hartmann says, in answer to these objections, the thinker must not reckon on the crisis that may be produced by him, but consider that his warning cry may awaken some who are slumbering. He goes further. "I am no agitator who throws a torch among the masses, and excites to revolutionary deeds. I am a theoretic investigator, who, far from the noise of party, observes in his retreat the time-phenomena, and, as such, has the scientific right and moral duty to state the results of his observations, confidently leaving to Providence how it may unite such thoughts called into life by itself with the course of life in the world guided by it."

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III.—Food Reform.

NOWHERE would it be possible to find a more instructive example of the power of habit and conventional usage than in the question of diet. The very existence of persons who abstain from flesh-food is to most Englishmen a cause of amusement and surprise; a vegetarian is a social anomaly, worth looking at, and perhaps worth laughing at, whenever and wherever he may be encountered; the anthropophagi of old could hardly be regarded with more curiosity than the modern akreophagists. Yet, on the other hand, if we could divest ourselves for a moment of this influence of habit, we might possibly become aware that there is something no less startling, no less surprising, in certain prevalent dietetic customs which pass muster among most of us unquestioned and unchallenged; just as some well-known household word, long familiar to the ear, may seem strange and unusual when critically viewed and examined from a new standpoint. Is it not at least as remarkable, prejudice aside, that civilized beings should require flesh-meat as that they should abjure it? Is it not a singular fact that men of culture and refinement should prefer animal food to a fleshless diet? I offer this prefatory remark as a suggestion only—as a tentative, not dogmatic reflection; though I confess that to one who has had personal experience of a Pythagorean fare the orthodox diet-system does undoubtedly seem a matter for surprise and wonder, and might be provocative of laughter also, were not the subject somewhat too serious for merriment.

To attempt to discover the precise origin of this habit of flesh-eating has always proved a hopeless and unprofitable task. We may imagine with the poets that it was some greedy and mischievous innovator who first scorned the simple and abundant food of the Golden Age, and set the fatal example by staining his hand with blood; or we may prefer Plutarch's explanation, that it was through "utter resourcelessness and destitution" that the primeval races were compelled to adopt the guilty diet; or, on the other hand, we may content ourselves with the common and more comfortable theory, that man, being by nature omnivorous, has from the first followed a natural instinct in living on animal food. But whatever the origin may have been, there is no question about the habit itself; nor can there be any doubt that among Western nations it is becoming more and more general and widespread. Flesh-meat is regarded as the food *par excellence* of the human race;

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and though few individuals would care to indulge in a retrospect similar to that of Sydney Smith, who calculated that he had himself consumed over forty waggon-loads of flesh in the course of his life, yet this is practically the sort of diet to which all classes aspire. A strong belief in the utility of flesh-food has characterized from time immemorial the larger portion of the civilized race.

Yet it should be remarked that in all ages there have been protests, however unavailing, against this carnivorous habit. Almost at the same time that Buddha was preaching in the East his "religion of mercy," Pythagoras was enjoining on his disciples in the West the duty of abstention from flesh. Among Latin and Greek philosophers, three especially—Seneca, Plutarch, and Porphyry—may be regarded as forerunners of the modern humanitarian movement; Plutarch's "Essay on Flesh-eating" being as vigorous a denunciation of the cruelties of the slaughter-house as has ever been published. During the Middle Ages it is to be regretted that it was an ascetic rather than humanitarian spirit that was dominant in the Christian Church; yet the abstinence from flesh which was so largely practised by primitive Christians, was at least a proof of the possibility of a more enlightened diet-system. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, splendid testimony was borne to the cause of humanity by no less distinguished writers than Montaigne and Gassendi, the former of whom dwells rather on the moral, the latter on the scientific arguments. Coming to still later times, we find that men such as Franklin, Howard, and Wesley, have given practical proof of the sufficiency of a fleshless diet; while a host of "sentimental" writers, from Pope to Rousseau, have enlarged, with more or less sincerity, on the barbarities of civilized life. I mention these examples, a few out of many illustrious names, to show that in no period of the world's history has humanity been without its champions, unpopular and unsuccessful though their doctrines may have been.* But it has been reserved for modern times to demonstrate the philosophic and scientific truth that underlies all attempts to promote the cause of food reform. Dr. Cheyne's "Essay on Regimen," in which he expressly urges the superiority of a vegetable diet, was published in 1740, and be found two worthy successors in Dr. Lambe and Sylvester Graham, who during the first half of the present century established the doctrine of scientific vegetarianism on a firm basis, in England and America respectively. To Sylvester

* *Vide* the catena of authorities cited in Mr. Howard Williams' "Ethics of Diet."

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Graham, above all others, should perhaps be given the place of honour in the annals of vegetarian literature; for his "Lectures on the Science of Human Life" form the text-book from which the advocates of the reformed diet derive their most powerful arguments. It is astonishing to remark how little is known of Graham in this country. On the Continent his name has been immortalized, if only by the "Graham bread," which is there so widely used and appreciated; he has also a growing reputation in America. But most Englishmen still remain in ignorance not only of the advantages of the bread, but of the far greater merits of the "Science of Human Life."

Sylvester Graham laid great stress on the fact that the preservation of health must depend mainly, not on medicine, but on dietetic habits. Recent vegetarian writers, following in this line, have been able to show the immense importance of what is known as "the food question," and to prove that the movement in favour of food reform is due, not merely to a sentimental humanitarianism, still less to any ascetic tendency, but to the recognition of a real scientific and economic truth. The "Science of Human Life" was published in 1839; eight years later, the English "Vegetarian Society" was founded, thus substituting for the isolated protests of individuals the definite and organized labours of a permanent body. The constitution of the Vegetarian Society, like that of ancient Sparta, is of a triple character; the society consisting of three grades—members, associates, subscribers. Of these, the members agree to adopt the vegetarian system of diet in all its Spartan severity; the associates merely bind themselves to promote the vegetarian cause when opportunity may offer; while the subscribers perform the humble but useful task of supplying the society with the sinews of war. Unassuming and insignificant enough in its origin, the Vegetarian Society has nevertheless done a large amount of useful work in the last forty years, and has met with much encouragement and success. It now numbers some thousands of members, has branches in most of our large towns, and annually circulates a very large amount of vegetarian literature; thus influencing many persons who half a century ago would never have heard that it was even possible to live without flesh-food. From the personal experience of its members it is able to bring forward incontrovertible evidence as to the practicability of the reformed diet; while, in the face of the fact that at the present time there are many English families living in the best of health without the use of flesh-meat, it seems impossible for medical men to maintain the theory—for it is nothing else—that the English climate is not suited to vegetarianism. Indeed, Sir Henry Thompson has

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expressly admitted that a vegetable diet is perfectly practicable in this country, and his objections to the vegetarian system are based rather on a dislike of the name of the society and the method of its propaganda, than on any hostility to the main principles of food reformers. In this article I use the name "vegetarian" in the sense in which it was originally adopted by the Vegetarian Society itself, and in which it has now become popular—viz., as implying abstention from fish, flesh, and fowl, but not necessarily from eggs and dairy produce. Whether those food reformers who use eggs and milk have any right to assume the title of "vegetarians" is a secondary point, which, I submit, is entirely irrelevant to the main issue, of which alone I now speak.

Before entering on a statement of the various arguments adduced by the advocates of food reform it may be well to say a few words about the diet itself. The vegetarian system aims at striking the golden mean between asceticism on the one hand and self-indulgence on the other. The common belief that in abstaining from flesh-food one is compelled to undergo a serious loss of "creature comforts" is perhaps natural enough, but nevertheless is wholly erroneous; sacrifice of dietetic *habit* there must certainly be, but there need be no sacrifice of dietetic *taste*. A man will not starve, even in the temperate zone and the traditional land of roast beef, if he can get a breakfast of oatmeal porridge or wheatmeal bread and fruit, to be followed by a dinner of properly cooked vegetables, very different, it must be understood, from those insipid messes which in ordinary households are generally the accompaniment of meat. The idea that unless one eats flesh-food there can be "no variety" of dishes, is equally baseless. It would take long to enumerate the many delicious yet inexpensive forms of food of which the vegetarian can avail himself: the lentil, incomparable in soups or fritters; the haricot-bean, containing considerably more nutriment, weight for weight, than beef; the various kinds of mushroom, rich in nitrogen, most of which are contemptuously set aside by the uninitiated as "poisonous"; and all the host of garden vegetables, from the rarely-grown salsify, the "vegetable oyster," a dish fit for an epicure, to the commoner kinds, which can be combined in endless variety in pies and salads; to say nothing of the fruits and cereals, which alone might suffice to constitute an almost ideal diet. "Roots, fruits, and farinacea" should be the vegetarian's motto; and if to this list he think fit to add the dishes that may be derived from the use of eggs and the products of the dairy, he will be very hard indeed to please if he finds any

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cause to be discontented with his table. There would be more danger, I think, of vegetarians becoming too much enamoured of the pleasures of the palate, but for the fact that the leaders of the movement have never failed to emphasize the immense importance of simplicity and moderation, again and again repeating the wise warning against the fatal yet too common habit of self-indulgence in matters of diet—a truth which has been taught by all the most eminent medical men from Abernethy to Sir Henry Thompson. Thus it comes to pass that vegetarians as a class realize more keenly than flesh-eaters the importance of a wisely arranged diet. The habit of "thinking about one's food" is sometimes deprecated, or even ridiculed, by hard-working men, who imagine there is a sort of merit in not caring what one eats. The truth is precisely the opposite of this, and the food reformer knows it.

But here an opponent may urge that, even if we grant the practicability of a vegetarian diet, it does not follow that it is desirable. What reasons can vegetarians bring forward to show why we should not avail ourselves of what is known as a "mixed diet," in which a moderate use of flesh-meat may be accompanied by a full recognition of the value of fruits, cereals, and vegetables? Let me hasten to meet this objection by describing the chief advantages which are realized by the total disuse of flesh-food.

1. In no other way is it possible to be truly and consistently humane. There are, of course, some persons who are wholly indifferent to this aspect of the question, and who candidly avow their entire contempt for all "sentiment" and "humanity." But these are comparatively few in number; for the great majority of the people are certainly anxious, in name at any rate, to lend no sanction to anything that savours of inhumanity; and the present age has for this reason witnessed many noble attempts to lessen the sum of animal suffering, and to prevent the practice of deliberate cruelty. Among these attempts may be mentioned the excellent work of the Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and for the Suppression of Vivisection; and there are many others which will readily occur to the mind. A vegetarian could hardly be suspected of any lack of sympathy with those who are engaged in such truly praiseworthy work; yet he may be pardoned for suggesting that there is something ludicrously illogical and inconsistent in the position of those well-meaning "humanitarians" who spare no means to abolish one particular form of cruelty, while by their own system of diet they are sanctioning and deliberately perpetrating the unspeakable horrors of the slaughter-house. This feature of London

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society was one which did not escape the criticism of Goldsmith's "Chinese Philosopher:" *

> The better sort [he wrote] here pretend to the utmost compassion for animals of every kind; to hear them speak, a stranger would be apt to imagine they could hardly hurt the gnat that stung them; they seem so tender and so full of pity, that one would take them for the harmless friends of the whole creation—the protectors of the meanest insect or reptile that was privileged with existence. And yet (would you believe it?) I have seen the very men who thus boasted of their tenderness at the same time devouring the flesh of six different animals tossed up in a fricassee. Strange contrariety of conduct! They pity, and they eat the objects of their compassion!

I fear that this "contrariety of conduct" is unhappily only too prevalent among many professed "lovers of animals;" so much so, that the latter expression is rendered in some cases somewhat equivocal and humorous, reminding one of George Eliot's happy description of Tom Tulliver, "a young gentleman fond of animals—fond, that is, of throwing stones at them." And let it not be imagined that the slaughter of animals to supply the demands of our markets is carried on, as some good people fondly endeavour to believe, with a minimum of suffering to the victims of human gluttony. Any such comfortably optimistic theory must be dispelled, at once and for ever, by a perusal of the report of the Society for the Reform of Slaughter-houses, instituted a few years ago by Dr. B. W. Richardson and other reformers. It is no part of my purpose to dwell on these horrors; their existence unfortunately admits of no possibility of doubt;† and it has been well said that "the cruelties of butchers equal the cruelties of vivisection, with this difference, that those of the butchers are constant, almost daily, and these of the vivisector are in comparison seldom and few." Nor is it in the smallest degree probable that the present method of slaughtering will ever be exchanged for one that is really painless and humane. The abolition of private slaughter-houses would certainly be a change for the better; but Dr. Richardson's scheme for the painless slaughter of animals under anæsthetics must necessarily be too costly and complicated for general adoption; and, to tell the truth, by the time men have become humane enough to welcome any such ingenious substitutes for the more brutal but expeditious process of knife and pole-axe, it is more than likely that they will be prepared to go one step

* "Citizen of the World," ch. xv.

† For a remarkable body of evidence on this subject, see Dr. Kingsford's "Perfect Way in Diet," pp. 59–71.

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further, and dispense with any slaughter at all. "Humane slaughtering" is, in fact, a contradiction in terms; no slaughtering of animals for food can possibly be humane, because it is wholly unnecessary.

2. It is equally impossible to reconcile the present system of diet with the most unmistakable promptings of good taste. Even if we have no pity for the animals, we should at any rate have some regard for our own feelings. A butcher's shop, with its disgusting array of dangling carcases, unpleasant alike in sight and smell, unless when habit has made us insensible to all such considerations, is surely at least as degrading to our boasted civilization as the ugliness of modern architecture which artists so often and so justly deplore. The details of the butcher's business are fortunately hidden from our eyes; but they are such as a refined mind naturally and inevitably shrinks from contemplating. It is only by deliberately shutting our eyes to the whole process, and by allowing the odious task to devolve upon other people, that we can tolerate the system at all.

> Having been my own butcher and scullion and cook [says Henry Thoreau*], I can speak from an unusually complete experience. The practical objection to animal food in my case was its uncleanness. A little bread or a few potatoes would have done as well, with less trouble and filth. . . . . I believe that every man who has ever been earnest to preserve his higher or poetic faculties in the best condition has been particularly inclined to abstain from animal food, and from much food of any kind.

Nor is it only in the preparation of the food that the laws of good taste are thus rudely violated; for surely the same remarks will apply to the arrangement of the dinner-table itself. The grossness of flesh-meat may be partially concealed by the skill of cookery; but even thus, it is only by the force of habit and thoughtlessness that we can entirely preserve our æsthetic equanimity. To keep "a good table," in the ordinary sense of the term, is one thing; but to keep a table in good taste is quite another. However sumptuous the surroundings and lavish the expenditure, a satisfactory result can only be obtained when the food itself is pure and simple, and suggests no reminiscences of a loathsome and degrading origin.

3. The hygienic argument is the next to which I would draw attention. It has been shown over and over again by chemical analysis that animal food contains no nutriment that cannot also be obtained from the vegetable kingdom. Wheat-meal,

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* "Walden," p. 230.

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oatmeal, peas, beans, lentils, and haricots, are more nutritious, pound for pound, than beef or mutton; and they possess the additional advantage of being nutritious without being stimulating. The effect of flesh-food is similar to that of alcohol, supplying a temporary stimulant rather than a permanent and equable strength; and for this reason vegetarians justly claim an advantage for the reformed diet. The experience of those who have made trial of vegetarianism shows that the moderate use of fruits, cereals, and vegetables, with the addition, if desired, of such animal products as milk, cheese, and eggs, tends to produce a sound and healthy habit of body, together with increased clearness and calmness of mind. A striking instance of the beneficial effect of a vegetable diet is seen in the fact that vegetarians are almost invariably total abstainers from wine and all alcoholic drinks, the craving for which dies a natural death together with the disuse of flesh-meat and the adoption of a nourishing but non-stimulating diet; the simplest and most efficacious cure for the drink-crave is to be found in food reform. Much, too, might be said on the subject of diseased meat, a danger from which the food reformer is wholly free, though no amount of sanitary regulations can ever place the flesh-eater in security. Trichinosis, rinderpest, pleuro-pneumonia, measles, anthrax, scrofula, and diseases carbuncular and tubercular—these are a few of the maladies which "flesh is heir to," and which the flesh-eater runs the risk of imbibing together with his beef, mutton, or pork. Dr. Alfred Carpenter, in his address before the Sanitary Congress at Croydon in 1879, corroborated the statement of an inspector of the Metropolitan Meat Market, that "eighty-six per cent. of the meat which was sent to the London market was the subject of tubercular disease, and that to exclude diseased meat would be to leave the Metropolis without an adequate meat supply." Under these circumstances can it be wondered that there are some who prefer to dispense with flesh-meat, and to confine themselves to the wholesome simplicity of vegetable fare?

4. Lastly, I must say a few words about the undisputed economic advantage of a fleshless diet; an argument which, *cæteris paribus*, is amply sufficient to turn the scale in favour of the vegetarian cause. There may be some persons who are little moved by the plea of humanity and good taste, and who remain absolutely indifferent to hygienic considerations; they have a liking for animal food, and they are determined to gratify it. But he would be no true Englishman who should refuse to be influenced by an appeal to his economic interests; and a comparison of the cost of animal and vegetable food will be universally admitted to furnish an instructive commentary

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on this question. We have it on unimpeachable authority* that "one pennyworth of split peas is equal in nourishment to nine pennyworth of beef; or, in other words, the nourishment obtained for ninepence from beef can readily be had for one penny from peas." At the lowest calculation it appears that the most nourishing vegetable diet can be obtained by any one who is so minded at about one-fourth or one-fifth the cost of flesh; the housekeeper who is weekly troubled by the upward tendency of the butcher's bills, has therefore the remedy in her own hands, if she will be wise enough to avail herself of it. Nor is it only individuals who may profit by the recognition of this economic fact. It is difficult to arrive at an exact calculation of the advantage of tillage over pasturage in providing the national food supply, but all authorities agree in stating that a given acreage devoted to cereals and vegetables will support, at the very lowest estimate, four times as many men as the same acreage employed in rearing cattle.

With the light of these natural facts filling the national mind [says Dr. B. W. Richardson],† the tendencies of all advanced scholars in thrift should unquestionably be to find out plans for feeding all the community, as far as is possible, direct from the lap of earth; to endeavour to discover how the fruits of the earth may be immediately utilized as food; and to impress science into our service, so that she in her laboratories may prepare the choicest viands, minus the necessity of making a lower animal the living laboratory for the sake of what is just a little higher than cannibal propensities.

When one realizes the economic superiority of vegetarian diet, and remembers how the question of our national food supply is becoming more and more urgent and difficult every year, it certainly seems nothing less than marvellous that the suggestions of food reformers should be so often ridiculed and slighted as the mere "fads" and crotchets of sentimentalists and humanitarians. "Fads" they would certainly be if it were impossible to live as healthily without flesh-food as with it; but the contention that meat alone contains the requisite strength-giving properties is now everywhere being given up; so that the continued and increasing use of this most costly yet unnecessary article of diet amounts really to nothing less than an act of national wastefulness and extravagance.

I have now mentioned, unavoidably in briefest outline, what seem to me to be the four main arguments in favour of the principles of food reform. There will of course be a difference of opinion as regards their relative importance; for this is a

* House of Commons Report on Diet in Prisons, 1879.

† Essay on "Food Thrift," in *Modern Thought*, July 1880.

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many-sided question, which can be viewed from many diverse standpoints, and the same argument will not carry the same weight to all. But I feel sure that, whether the subject be regarded from the moral or utilitarian point of view, the final conclusion must be that which I have indicated; in this question, at any rate, morality and utility will not be found to be at variance. We inflict grievous cruelties on the lower animals by breeding and slaughtering them for food, and in the long run it seems that we have gained nothing thereby; on the contrary, we find ourselves out of taste, out of health, and out of pocket for our trouble. Surely, under these circumstances, vegetarians, without being guilty of any dogmatic or sectarian spirit, are justified in insisting on the necessity of individual inquiry, and the recognition of the fact that this food question is one of primary importance, and no mere passing craze or fanciful hallucination. It is a question which cries aloud for scientific investigation and the fullest possible publicity. If it is really necessary or advisable that any or all classes of Englishmen should eat flesh-meat, it is incumbent on medical men to put the matter beyond all doubt by an exposure of the vegetarian fallacy; a course which, by the way, would involve a direct contradiction of the express statements of certain eminent members of the medical profession, and an explanation of the remarkably healthy condition of those individuals and families who have for years renounced animal food. On the other hand, if, as Sir Henry Thompson has told us, "it is a vulgar error to regard meat in any form as necessary to life," our men of science ought, in the interests of truth, to lose no time in making this important fact known as widely as possible to all members of the community.

It is desirable that the real point at issue should be stated thus clearly and unmistakably, because the discussion of this main question is apt to degenerate into interesting but inessential particulars; as, for instance, what would become of the Esquimaux if they were deprived of their blubber; and whether any name can be discovered to discriminate those food reformers who admit the use of eggs and milk from those who are in the literal sense "vegetarians." Those who, from prejudice or ignorance, are hostile to the whole vegetarian movement, are fond of suggesting all sorts of initial difficulties and incidental dilemmas, which, like Dr. Johnson's serviceable argument of "There's an end on't," may have the effect of nipping their opponents' eloquence in the bud, and rendering any close discussion superfluous. Some of these objections so invariably crop up whenever the subject of vegetarianism is opened, that

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it may be well to show why they are irrelevant or fallacious. I select five or six of the commonest of these anti-vegetarian arguments—old friends, well known to everybody who has ever attempted to advocate the cause of food reform.

First, the objection drawn from physiology. There is a widespread idea current among ordinary people, and even countenanced at times by those who are in a position to ascertain the truth, that the necessity of a flesh diet is demonstrated by the "canine" teeth and anatomical structure of men. It seems to be forgotten by those who advance this objection that "if such arguments are valid, they apply with even greater force to the anthropoid apes, whose canine teeth are much longer and more powerful than those of man; and the scientists must make haste therefore to announce a rectification of their present division of the animal kingdom, in order to class with the Carnivora, and their proximate species, all those animals which now make up the order of Primates."* In other words, if all possessors of *un*developed canine teeth are to be thus hastily condemned to a diet of animal flesh, the list of the Carnivora will be augmented not only by the intrusion of man, but by the whole class of frugivorous apes. In the anarchy that would ensue in this era of anatomical and physiological confusion, who knows but that the flesh-eater's millennium may be realized, and that even the ox may see fit to eat flesh like the lion? But it seems improbable that physiologists are as yet prepared to take up this new "scientific frontier." On the contrary, the most eminent authorities—Linnæus, Cuvier, Gassendi, Ray, Lawrence, Owen, Bell, and many others—are unanimous in affirming that man is by nature and origin neither carnivorous nor herbivorous, but, like the ape, *frugivorous*. As far, then, as an argument can be drawn from the teaching of physiology, it is distinctly in favour of the vegetarian cause.

Secondly, vegetarian doctrines are often condemned without being seriously considered, because it is said they are contrary to that great "law of Nature" whereby one animal is impelled to prey upon another. "Nature is one with rapine," a great modern poet has written; and the philosophical flesh-eater accordingly delights to point out that the vegetarian, by refusing the animals that were obviously "sent" him as food, is impiously thwarting and despising the benign provisions of Nature—much in the same way, I presume, as it is sometimes argued against the advocates of cremation that they are attempting to defeat the scriptural prophecies that men shall rise "with their bodies." It seems to be wholly overlooked by the good people

* Dr. Kingsford's "Perfect Way in Diet."

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who employ this remarkable method of reasoning, that Nature is *not* altogether one with rapine; some animals are undoubtedly predatory in their instincts, but it is equally obvious that others are not. To commence by assuming that man is to be classed among the predatory species is simply to beg the whole question which is at issue, and by this style of arguing it would be just as easy to justify the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, or any other bestial habit which may be illustrated by arbitrary reference to this or that portion of the animal kingdom.

Under the same head may be classed the strange idea, often gravely advanced in the discussion of this diet question, that because we are sometimes compelled, by accident or in self-defence, or whatever the circumstances may be, to take the lives of animals, we are therefore justified in systematically breeding and slaughtering them wholesale for food. Yet there is a great difference between "taking life," and "taking life *unnecessarily*:" it is the latter only which vegetarians condemn; and the criticism is therefore both childish and irrelevant. Indeed, the mere fact that to take the lives of animals is at times unavoidable, ought to make us the more anxious to avoid any additional and unnecessary slaughter, for, as Leigh Hunt well observes,

> That there is pain and evil is no rule
> That I should make it greater, like a fool.

But apart from this foolish fallacy there is often found an unfortunate inclination, even among persons of an enlightened and humane disposition, to regard flesh-eating as one of the "cruel fatalities" of life, a habit deserving of condemnation in theory, yet in practice unavoidable. This sentiment is well expressed by Michelet:

> The further we advance in knowledge, the more we apprehend the true meaning of realities; the more do we understand simple but very serious matters which the hurry of life makes us forget. Life! Death! The daily murder which feeding upon other animals implies—those hard and bitter problems sternly placed themselves before my mind. Miserable contradiction! Let us hope that there may be another globe in which the base, the cruel fatalities of this may be spared to us! *

That there may be another globe free from these fatalities is what we all hope for; but in the meantime it should not be forgotten that we have undoubtedly the power of enormously lessening the amount of suffering in this our present existence.

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* Quoted in "Ethics of Diet," p. 254.

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Thirdly, vegetarians are often met by instances of persons who have tried the system of food reform, and returned after a while to the orthodox fold. Chief amongst these "backsliders" must be classed the Poet Laureate himself, who, in his latest volume, has given us a highly poetical account of an unsuccessful dietetic experiment. It should be observed, however, that the mere fact that some people have tried vegetarianism and failed, cannot in itself be held to stand for much, unless it be known that their attempt was made in a judicious manner, and with a real desire to persevere. If all such cases of failure could be carefully examined, it would probably be found that nine-tenths of the experiments were made under circumstances which precluded all possibility of success. Sometimes a man will commence the practice of vegetarianism for no better reason than that he likes "to try everything"; another will suddenly renounce a heavy flesh diet without preparing any more suitable substitute than insipid vegetables; a third thinks that he must make up for the loss of flesh-meat by eating enormous quantities of such highly concentrated food as lentils and haricot beans. Can it be wondered that attempts made in this haphazard manner should often end in disappointment? A hundred such instances are outweighed by one single case where the reformed diet has been deliberately and finally adopted; in collecting evidence of this sort one affirmative must be held to outbalance many negatives. How different would be the present state of the temperance question from what it now is, if the experience of those who asserted that they had vainly tried to abstain from alcohol had been accepted as a satisfactory proof of the impossibility of total abstinence! But there is no means of escaping the significance of a single affirmative witness.

Fourthly, we often hear of certain objections to the disuse of flesh-food, based on the supposed difficulties that would arise from the want of fur, leather, soap, candles, bone, and the various other animal products that are at present so useful to us. To ask a vegetarian how he proposes to dispense with these commodities furnishes the flesh-eater with a lively and amusing repartee, which is often very effective at the time before a sympathetic audience. But a few moments' reflection must show that these difficulties are only temporary and incidental, and not such as could cause any permanent hindrance to the establishment of a vegetarian *régime*. The disuse of animal food must necessarily be a gradual process, and would not be suddenly and unexpectedly brought about; so that there would be no danger whatever of the civilized world waking up some morning to find itself without boots, or being compelled some

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night to go to bed in the dark for want of bedroom candles. The law of demand and supply would still continue in operation, and we must surely take a very despondent view of the power of human invention if we despair of finding substitutes for the animal products which would slowly disappear from our markets. Even as it is, vegetable leather, vegetable soap, and various other substitutes are already in the market, although, owing to the small number of vegetarians in this country, the demand has hitherto been very slight: with an increased demand there would at once be an equally increased supply, and the transformation would be effected without the slightest inconvenience either to individuals or the community. Dr. Richardson has stated his opinion that a substitute even for milk could be readily supplied from the vegetable kingdom, if a demand should arise for it; and I think it would be difficult to mention any animal substance which would prove a serious loss. Vegetarians are sometimes twitted with inconsistency for being willing, in the meantime, to make shift with these animal products, instead of at once discarding them altogether. But the answer is obvious and convincing. Vegetarians use leather, bone, &c., at the present time—not because they have any preference or desire for these articles, but because under the present dietetic system substitutes are as yet either expensive or unattainable. While carcases abound on all sides, animal material is necessarily used, to the exclusion of vegetable substances, though the latter is otherwise equally serviceable. In a word, the "inconsistency" of vegetarians in this matter is due, not to any poverty of the vegetable kingdom, but to the unpleasant dietetic habits of other people.

This brings me to the last of these by-the-way arguments with which the opponents of food reform, forgetful of the proverb *solvetur ambulando*, attempt to prove that the path of progress is hopelessly and inextricably blocked. It is the last of these arguments, but it is, in my opinion, by far the most characteristic and amusing of them all. Pedagogues have, we know, their "diversions"; why should not food reformers also have theirs? Few people can imagine how refreshing, how piquant is the change, when the weary advocate of vegetarianism, overdone with the dry and serious discussion of comparative anatomy, natural economy, the chemistry of foods, cruelty of the slaughter-house, and other weighty matters, lights upon some welcome and heaven-sent opponent, who, in all seriousness and good faith, asserts, believes, and is prepared to make good by reasoning, that the habit of flesh-eating is advantageous fo the interests of the animals themselves! That there are peopl who hold this opinion may seem incredible, but it is neverthe

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less a fact; nay, more, the argument has found its way into at least one popular and valuable encyclopædia. It runs as follows:—"The system of rearing cattle for the butcher—since the cattle would otherwise not be reared at all—really adds very largely to the sum of happy animal existence." * Truly a comfortable and consolatory thought! It is charming to discover that flesh-eating, like mercy, is "twice blessed," ministering at once to the pleasures of the human palate, and to the happiness of the flocks and herds destined for speedy consumption. But it is an awkward fact that the same reasoning is equally capable of justifying the vivisector in breeding rabbits for the laboratory; for in the same way it could be demonstrated that by one short hour of suffering they purchase a happy lifetime of innocent enjoyment. There must, we fear, be something wrong about an argument which leads us to such strange conclusions as these. The fallacy lies in the queer assumption that the transition from non-existence to existence is necessarily an advantage, for which thanks are due to those who bring it about. This is sheer and downright nonsense. It would be just as sensible to say that in *not* arranging for the birth of still more and more cattle, we are doing an *un*kindness to the animals that might have been! For such seems to be the corollary of the assertion that a man brings more happiness into the world in proportion as he eats more flesh-meat and enlarges the supply of beef and mutton. Moreover, if we must go at all into this question of "the sum of human existence," would it not be better to add to the sum of human existence instead of that of cattle, and by devoting more land to tillage and less to pasture increase the population threefold or fourfold?

But our opponents are not content in claiming merit for bringing their victims into the world; they go still further, and congratulate themselves on their own humanity in providing the helpless animals with a satisfactory and expeditious method of departure. "What would become of the animals?" they ask, "if they were not killed for food?" This naïve question, which, strange as it may seem, is often seriously propounded, recalls to the mind Swift's "Modest Proposal for Utilizing the Children of Poor People in Ireland": "I propose to provide for them," he said, "in such a manner as, instead of being a charge upon their parents or the parish, or wanting food and raiment for the rest of their lives, they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the clothing, of many thousands." The "provision" for the children was that they should be fattened for the table at the age of one year, at which age they

* Chambers's "Encyclopædia," art. "Vegetarianism."

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would form "a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled." It is said that when Swift published this humorous "Proposal," a foreign author actually took it as serious, and quoted it as an instance of the extremity under which Ireland then laboured! We smile at such inability to distinguish jest from earnest; yet the mental condition of those well-meaning people who can think of no other way of disposing of animals than by eating them, seems to me to be at least equally remarkable.

If I have spoken strongly in dealing with some of these fallacious arguments, these red herrings trailed across the track of food reformers, I nevertheless am fully awake to the real difficulties that, under the present system, must be encountered, more or less, by those who change their diet. It is not always easy to make such a change, especially for the old; it should certainly not be done hurriedly, or without due consideration and the provision of proper substitutes for animal food.* The social difficulties, too, are not entirely to be overlooked; for the disuse of flesh food is undoubtedly an inconvenience at times to those whose business or inclination makes them frequent travellers or diners-out; while the adoption of vegetarianism by some members of a household where the rest are flesh-eaters, is often a fruitful cause of disagreement. But it may fairly be said that these and such like difficulties are merely caused by the fact that the food question is at present in a stage of transition; temporary inconvenience there certainly may be, but impossibility there is none. Where there is a will there is a way; and the sincerity of the food reformer's inclinations will be the measure of his success.

It is often said by those who are interested, but not convinced, by vegetarian arguments, that though they cannot go the extreme length of food reform, they quite admit that most people eat too much meat, and that therefore the Vegetarian Society is doing a useful work. There is something a trifle provoking in the tacit assumption that a middle course is necessarily the wise one; yet, as Professor Newman has pointed out, there is no doubt that the one paramount object of vegetarians is to diminish as much as possible the use of flesh-food, and that this object may be furthered quite as much by inducing a great many people to eat less meat as by inducing a very few to eat none at all. In the discussion of this, as of all other social questions, there is need of tolerance and consideration. Against the use of flesh-food—necessitating as it does the infliction of endless cruelties on the lower animals, and the violation of

* *Vide* "How to Begin," a pamphlet published by the Vegetarian Society.

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man's innate sense of justice and gentleness—all vegetarians must record their uncompromising protest. That done, there is room for much variety of opinion in regard to other matters of less vital interest. The moderate use of eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and, some think, even of fish, is not necessarily censurable, and often furnishes a *modus vivendi* to would-be vegetarians, who cannot see their way all at once to the adoption of a perfectly consistent diet. Of one thing I feel sure, that the indispensable condition of a right solution of this question of diet, is a determination on the part of each individual to inquire into the whole matter for himself, and in the choice of food not to trust blindly to the influence of any adviser, medical or other. If any of my readers are at all moved by the arguments I have adduced, I will beg them, in conclusion, so far to suspend judgment on this subject as to study the writings of some of the chief exponents of food reform* before making up their minds that all vegetarians are "crotchet-mongers" and "sentimentalists." "Strike—but hear me," is the summary of the vegetarian's petition.

H. S. Salt.

IV.—Fifteen Years of National Education in England.

THE story of National Education in England—it can scarcely claim to have a history yet—presents some curious features of interest to those who desire to weigh the comparative merits of State interference, and individual, or voluntary, action. The strained relations which have long been maintained between Church and Dissent, the jealous care with which a large number of Dissenters watched anything approaching to an increase in the power and prestige of the Church, have had much to do with the retention of a voluntary system of education, and with a neglect of the interests of the young. With many Dissenters it became a fixed principle, that for the State to impart the most rudimentary education was little short of setting up another establishment, quite as objectionable and far more dangerous

* *Vide* especially "The Perfect Way in Diet," by Anna Kingsford, M.D. (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.); "Essays on Diet," by Professor F. W. Newman (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.); "The Ethics of Diet," by Howard Williams, M.A. (F. Pitman & Co); "Fruits and Farinacea," by John Smith; Sylvester Graham's "Science of Human Life" (The Vegetarian Society, Princess Street, Manchester).

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than the Established Church. Hence, it was not until the year 1832 that this country, boasting of its foremost position among the nations of the world, in nowise lacking in matters of intellectual renown, and possessed of two great centres of learning of world-wide fame, recognised in any way that the State had some duty to its children. Even then the recognition did not amount to more than this, that a grant of £20,000 was made by the House of Commons, in Committee of Supply, towards the aid of elementary education in England. Even then the State took no responsibility for the kind of education imparted; half the grant was handed over to the National Society, a Church agency, and the other half to the British and Foreign School Society, which was mainly supported by Dissenters. No doubt there had been "parish," or, as they were sometimes called, "charity" schools, which had been founded in times past by pious donors, or out of parochial funds; there had, too, been grammar schools, originally intended for the children of the poor, but gradually acquired and retained by and for the middle-classes exclusively.

Although it was not until the year 1832 that the State first recognised its duty in respect of primary education, various attempts had been made to get it to do so. In 1807 a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Whitbread, brought in a Bill for the establishment of parochial schools through the agency of local vestries, who were to be empowered to draw on the rates for the purpose. He induced the House of Commons to pass the measure, but the House of Lords would not have it. At that time England was in the midst of its struggle with Napoleon, and could give but little attention to such a question as that of the education of her children. It was not, therefore, until after the battle of Waterloo—that is, in the year 1816—that another attempt was made to deal with it. In that year a Select Committee for inquiring into the education of the poor in the metropolis was appointed at the instance of Brougham, who followed it up in 1818 with the appointment of another Committee on Endowments. His manner of conducting these committees was not happy, and he succeeded in begetting a wide mistrust of any scheme of national education. When, in 1820, he introduced a measure based upon the result of his inquiries, he found it necessary, in order to buy off the hostility thus created, to introduce clauses into his measure which frightened the Dissenters, whose opposition led to its defeat. More than this, it roused their suspicion to such an extent that they were prepared to see in nearly every scheme propounded for national education a plot for aggrandizing the Church; while, on the

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other hand, the clergy would have nothing to do with any plan which would in the slightest degree lessen their ascendency.

The £20,000 granted by the Committee of Supply in 1832 went to the erection of school-houses, but there was no guarantee beyond that of the two societies, already named, that the money in each case was really wanted, nor were any means adopted to secure the erection of suitable accommodation. There was no Act of Parliament passed regulating the disposal of the grant, nor was there any special Government department constituted for its administration. It is evident that this grant was a most inadequate recognition of the duties of the State, but it was the thin end of the wedge—the beginning of a system which has grown to large proportions, and under which there is now administered annually nearly £3,000,000 of the public money.

No increase was made in the amount of the grant until the year 1839, when it was raised to £30,000. Further than this, a department was created, specially devoted to the work of education. Still the Legislature was not called upon to interfere, for it was by an Order in Council that a Special Committee of the Privy Council was established, and in connection with it a special staff of officers and school inspectors engaged. Not that the Government of the day (Lord Melbourne's) did not attempt to deal with the subject, but in doing so they were nearly wrecked. They tried to establish a Normal Training College for teachers, but the scheme met with so much opposition that from that day to the present there has been no *Government* training school. The opposition in this instance came principally from the Church party. In 1842, Sir Robert Peel's Government introduced certain educational clauses into the Factory Regulation Bill, having for their object the provision of education for children partially employed in factories. These roused the antagonism of Dissenters, and in deference to them the clauses had to be withdrawn. Several further legislative proposals emanated, as well from private members as from successive Governments, but met with no success. Meanwhile the grant had been gradually increasing, and it was felt that there should be some Minister specially responsible to the House of Commons for its disbursement. Hence, in 1856 an Act was passed establishing the office of Vice-President of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, and this was the first legislative enactment on the subject appearing in our Statute-Book.

In 1858 a Royal Commission, presided over by the Duke of Newcastle, was appointed to inquire into and report on the state of public education in England. This Commission disclosed a sad state of affairs. The education was most defective; the teachers were often untrained; children who did attend school

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did so irregularly, and frequently left to go to work at the earliest possible age. Had the Commission nothing else to consider than how to remedy this condition of affairs its work would have been, comparatively speaking, easy. It had, however, to reconcile opposing interests, or rather it had to avoid bringing these into active antagonism. It would extend this article to an inordinate length were we to attempt to describe these in detail; suffice it to say that the Commission reported against the abolition of school fees, and against compulsory attendance, but it affirmed the principle of the Government paying by results, and reported in favour of local contribution being made to the schools, and, as a corollary, of local representation in their management.

Hitherto the Committee of Council on Education had, as occasion required, issued Minutes affecting some one or more parts of the school system. These had increased in bulk as time went on, but there had been no attempt to codify them. Much inconvenience having thus arisen, in the year 1860 the various Minutes were arranged in the form of a Code. Some of these Minutes, having regard to the report of the Newcastle Commission, were no longer likely to be of service. At that time the office of Vice-President was held by Mr. Robert Lowe, and he set about remodelling the Code, so as to bring it somewhat into harmony with the principles laid down by the Commissioners. This Revised Code, as it got to be called, effected a very serious alteration in the mode of applying the Government grant. Certain conditions were attached to it without which no school could claim to be entitled. Not only must the school be held in premises approved by the Government inspector, and under a teacher holding a Government certificate of efficiency, but the children must have made a certain number of attendances, and must have passed an individual examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic, according to the results of which examination a grant was made. The Revised Code met with a bitter opposition, especially on the part of the supporters of voluntary schools, who felt that it imposed upon them very serious obstacles in their work. With some modifications, however, the Code was finally adopted, and for nearly ten years the work of public elementary education was continued under it. Not that any of the various schools of educationalists were satisfied with it, or that no serious objections were found in practice to some of its provisions.

These led not only to further attempts being made in Parliament to secure a better system, but to the formation of two important societies, the one known as the National Education League, having its headquarters at Birmingham; and

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the other the Education Union. The former, in connection with which the Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain made his political *début*, sought to establish a compulsory system of school provision to be administered by local authorities, free and unsectarian education, and compulsory attendance of children. The Union was formed to secure the interests of voluntary schools, and to oppose that portion of the League's programme which sought to establish free schools and to make the instruction unsectarian. The battle between these opposing societies was being fiercely waged when Mr. Gladstone's Government, in 1870, introduced the Bill, which subsequently, with certain modifications, became law, and which was the first real legislative dealing with the question. The need for some such measure was apparent. The voluntary system had done great things in the way of providing education, but it had failed just where it was most wanted. In 1870, while there were about 1,300,000 children being educated in voluntary but State-aided schools, there were at least two millions getting no education at all, and another million being taught at private adventure schools, where the education was of the most defective character.

The brief sketch of the state of affairs in relation to public education we have given will help the reader to appreciate, in some degree, what it is the main object of this article to show, the very great change which the Act of 1870 has effected.* What then were the main provisions of the Act, and how did it avoid the rocks and quicksands upon which previous attempts had been wrecked? It would be impossible within the limits properly assignable to this article to give a complete analysis of this important statute, nor will such a task be attempted. The salient points of the Act can, however, be given, and this we proceed to do.

The two most important subjects with which any measure of the kind had to deal were the supply of school accommodation, and the regular attendance of children at the schools when opened. To attain these objects the Act,† after defining an "elementary school" as one where elementary education is the principal part of the education there given, and at which the ordinary payment for instruction does not exceed ninepence a week, divided the country into school districts, upon each of which was cast the duty of providing school accommodation

* A fuller account of the state of affairs prior to 1870 is given by Mr. Henry Craik in his book, "The State in its Relation to Education," which forms one of "The English Citizen" series published in London by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. The writer of this article acknowledges his indebtedness to this volume for much that has gone before.

† 33 & 34 Vict. c. 75.

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for the children of the district, the amount of accommodation so required being determined by the Education Department. It will be seen here that the existing or voluntary system was not to be disturbed, unless indeed it were found that any school under that system was inefficient. If there were a sufficient supply of these schools in any district there would be no need for further action, but if there were not then a new machinery was called into existence—that is, the School Board—to be elected on the cumulative vote principle by the ratepayers of the district. These Boards had intrusted to them numerous powers, among which was that of framing bye-laws for the compulsory attendance at school of children between the ages of five and thirteen, and for the remission or payment of the fees of children, where their parents were unable by reason of poverty to pay them. These Boards had, too, the power of levying rates on the inhabitants of the district to meet the deficiency in the expenditure, after the fees paid by the children and the Government grant had been taken into account. They had power also (with the consent of the Departments) to establish free schools, where the general and exceptional poverty of the whole district required it; and they were empowered to establish, or contribute to, Industrial Schools, where children under certain circumstances were to be clothed, fed, and educated. The compulsory purchase of sites of land for school purposes, and the transfer of existing schools to Boards were also provided for.

It has already been pointed out that there was no intention to disturb the voluntary system, and the time, before which in many cases School Boards could be formed, enabled the supporters to extend the system. The "year of grace" gave them an ample opportunity for erecting new schools, and thus preventing, what they so much dreaded, the formation of a School Board. This occurred principally in the smaller towns and in the rural districts, where the influence of the clergy was considerable. While it may fairly be conceded that great praise is due to the manner in which the supporters of voluntary schools had taken upon themselves the task of primary education, it was a mistake in policy, when the nation had made up its mind to take the matter in hand, to give fresh vitality to a system, which was *denominational* instead of *national*. Not only has it tended to embitter controversy, but it has placed obstacles in the way of a future permanent settlement.

The rock upon which all previous legislative attempts had foundered, was the "religious difficulty." On the one side there were those believing that no education was complete that had not a religious basis, and further that their conceptions of religion alone embodied the truth. These were anxious to

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enforce their views, and to secure the use of such means as would *enable them* to do so. On the other hand were those who maintained that the State had no concern with religion, and that for any religious teaching to take place in schools where the children of Protestants and Catholics, Christians and Jews, would mix, must lead to a violation of the rights of conscience of some one or other of these. Their solution of the difficulty was that in State-aided schools nothing but secular instruction should be given, leaving it to the voluntary zeal of the sects to impart religious instruction, through the instrumentality of Sunday-schools or other similar agencies. The issue was clear and distinct. How was it to be settled? As a matter of fact it has not been settled, but an attempt was made to do so by the Act. By this it was provided (sec. 7) that every public elementary school should be conducted in accordance with the following regulations (a copy of which was to be conspicuously put up in every school):—

(1) It shall not be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday-school, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs.

(2) The time or times during which any religious observance is practised or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school, shall be either at the beginning or at the end, or at the beginning and the end of such meeting, and shall be inserted in a time-table to be approved by the Education Department, and to be kept permanently and conspicuously affixed in every school-room; and any scholar may be withdrawn by his parent from such observance or instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school.

(3) The school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any of Her Majesty's inspectors, so, however, that it shall be no part of the duties of such inspector to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects given at such school, or to examine any scholar therein in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book.

This "conscience clause" became applicable to all schools, whether denominational or Board, if they desired to obtain the Parliamentary grant, and certainly, so far as it went, it was a fair and useful one. It still left the denominationalists power to teach their own peculiar views, but it prescribed a time for their doing so, and while it provided that it was no part of an inspec-

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tor's duty to examine in religious subjects, it did not forbid it where it was desired.

With regard to the Board Schools, another course was taken. As these were to be provided and mainly supported by the ratepayers, who were also to elect the Boards, it would be obviously unfair if a majority of any Board were to force their views upon religious matters on the minority. At the same time it was evident that the bulk of the people in the country desired to have some kind of religious teaching. In order to meet the difficulty, the Act provided (sec. 14) that "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the [Board] school." It is this provision which causes the extreme denominationalists to describe schools under the management of Boards as "godless schools," and the religious teachings there given as "lifeless, boiled-down, mechanical and unreal,"* in spite of the fact that there is hardly a Board that has not provided for some religious exercises taking place at the beginning or close of their schools. Even the Board at Birmingham, the headquarters of this supposed godlessness, adopted regulations for affording facilities for the giving of religious instruction by voluntary agency in the schools belonging to the Board to children attending them, under which the "Birmingham Religious Education Society" carried on its operations.

There is one other clause in the Act, the famous twenty-fifth clause, which must be referred to, because it led to a bitter controversy, and caused the Nonconformists to become disaffected to Mr. Gladstone's Government, thereby contributing to its defeat in 1874. By this clause School Boards were empowered to pay the school fees payable at *any* public elementary school by any child resident in their district, whose parent was, in their opinion, unable from poverty to pay the same, the parent being at liberty to select the school. This was felt to be a violation of the principle of religious equality, because it would in many cases amount to an endowment of schools, the majority of which belonged to the most richly endowed sect in the country, and over which the ratepayers would have no control. In a memorial addressed by about 700 ratepayers to the Liverpool School Board (the first Board to get its bye-laws approved by the Department), in opposition to the adoption of a bye-law framed in accordance with this clause, it is said that "it will be regarded by a large number of ratepayers as a gross injustice, inasmuch as, in effect, it taxes Protestants for the support of Roman Catholicism, and Roman Catholics for the support of Protestant-

* Lord Salisbury at Newport (Mon.), on 7th of October, 1885.

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ism, and every ratepayer for the support of some religious opinions of which he utterly and conscientiously disapproves." The fact is that the Boards found themselves in this difficulty: either they must utterly ignore the existing school accommodation and build schools of their own, a course which neither the ratepayers nor the Department would approve, or they must abandon all hope of adopting means to compel the children to go to school. The denominational schools could not be forced to take children free, and the Boards had no schools the doors of which were open to all comers. The consequence was that owing to the prolonged discussions which took place on the framing of the bye-laws, considerable delay occurred in getting the Act into operation. Besides which the first elections of School Boards turned upon this question, and that which should have been settled by Parliament was made the bone of contention in a series of petty contests all over the country.

In course of time, however, the Board got to work, and many of those who at first were influenced by the hostile feelings that have been indicated, became so impressed with the magnitude of the task before them, that the points that had been so hotly debated sank into insignificance. A report was recently (1886) presented to Parliament by the Committee of Council on Education which shows how great has been the change effected since the year 1870, and conveys, to some extent, an idea of the magnitude of the operations. In the year 1870 there were 8281 day schools, which were of course all voluntary. In 1874 the number had risen to 12,167, of which only 826 were Board Schools. In 1876 there were 1596 of the latter, and 12,677 voluntary, in all 14,273; and in 1885 this total had reached 18,895, of which the Board Schools numbered 4295. It will be seen that while the Voluntary Schools had almost doubled, the Board Schools had proportionately made the most marked increase. Remarkable, however, as was this improvement, the mere erection of schools tells but little in estimating the educational advance. It is in the number of children who are brought under the influence of the teaching imparted in these schools, that we look for the best evidence of the change which has been effected. Perhaps the following Table will best illustrate this:—

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	Years ending August 31.			
	1870.	1874.	1876.	1885.
Estimated population .	22,090,163	23,648,609	24,244,010	27,499,041
No. of schools (volunt.)	8,281	11,341	12,677	14,600
,, ,, (board) .	—	826	1,596	4,295
Total .	8,281	12,167	14,273	18,895
Accommodation (volunt.)	1,878,584	2,626,318	2,870,168	3,398,000
,, ,, (board) .	—	245,508	556,150	1,600,718
Total .	1,878,584	2,871,826	3,426,318	4,998,718
Aver. attend. (volunt.)	1,152,389	1,540,466	1,656,502	2,183,870
,, ,, (board) .	—	138,293	328,071	1,187,455
Total .	1,152,389	1,678,759	1,984,573	3,371,325

It used to be said by the supporters of the voluntary system that the establishment of Board Schools would have the effect of closing, or at any rate seriously affecting, their schools. Whatever may be the result in the future, at present this has not been the case. The above Table affords ample proof to the contrary. No doubt several schools conducted on the voluntary system have been either wholly discontinued or absorbed into the Board system. The same report informs us that since the year 1871, over 1100 schools have been transferred to School Boards. But in the majority of instances the schools that have been discontinued were "starved" schools, and in hardly any case were they of any considerable size, so that the fact remains that up to the present time the Voluntary Schools have been benefited, and not harmed, by the new system. It will be noticed on comparing the periods 1870–76 and 1876–85, that the above Table indicates a very considerable growth in the average attendance. This is mainly due to the passing of two Acts of Parliament—the one in 1876, known as Lord Sandon's Act; and the other in 1880, known as Mundella's Act—which not only greatly enlarged the obligations and the powers of School Boards, but established a new machinery for exercising the powers of compulsion. It has already been pointed out that in those towns and districts where the school supply was sufficient, there was no need for a Board, but that inasmuch as the powers of compulsion given by the Act of 1870 were only entrusted to Boards, there did not exist in these places any means of enforcing school attendance. Besides this, where Boards had adopted bye-laws for compulsory attendance, they had met with very considerable difficulties,

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which the existing legislation had not enabled them to overcome. These difficulties were most conspicuous in the large towns. They may be gathered from the following extract from a report issued by the Liverpool School Board as to its work during the years 1873–6. At page 19 we read :—

In the first place, they [the Board] have met with a considerable number of parents of drunken and dissolute habits, to whom fine and imprisonment appear to have no terror, and whose children, therefore, they have been quite unable to bring to school. It is impossible to regard the state of these children otherwise than with the deepest compassion; for so destitute is their condition, that in very many instances their only means of satisfying the craving of hunger are what they can pick up in the streets, or obtain by begging. Such children, apart from their dirt and nakedness (which would be offensive to those with whom they would be mixed) could not possibly attend the ordinary day schools for want of food.

In the second place, they have found a very large number of children who were confirmed truants, and whose attendance at school no punishment of the parents—in many cases widows, and others whose daily occupation prevents their exercising due supervision over their children—would effectually secure.

In some cases, also, where children have been sent to work in violation of the bye-laws, the earnings of the child more than compensate the parent for any loss he might sustain by the occasional fine inflicted for his child's non-attendance at school.

In 1876 the Vice-President of the Council was Lord Sandon, who was also one of the representatives of Liverpool in the House of Commons. The difficulties which beset the path of his constituents he found to exist in many other large towns, and in order that they might be surmounted, he introduced the measure, which subsequently passed into law, already referred to.

This Act * starts with a declaration that it shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause it to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and if such parent fail to perform such duty he shall be liable to such orders and penalties as are provided by the Act. This is an important declaration, because, although in the Act of 1870 the parent's duty was implied, it was not specifically declared, and in proceedings taken under various bye-laws, there had been conflicting decisions as to who was liable for the penalties thereby imposed. It is now clear that every parent, no matter what his station in life may be, is bound to provide his child with efficient elementary education. The Act then prohibits the employment of any child under the age of ten years, or who, having attained that

* 39 & 40 Vict. cap. 79.

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age, has not attained the standard of proficiency mentioned in the Act. An exception is made in favour of certain children which it is unnecessary to refer to. The prohibition is to be enforced by the payment by the employer of a fine not exceeding forty shillings. An important part of the Act was the creation of School Attendance Committees, to act in those towns and districts where no School Board had been formed. These committees were to be appointed annually, in a borough, by the town council; in a parish, by the guardians of the union comprising such parish. The duty of these committees was to enforce the provisions of the Act with respect to the employment of children, and if it were a borough committee it was empowered, but not obliged, to make bye-laws for the attendance of children at school; if it were a parish committee, it could only make such bye-laws on a requisition made by the parish. This was a distinct gain to the voluntary schools, though in order to allay the discontent of the Nonconformists the much-abused twenty-fifth clause of the Act of 1870 was repealed, and in its place it was provided that the parent of any child unable by reason of poverty to pay the ordinary fee for such child at a public elementary school, might apply to the guardians of the poor in the parish in which he resided, whose duty it should be to pay the fee, not exceeding threepence a week, the choice of the school being left to the parent. In principle there seems to be little difference between the payment of such fees by the School Board and their payment by the guardians; in either case the money may go to the maintenance of denominational schools, and work the injustice which was urged by the memorialists to the Liverpool School Board already referred to. It was felt, however, that here was an attempt at a compromise, and a way out of an illogical position, into which many on both sides had got. Besides this, the power thus given to the guardians was identical with that already given them by an Act passed about twenty years before,* and acquiesced in by all parties, and it was impossible now to stir up much opposition to a clause with such a precedent. Thus the famous controversy ended, though it would be a mistake to imagine that the feelings that were at the back of it have entirely subsided.

To meet the case of parents habitually and without reasonable excuse neglecting to provide instruction for their children, and of children found habitually wandering, or not under proper control, or in the company of rogues, vagabonds, disorderly persons, or reputed criminals, power is given by the Act to the local authority—the School Board, or School Attendance Com-

* 18 & 19 Vic. cap. 34.

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mittee—after due warning to the parents, to bring them before a court of summary jurisdiction, which may, in the absence of the reasonable excuses defined by the Act, make an order for the attendance of the child at some certified efficient school, to be selected by the parent, or by the court if he refuse, at such times as shall be mentioned in the order. On the failure of the parent to comply with this "attendance order," he may be fined five shillings, but if he satisfies the court that he has used all reasonable efforts to enforce compliance with the order, the court may send the child to a certified *day* industrial school. These schools are established by the Act, and differ from the other industrial schools already in existence, in that they do not provide lodging, but only industrial training, elementary education, and one or more meals a day.

These were the most important provisions of the Act of 1876. Of the Act of 1880 * it may be said that it cast upon School Boards and School Attendance Committees the *duty* of framing bye-laws for the compulsory attendance of children at school, and on the failure of these local authorities to do so, the Education Department was authorized to supply the deficiency. From the official report already referred to it appears that up to April 1, 1886, there are in England and Wales 2203 School Boards exercising jurisdiction over a population of more than 16 millions, and 773 School Attendance Committees, having the limited jurisdiction already described over just 10 millions; in other words, nearly the whole population is subject, in one form or other, to the operations of legislation designed to enforce the attendance of children at school. It must not be imagined that all this has been done voluntarily by the people who are thus subject to the Boards. There has been a large amount of prejudice created against them, and the very fact that nearly half the Boards were elected under compulsory orders issued by the Education Department, shows that the system has not been welcomed with enthusiasm in all parts of the country. No system which involves an additional burden to the taxpayers or ratepayers is likely to be effusively welcomed. Besides which, sad as it is to say it, there can be but little doubt that many employers of labour, especially in the agricultural districts, preferred to have their dependents continue in a state of ignorance.

That such a system should have been costly is little to be wondered at, when the magnitude of the work is remembered. The neglect of years had to be made up. On the first day of opening a new school in Birmingham, built to accommodate 1000

* 43 & 44 Vict. cap. 23.

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children, as many as 1145 were admitted, *over eighty per cent. of whom could not read the easiest words*, and this experience was not confined to Birmingham. Just before the passing of the Act of 1870 the total cost of the education in State-aided schools was £1,600,000, of which about one-third was defrayed by fees, one-third by Government grant, and the balance by voluntary subscriptions. The last published official return shows that for the year ending August 31, 1885, the amount raised was as follows:—

Voluntary subscriptions . .	£756,828
Rates	1,140,946
School fees	1,791,084
Government grant . . .	2,867,653
Total	£6,556,501

Besides this the School Boards are authorized to borrow, on the security of the rates, for the purpose of building. Up to Michaelmas 1885 the amount so borrowed by the various Boards in England and Wales had reached £17,604,401, rather more than a third of that sum having been required for London alone.

This mention of the metropolis reminds us that the Act of 1870 contained some provisions specially applicable to it. Instead of having to wait for the information necessary before a Board could be formed in other cities and districts, the Act created a School Board for the metropolis, leaving it to the Department to fix the number of members for each division, which together constitute what is known as "London."* The time for the election of members was also fixed, and power was given to the members to elect a chairman, either from themselves or not, and such chairman might receive a salary. As a matter of fact no salary ever has been paid, although the amount of work a chairman has to do is enormous. The late chairman, Mr. E. N. Buxton, recently stated in evidence before a committee of the House of Commons that he had contested five elections for a seat on the Board, and each election had cost him £700. Since the formation of the Board there have been but four chairmen—the first, Lord Lawrence, at one time Viceroy in India; the next, Sir Charles Reed, Mr. Buxton, and the Rev. J. R. Diggle. The first Board numbered several distinguished persons—Prof. Huxley, Lord Saudon, Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., Mrs. Garrett-Anderson amongst them. But the work proved too much for men like these who had other public duties to

* The London School Board consists of fifty-five members. Other Boards must not consist of more than fifteen nor less than five members. Elections are held triennially.

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perform, and the result has been that the high position of the Board has scarcely been maintained. This must not be taken to imply that the Board has seriously deteriorated, but that the members have been more distinguished for the ability which they have displayed in their special work, than for anything they may have done outside the Board. This, however, has been a digression, and we must return to the subject in its larger aspects.

It has already been shown that both in the matter of school supply and of school attendance there has been a large growth. The question will naturally arise, Has there been a corresponding improvement in respect of the education itself? This of course can only be tested by examination, but before the results of this are given a short description of the kind of education that is arrived at in public elementary schools will not be out of place. It may be safely asserted that very few school managers desire to go beyond what the Department requires of them in the way of instruction for the children; most of them would no doubt prefer to diminish rather than increase their responsibilities. The Department has divided the subjects of instruction into two classes—(*a*) obligatory subjects, and (*b*) optional subjects. The first, which are generally called "the elementary subjects," are the three R's, and, for girls, needlework. The optional subjects are subdivided into two groups: the first, called "class subjects," are taken by classes throughout the school; and the other, called "specific subjects," are taken by individual children in the upper classes of the school. The "class subjects" are singing (either by note or by ear), English, geography, elementary science, and history; the "specific subjects" are algebra, Euclid, and mensuration, mechanics, chemistry, physics, animal physiology, botany, principles of agriculture, Latin, French, and domestic economy. With regard to the elementary subjects, children who are expected to pass an examination in the first standard must be able "to read a short paragraph from a book not confined to words of one syllable," to "copy in manuscript character a line of print, and write from dictation not more than ten easy words, commencing with capital letters," and, besides giving specimens of "notation and numeration up to 1000," must be able to do sums in "simple addition and subtraction of numbers of not more than three figures," and to know the "multiplication-table to six times twelve;" while in the fourth standard (the passing an examination in which enables a child to be employed) the children must be able "to read a few lines from a reading-book, or history of England," to write "eight lines of poetry or prose, slowly read once and then dictated," and to work sums in the "compound rules (money), and reduction of common weights and measures." The seventh or highest standard

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requires those who are examined in it "to read a passage from Shakespeare or Milton, or from some other standard author, or from a history of England," to write "a theme or letter," the composition, spelling and handwriting being considered, and to be able in arithmetic to do "compound proportion, averages and percentages." As regards the class and specific subjects a similar variation takes place.

It now remains to be considered how the Government grant is arrived at. With every school there are certain general conditions, such as the status of the teacher, the number of times the school has been open, and the fitness, both from a sanitary and an educational point of view, of the school premises.* The annual grant is made up of several grants—*i.e.*, the "fixed grant," the "merit grant," the "grant for needlework," the "grant for singing," the "grant on examination in the elementary subjects," the "grant on examination in class subjects," the "grant on the examination of individual scholars in specific subjects," and some three or four "special" grants. The "*fixed grant*" is payable in respect of average attendance, and amounts in the case of older scholars—that is, scholars not attending an infant school or class—to 4*s.* 6*d.* per head; and in the case of infants to 9*s.* per head, if the scholars are taught as a separate department under a certificated teacher of their own, or as a class under a teacher not less than eighteen years old, approved by the inspector; or to 7*s.* per head if the scholars are taught as a class under a teacher less than eighteen years old. The "*merit grant*," in the case of infants, of 2*s.*, 4*s.*, or 6*s.* per head is paid if the inspector reports the school or class to be "fair," "good," or "excellent," having regard not only to the special circumstances of the case, but to the provision made for (1) suitable instruction in the elementary subjects; (2) simple lessons on objects, and on the phenomena of Nature and of common life; and (3) appropriate and varied occupations. The same grant in the case of older scholars, of 1*s.*, 2*s.*, or 3*s.* per head, is paid if the inspector reports of the school that it is "fair," or "good," or "excellent" in respect of (1) organization and discipline; (2) the intelligence employed in instruction; and (3) the general quality of the work, especially in the elementary subjects. The "*needlework grant*" and the "*singing grant*" are the same, both in infant schools and those for older scholars. The former is 1*s.* per head if taught satisfactorily according to the conditions laid down in the Code, and the latter amounts to 1*s.* if the scholars are satisfactorily taught to sing *by note*, either by the

* Eighty cubic feet of internal space, and eight square feet of internal area for each unit of average attendance, is required by the Department.

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standard or any other recognised notation, and to 6*d.* if they are satisfactorily taught to sing *by ear*.

So far as the infants are concerned, what has been said exhausts the conditions of the grant. Not so for the older scholars, who have to earn the other grants previously mentioned. That "*on examination in the elementary subjects*" is determined by the percentage of passes in the examination at the rate of 1*d.* for every unit of percentage; and here it may be mentioned that while all scholars whose names are on the registers of any particular school must be present at the inspection, only those whose names have at the end of the school year been there for the last twenty-two weeks need be presented for examination. The "*grant on examination in class subjects*" amounts to 1*s.* or 2*s.* for each subject, if the inspector's report on the examination is "fair" or "good." With respect to these subjects, although they are called "optional," they are so only to the extent that managers can elect which of them, not exceeding two, one of which must be English, they will prepare their children in, with a view to examination. If one only is chosen, that must be English, and it is permissible for girls to take needlework as their second-class subject, but then the school loses the "needlework grant" of 1*s.* already mentioned. The "*grant on examination of individual scholars in specific subjects*" is not calculated on the average attendance, and amounts to 4*s.* for each scholar passing in any subject, not exceeding two. There is a limitation to the total annual grant, which must not exceed a sum equal to 17*s.* 6*d.* for each unit of average attendance, or the total income of the school from all sources whatever other than the grant, and from a special grant made for the purpose of paying the school fees for the year of scholars holding honour certificates obtained before Jan. 1, 1882.

The explanation that has been given of the requirements of the Code will help us to answer the question as to whether or not there has been any improvement in the education itself, or rather to understand the report of the Department on this point. It may be conceded that generally speaking there has been improvement; the very fact that the requirements of the Code and the conditions of the grant have increased in severity may be taken as evidence of that, while at the same time it precludes a minute comparison between 1870 and 1886. The official report already quoted, after observing that a child of ten should be able to pass an examination in the fourth standard, and remarking that in 1885 out of 1,267,488 children over ten years of age, who ought to have been presented for examination in Standards IV.–VII., as many as 39·00 per cent. were presented in standards suited for children of seven, eight,

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and nine years of age, goes on to say: "We ought, however, to point out that there has been a gradual improvement in this respect, which is due partly to the more regular attendance and increased proficiency of the children between five and ten years of age, and partly to the greater attention paid by teachers to the progress of individual scholars." In 1863—4, when the Revised Code was introduced, 41 per cent. of the number of scholars in average attendance were individually examined, and 86 per cent. of those over ten were examined in too low standards. In 1872, 49·51 per cent. of such scholars were examined, and 63·71 per cent. of the scholars over ten were examined in Standards I.–III. In 1885, the first of these percentages had risen to 70·59 and the other had fallen to 39·00, and this is the evidence of the improvement referred to in the report. The proportion of passes in each subject for last year was:—

Reading	91·50	(Voluntary Schools)	...	92·55	(Board Schools)
Writing	82·71	„		85·98	„ „
Arithmetic	78·21	„		82·68	„ „

This would indicate a superiority of teaching in the Board Schools over those under the voluntary system. Nor is this altogether to be wondered at. The voluntary schools are somewhat handicapped in their competition with their rivals on the question of expenditure. Not only have the latter the means of securing the best and the most modern school appliances, but they are able to obtain the services of the best masters and mistresses. In 1885 the average salary of 381 masters in voluntary schools was £152 0*s.* 9*d.*, and that of 329 masters in Board schools £275 6*s.* 8*d.*; while 633 schoolmistresses in Board schools enjoyed an average income of £192 6*s.* 3*d.* as compared with £88 11*s.* 9*d.*, that of 822 teachers in voluntary schools. As marking the improvement in the position of the teacher it may be added that in 1870 the average salary of a certificated master was £95 12*s.* 9*d.* and that of a schoolmistress was £57 16*s.* 5*d.*, while now these are respectively £120 19*s.* 2*d.* and £73 15*s.* 9*d.*

The improvement recorded above is gratifying, but it is not all that could be desired. There are still a great many empty seats, and a large number of children have not reached the standard which, having regard to their age, they ought to have reached. Another serious matter is the withdrawal of so many children from school so soon as they are legally entitled to do so. Nor is it satisfactory to know, as we are told by the official report, that "many local authorities fail, or are hindered by the indifference of magistrates, in performing the duty of securing

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the early and regular attendance of the children in the districts under their jurisdiction."

In estimating the general condition of the education we have to throw out of consideration the "fixed grant," and the "needlework" and "singing" grants, not because these two latter are not important subjects, but because they are somewhat of a special nature, and do not affect the general question, while the first depends solely on attendance. With regard to the "merit grant," in 1885, out of 11,827 infant schools and classes, it was refused in 553 cases only, while rather more than half of the others have been classed as "good." It is stated in the official report "that as a general rule the larger the infant school the higher is its merit," and the remark is repeated with respect to the same grant made in connection with older scholars. The examination of these in the elementary subjects showed that on the whole there was reason to be satisfied, though there were some schools where a good deal of headway has to be made up. Class subjects are most popular and best worked up in the larger schools; some of the smaller schools, principally voluntary, did not attempt them, and in one-sixth of those that did only one subject was taken. It is satisfactory to know that the inspectors' reports showed a large majority of "good" over "fair." "Elementary science" does not appear at present to have secured much favour at the hands of teachers or scholars. The specific subjects, as might be expected, are taken by comparatively few scholars; the fact already adverted to of children being taken from school as soon as they are legally exempt sufficiently explains this. Nevertheless the grant made for these and for cookery, a most important item in the curriculum for girls, reached £14,622 11*s.* 8*d.*

It has been stated that school managers are not as a rule desirous of going beyond the requirements of the Code, but in fairness to several of the School Boards it should be mentioned that they have not felt that their duty began and ended with a strict adherence to what is within the four corners of that document. At Birmingham the Board reported in 1880 the appointment of a Science Demonstrator to give lessons on mechanics and elementary physics in all the boys' schools, and on those parts of the sciences of physiology and chemistry which bear upon domestic economy in ten of the girls' schools, the lessons being illustrated by actual experiments. "A laboratory has been provided for the demonstrator, at which the experiments are prepared, and the apparatus for illustrating the lecture is conducted by a hand-cart to the several schools taught on a given day." The chairman of the Board, in an address delivered in January 1885, referred to an interesting experiment

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being carried on in one school expressly adapted to seventh standard scholars, and he quotes from a description given by the head-master of the work done in the workshop and in the chemical laboratory. We have only room for the former: he says:—

In the workshop, the lads go through a specially prepared course, at the end of which they should have mastered the difficulties of manipulation, and have become well acquainted with the uses and principles of the tools, and the properties of the materials employed. They are taught to grind and sharpen their tools, how to set their work, methods of construction by halving, glueing, mortice and tenon, dovetailing, &c., and the syllabus further provides for instruction in turning, as applied to pattern and model making. Each lad works from a drawing with dimensions marked, and from a drawing to scale. No lad is allowed to work a higher exercise until he has passed in the previous one; and when completed he is required to make a drawing in plan and elevation of what he has done. In addition to the practice in the workshop, each class receives from one of the science masters a short lecture on the scientific principles of the tools, the relation of power to work, the adaptation in each individual tool of the means to the end, and such-like important topics. It can be readily understood that "both the shop and laboratory are very popular with the boys."

At Sheffield there is a central school with a technical workshop, fitted up and furnished with the aid of generous contributions from various manufacturers. A member of the Leeds Board—Mrs. Buckton—gave some lectures to scholars and pupil-teachers on physiology and the laws of health. Although these were given after school-hours, and the attendance was voluntary, they were well attended, and so much interest was manifested in them that Mrs. Buckton was induced to publish the lectures under the title of "Health in the House." At Liverpool, in 1874, some gentlemen interested in the spread of scientific knowledge fitted up at their own expense, in one of the Board schools, a laboratory for instruction in chemistry, and presented the Board with a valuable library of scientific works. Many of the schools have evening classes in connection with the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, and in most of the large towns scholarships have been provided by private generosity for the instruction at good secondary schools of children who have distinguished themselves at elementary schools. Nor is the physical training of the children altogether lost sight of; in many of the larger schools there are playgrounds, with a good supply of gymnastic apparatus, and in some places swimming is taught to the boys.

Sufficient has been said to show what great strides have been

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made in England in the way of education during the last fifteen years. There is still much to be done, from whatever point the subject is looked at. But when it is borne in mind that until 1870 there was no such thing as national education, and that even now it is a sort of hybrid system that prevails, in which there must necessarily be much friction, the wonder is not that there is much to do, but that so much has been accomplished. From time to time charges of extravagance and waste are made by men who regard an additional penny in the pound added to the rates as a far more serious thing than the education of the young, and the consequent diminution of misery and crime. At other times there come charges of over-pressure, which on investigation turn out to be grossly exaggerated. Then there come complaints about the failure attending one experiment, and about the expense to be incurred over another. All these things are the natural outcome of such a system, but they cannot permanently stop it. It has now obtained a tolerably firm root in the national life of the country, and although some further changes may be effected, especially in the direction of free schools and in the assimilation of bye-laws, they will not retard but rather foster the growth of an educational system of proved utility.

RICHARD BARTRAM.

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Contemporary Literature.

THEOLOGY.

THE third and fourth books of the Satapatha Brâhmana [1] deal with the most sacred of Vedic sacrificial rites, the Soma sacrifice. The translator has furnished an excellent little introduction, which might well have been longer, for the Soma sacrifice represents one of the most interesting and instructive phases of Eastern religion. "There can be no reasonable doubt," as Mr. Eggeling remarks, "that the myth goes back to Indo-European times, and that its object is to account for the mysterious effect of spirituous liquor, or 'fire-water,' so to speak." The Soma ritual is really identical with the Homa ceremony of the Parsees (the Haoma of the Avesta), and was therefore developed before the separation of the Indo-Iranians. But the interest of Soma, from a religious point of view, lies in the twofold nature which, starting from this point, he soon acquired; the fiery liquid becomes associated with luminous fire, and the earthly Soma (the plant) is regarded as the Avatar of the Divine Soma (the source of light and life), which became associated in the Brâhmanas with the moon as the food or cup of the gods. (In the earlier Vedic poets it is, however, the sun which is associated with the Divine Soma.) The exact identity of the plant from which the liquor was prepared is still rather doubtful; several varieties of Sarcostemma or Asclepiads seem to have been, and still are, made use of for this purpose.

The extensive final instalment of the first complete translation of that great collection of Chinese treatises on the rules of propriety, the Lî Kî,[2] is of considerable interest. The Lî Kî was not completed as a whole till the second century, and it ranks with the Shû, the Shih, the Yi, and the Khun Khiû, as the "Five Kings," the books of greatest authority in China. The Lî Kî is, in the words of P. Callery, a previous translator of some portions of the books here quoted, "the most exact and complete monograph which the Chinese nation has been able to give of itself to the rest of the human race;" or, in the words of Mr. Legge, "more may be learned about the religion of the ancient Chinese from this classic than from all the others together."

The Lî Yun and the Yo Kî are unquestionably the most valuable books in this collection; from them, indeed, may be formed a complete

[1] "Sacred Books of the East." Edited by F. Max Müller. Vol. XXVI. "The Satapatha Brâhmana." Translated by Julius Eggeling. Part II. Books III. and IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1885.

[2] "Sacred Books of the East." Vols. XXVII. and XXVIII. "The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism. Parts III. and IV. of the Lî Kî." 1885.

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conception of Confucianism and its underlying ideas—the idea of *propriety* and the idea of *harmony*. In the Lî Yun the doctrine of propriety is fully expounded; it is true that there is a Tâoistic element in this book, which has, perhaps, not been sufficiently emphasized by the translator; but mysticism is so radically distinct from the spirit of Confucianism that its admixture can be easily detected. From the Confucian point of view, propriety and decorum between individuals is the outward sign of righteousness. "Rules of ceremony are the embodied expression of what is right." Or, as it is again expressed more fully, "propriety and righteousness are the great elements in man; it is by means of them that his speech is the expression of truth, and his intercourse with others the promotion of harmony; they are the union of the cuticle and the cutis, the binding together of the muscles and the bone. They are the great method by which we nourish the living, bury the dead, and serve the spirits of the departed. They supply the channels by which we can apprehend the ways of heaven, and act as the feelings of men require. It was on this account that the sages knew that the rules of ceremony could not be dispensed with, while the ruin of States, the destruction of families, and the perishing of individuals are always preceded by the abandonment of the rules of propriety." It is in the light of these fundamental utterances that we must look at the multitudinous ceremonies so carefully detailed, the exquisite politeness of the race, and those reticences which to the Western barbarian seem so absurd, and were probably in effect often harmful; the concubine should not be employed to wash the lower garment of a son; a wife might not presume to hang up anything on her husband's pegs, nor to put anything in his boxes, nor to share his bathing-house; the degrading separation of the sexes began at the early age of seven, after which a girl ceased to occupy the same mat as her brothers, and at the age of ten she could no longer leave the women's apartments. The other root-idea in Confucianism is the conception of harmony which was symbolized in music. In the Yo Kî—the "Record of Music"—the ethical side of music is fully set forth with great subtlety; and much skill is displayed in explaining the relationship of music and harmony to ceremonies and propriety. "The knowledge of music leads to the subtle springs that underlie the rules of ceremony. He who has apprehended both ceremonies and music may be pronounced to have attained virtue." And again, in words that exactly express the Confucian thought, "similarity and union are the aim of music; difference and distinction that of ceremony. From union comes mutual affection; from difference, mutual respect. Where music prevails, we find a weak coalescence; where ceremonies prevail, a tendency to separation. It is the business of the two to blend people's feelings, and give eloquence to their outward manifestation." The exposition of this curiously static conception of religion assumes at last a tone of lofty rhetorical eloquence: "When we think of ceremonies and music, how they reach to the height of heaven and embrace the earth; how there are in them the phenomena of retrogression and expansion, and a communication with the spirit-like operations of Nature, we

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must pronounce their height the highest, their reach the farthest, their depth the most profound, and their breadth the greatest. Music appeared in the grand beginning, and ceremonies had their place in the grand completion. Their manifestation, being ceaseless, gives heaven; and again, being motionless, gives earth. Through the movement and repose of their interaction come all things between heaven and earth. Hence the sages simply spoke of ceremonies and music."

"The Pulpit Commentary" is a vast and much-belauded undertaking. Mr. Spurgeon, Prof. Stanley Leathes, and a host of luminaries of the Christian Church, with shouts of "grand," "nothing like it in the language," &c., danced around this slowly moving team of unknown homilists, worthily headed by Canon Spence and Mr. Exell, as though the very ark of the Lord had come amongst us. When, however, the reader reverently opens a volume like this,[3] unless he is perchance familiar with such works, he will be appalled at the quality of the homiletical fare provided. The "importance of mastery of the tongue," the "importance of little things," "the guilt of slander," &c.—one would have supposed that even the feeblest sheep in the ecclesiastical fold could have made for himself these homiletical deductions from the first chapter of St. James's Epistle. But this large volume is chiefly made up of such cheap commonplace, varied with the most familiar quotations from Shakespeare, such as "The quality of mercy," &c., "The cloud-capped towers," &c. (we miss "To be or not to be"), together with some verse of a different order, such as "Stand up, stand up for Jesus," &c.;—and the youthful preacher is frequently advised to sell all that he has, if need be, in order to purchase these precious volumes! The Epistle of James has often given expositors hard work. It is so simple, this epistle which (in its unexposited form) found so much favour with a revolutionary thinker like Shelley, that ever since the mythical *fatale dono* of Constantine many generations of expositors have been employed in removing the excrescences from its rude and unpolished denunciations—quite terrible in their socialistic ferocity—of wealth and rich men. The author of the homily on these passages has no "application" to make to the present beyond observing that the condition of the English ploughman is not quite what it might be. Evidently the ploughman is the solitary weak point in our social and economical condition. The expository portions which occupy, however, little more than a quarter of the volume, can of course scarcely fail to be several degrees higher in value than the homiletical; but there is little of value in the Rev. E. C. S. Gibson's exposition of James, which is not better done in Dean Plumptre's small, pleasant, and cheap little edition of the Epistle in the Cambridge Bible for Schools. It need scarcely be said that recent criticism is entirely ignored. The publishers have taken care that the general "get-up" of the volumes shall be almost on a level with the contents.

Mr. Lloyd has evidently spent some time over his Commentary on

[3] "The Pulpit Commentary: Hebrews and James." By the Rev. J. Barmby and Rev. E. C. S. Gibson. Homilies by various Authors. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

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Joshua,[4] and it may be of some service to benighted fellow-preachers. It is, however, of an archaic character, and for Mr. Lloyd recent criticism on the Pentateuch and Joshua is non-existent. He considers that Joshua is the work of a single hand, possibly that of Joshua himself, because such was the opinion of the early Christians; he does not, however, think it probable that Joshua wrote the account of his own death—that may have been written by an elder who survived, who may, indeed, have written the whole. Mr. Lloyd is quite sure that the book was written before the time of David. He will not explain away Joshua's famous astronomical exploit as mere poetry. We need not, however, take it *quite* literally, he tells us; "*all*" that is implied is "that the revolution of the earth on its axis was for a time interrupted!" Mr. Lloyd strives to confirm the faith of the waverer by referring to Chinese history; during the reign of the seventh Emperor Yao, anno mundi 2554 (nearly contemporary with the date of "the miracle" of Joshua), the sun refused to set for no less than ten days. He also refers to the prayer of Agamemnon, that the sun might not go down till he had sacked Troy, without seeing how much light it throws on this passage—actually regarding it as, like the Chinese miracle, "an allusion to the same event!" Nevertheless, Mr. Lloyd describes himself as a "Fellow of the Royal Historical Society." The "ethical remarks" interspersed throughout the volume are few and excessively trivial.

"New Aspects of Life and Religion"[5] is described as "a re-examination of the veiled theories which the biblical parables unfold, and their careful comparison with the hypotheses of modern science." Dr. Pratt appears to be an ardent admirer of kabbalistic doctrines; it is announced that he is preparing a work on the "Kabbala, Primitiva, Adumbrata, Occultata ac Regustata." He proclaims large doctrines, which he calls kabbalistic, with great confidence (students of the Kabbala are always very dogmatic); such as "Creation is a function of the Life of God," and "The heavenly bodies are the circulating organs of the living entity termed space;" God being "an Impersonal Being whose hidden life finds its functional expression in the circulation of cells—the heavenly bodies;" and he talks familiarly about the non-vascular circulation of the passive life of God. Dr. Pratt appears to be under the strange delusion that the word "kabbalistic," so frequently prefixed to his propositions, will give them a generally recognized stamp of authority: to what extent they deserve the title we must leave the Hermetic Society to decide; perhaps Mr. Mathers will kindly investigate the matter. It must be said that Dr. Pratt never indulges in the grosser absurdities of kabbalistic exegesis; a large part of the volume is occupied with "Problems in Bible Reading," which are frequently very ingenious, and sometimes, as in

[4] "The Book of Joshua: a Critical and Expository Commentary of the Hebrew Text." By the Rev. John Lloyd, M.A., F.R. Hist. Soc. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

[5] "New Aspects of Life and Religion." By Henry Pratt, M.D. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1886.

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dealing with the relation of the Mass to the Paschal Feast, trace out various points of biblical interpretation with considerable skill. We learn from a pathetic dedication that Dr. Pratt is an invalid : it would not be fair to describe this book as altogether a study in morbid pathology.

Mr. Dodd has written a clear and forcible pamphlet on Church Reform, from the High Church standpoint.[6] He is, of course, opposed to Church affairs being placed in the hands of the rate-payers, which seems, however, to be the only reasonable course if the Church is to be radically reformed instead of disestablished ; but he advocates many democratic reforms—the utilization of bishops, their palaces and excessive incomes ; the government of the Church by her synods, a real instead of a nominal share being given to the laity ; the abolition of private patronage, episcopal patronage, and Crown patronage, the Church laity electing, with certain checks, according to the custom of the primitive Church, and a moderate compensation being given for loss of patronage.

We have also received a translation of a volume of sermons by a little-known French Benedictine preacher of the seventeenth century, with a preface by the Rev. Arthur Tooth ;[7] "The Olive Leaf,"[8] a pleasantly written series of discourses, apparently for children and young people, containing much out-of-the-way information in natural history, &c., mingled with rather undogmatic Christian morality, in a style of considerable charm, characteristic of this writer ; a volume of the "Contemporary Pulpit ;"[9] a combat between the champions of Christianity and Secularism,[10] as long and tedious as some of those in the "Morte d'Arthur ;" last, and least, three reprints of papers by Mr. Kentish Bache.[11]

PHILOSOPHY.

TWO years after the appearance in English of Hartmann's "Philosophy of the Unconscious," the translation of the chief work of the earlier and greater pessimist is completed. The volumes

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[6] "Church Reform." A Lecture by J. Theodore Dodd, M.A., Barrister at Law. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

[7] "The Eucharistic Life of Jesus Christ." By Jacques Biroat. Translated by Edward Varnish. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

[8] "The Olive Leaf." By Hugh Macmillan, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. London : Macmillan & Co. 1886.

[9] "Contemporary Pulpit." Vol. V. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

[10] "Christianity or Secularism : Which is True ?" A Debate between the Rev. Dr. McCann and Mr. Foote. London : Progressive Publishing Company.

[11] "A Letter to Rev. S. Davidson in answer to his Essay against the Johannine Authorship of the Fourth Gospel." Third Edition.—"The Duke of Somerset's Scepticism." Second Edition.—"The Cursing Psalm." Third Edition. By Kentish Bache. London : Parker & Co. 1886.

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of Schopenhauer which now appear[1] contain his "Criticism of the Kantian Philosophy" (vol. ii. pp. 1–159), and the "Supplements" to the four books of "Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung," to which the translators have added an abstract of the essay "On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason" (vol. iii. pp. 477–86). It is no longer necessary to say anything for the mere purpose of drawing attention to Schopenhauer's merits. His philosophic rank has long since found recognition; and he is admitted also to be one of the small number of philosophers who have written in a literary style of the highest degree of excellence. It need only be said that the translators have succeeded in giving an adequate rendering—one that conveys accurately the meaning and at the same time preserves the interestingness (if this word may be permitted) of the style. For those who have not yet read anything of Schopenhauer we quote a passage which, as has been well said by a later pessimist, ought to be taken as a motto by all philosophers. It occurs in the Supplements to the First Book, at the end of chapter xvii. ("On Man's Need of Metaphysics.")

> Lastly, as regards the *obligations* of metaphysics, it has only one; for it is one which endures no other beside it—the obligation to be *true*. If one would impose other obligations upon it besides this, such as to be spiritualistic, optimistic, monotheistic, or even only to be moral, one cannot know beforehand whether this would not interfere with the fulfilment of that first obligation, without which all its other achievements must clearly be worthless. A given philosophy has accordingly no other standard of its value than that of truth. For the rest, philosophy is essentially *world-wisdom*; its problem is the world. It has to do with this alone, and leaves the gods in peace—expects, however, in return, to be left in peace by them.

What most of those who talk about Schopenhauer associate with his name is his pessimism; but philosophical readers do not need to be told that only a small part of the interest of his philosophy is in his description of the misery caused by the ceaseless striving of the "will to live." It has been contended, and there is some ground for the contention, that pessimism is only an accident of Schopenhauer's system. He himself taught that there are two ways of escape from the misery of existence: the first, temporary, by means of art, by purely "objective" (that is, disinterested) contemplation of the work of genius; the second, permanent, by asceticism. If we are to put most faith in those precepts of philosophers, as well as of other men, which they themselves follow, we shall be more inclined to take the first way of escape than the second; for Schopenhauer was both a man of genius and a critic of works of art, who, when he spoke of artistic impressions, was speaking of what he knew, and he was not at all an ascetic. And although he expresses so much (theoretical)

[1] "The World as Will and Idea." By Arthur Schopenhauer. Translated from the German by R. B. Haldane, M.A. and J. Kemp, M.A. Vol. II.—Containing the Criticism of the Kantian Philosophy and the Supplements to the First and part of the Second Book of Vol I. Vol. III.—Containing Supplements to part of the Second Book and to the Third and Fourth Books. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

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admiration for the Christian ideal of "resignation," and prefers it ethically to the Stoic "acquiescence," yet in other passages he denounces vigorously the fanatical "ages of faith" (which, however, were also the ascetic ages), when the gods would not leave philosophers in peace.

> The study of the classical authors [he says] is very properly called the study of *Humanity*, for through it the student becomes a *man* again, for he enters into the world which was still free from all the absurdities of the Middle Ages and of romanticism, which afterwards penetrated so deeply into mankind in Europe that even now every one comes into the world covered with it, and has first to strip it off simply to become a man again. Think not that your modern wisdom can ever supply the place of that initiation into manhood; ye are not like the Greeks and Romans, born freemen, unfettered sons of Nature. Ye are first the sons and heirs of the barbarous Middle Ages and of their madness, &c. (vol. ii. pp. 312–3).

Now the Greeks and Romans, it is acknowledged by Schopenhauer as well as by Hartmann, in spite of expressions such as the well-known lines from the "Œdipus Coloneus" (quoted by Schopenhauer, "World as Will and Idea," vol. iii. p. 400), were not pessimists. There are some followers of Schopenhauer, for example, Dr. Asher (see WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1885), who think they have found an escape from his pessimism in the doctrine of "the will to live" itself, which seems to them to be the natural foundation of an optimism such as that of the Jews (Schopenhauer's typical optimists), with their belief that life in itself is the greatest of goods. Others find such an escape more particularly in the doctrine of "the life of the species." The chapters on "The Life of the Species," on "Heredity," and on "The Metaphysics of the Love of the Sexes," in the third volume will be found, apart from all questions as to pessimism, especially interesting. The last of them may be recommended, just at the present moment, to any one who is anxious to come across a philosophic reply to Sir George Campbell's scheme of "homo-culture," or sexual selection by anthropologists, put forth at the recent meeting of the British Association.

The distinctive character and aim of Professor Sidgwick's "History of Ethics"[2] will be best understood from the opening passage of the preface:—

> The nucleus of this little book is formed by an article on "Ethics," which I wrote some years ago for the "Encyclopædia Britannica." I found that, in the opinion of persons whose judgment had weight with me, this article appeared likely to meet the needs of English students desirous of obtaining a general knowledge of the history of ethical thought. I have, therefore, by the permission of Messrs. Black, the publishers of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," reprinted it in this separate form. In so doing, I have considerably altered and enlarged it; but, after some hesitation, I determined to adhere to the main outlines of the original article, according to which the chapter (iv.) dealing with the modern period is mainly confined to English ethics, and only deals with foreign ethical systems in a subordinate way, as sources of influence

[2] "Outlines of the History of Ethics for English Readers." By Henry Sidgwick, Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, and Author of "The Methods of Ethics." London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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on English thought. I adopted this resolution, partly because it seemed to me that the merit of my article—if it had any—lay in a certain compact unity of movement which would inevitably be lost if I tried to include a treatment of French and German moralists on a scale corresponding to my treatment of English moralists; while at the same time a considerable portion of what I thus omitted appeared to me to have a distinctly subordinate interest for English readers as compared with what I included. I ought further to explain that, for somewhat similar reasons, I have taken pains to keep ethics as separate as I conveniently could from theology and metaphysics, and also from politics; this separation, however, is naturally less complete in some parts of the subject than in others—*e.g.*, in dealing with the mediæval period the relations of ethics to theology are necessarily more prominent than in the modern period. Finally, I may perhaps say that I have aimed throughout at the greatest possible impartiality and "objectivity" of treatment; and in order better to attain this result I have not attempted to deal with contemporary modes of ethical thought—with which I have been engaged controversially—except in a very brief and summary way.

The name of the author of "The Methods of Ethics" will be enough to secure many readers for the present volume; and it is, of course, very instructive. What seems to be wanting is some more definite indication of the author's own point of view. As is evident from the passage quoted, Mr. Sidgwick regards this defect as a merit, and has indeed aimed at keeping concealed the conclusions (if any) to which he has come. It does not follow, however, because a writer has come to definite conclusions that he is less impartial; and when he has not, or is bent on suppressing them, the result is a certain want of illuminating power in what he writes, full of information as it may be in detail. The last sections of chapter iv. of Mr. Sidgwick's book give the impression that he is more or less dissatisfied with all the most recent directions of ethical thought, English and foreign. It is impossible to say in what direction he looks for light, or where he is disposed to fix himself. The result is—this is not a tautology, although it may seem like one—that the book ends with an impression of dissatisfaction.

Dr. McCosh's "Cognitive Powers"[3] (published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., but printed in America) is written, of course, from the point of view of the "common sense school." There are, perhaps, too many didactic passages giving advice to "train the imagination" by "laying up a store of noble images, ever presenting themselves to enliven and instruct the mind," &c.; but, on the whole, the book is not a bad introduction to psychology. The author does not neglect physiology and recent psychological research generally, and if he is philosophically a realist he also keeps up the tradition of introspective psychology, which sometimes appears as if about to be lost in physiological psychology and psychical measurements. Besides, Mr. Seth, in his recent Balfour Lectures, has taught us to see more

[3] "Psychology: The Cognitive Powers." By James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., President of Princeton College; Author of "Intuitions of the Mind," "Laws of Discursive Thought," "Emotions," "Philosophic Series," &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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in the realism of the Scottish School than we should of ourselves have been prepared to see.

We cannot recommend "An Aid to the Study of Moral Philosophy," by "Auxilium,"[4] to the perusal of any one. Least of all can we recommend it to those for whom it is "specially designed." A look at it may perhaps be of interest to students of literary pathology who wish to see what sort of mess "students preparing for examination" can occasionally make of the lectures of professors (in this case Professor Caird) whose misfortune it is to have to lecture to them.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

M. NOVICOW is a young and hitherto unknown author, from whom we may expect good work in the future, judging from the work now before us. "La Politique Internationale"[1] is a remarkably able and interesting contribution to the science of politics. It is an elaborate scientific defence of the principle of nationality, and, strange to say, the author is a Russian resident in his own country, and not yet, we understand, deported to Siberia. Probably he owes his safety to his prudence in avoiding questions of domestic policy, and to the passionless scientific basis in which he founds his censure of Russia's international policy. Moreover, his censure includes almost every European Government. He finds that modern international statesmanship is not in harmony with the fundamental principles of sociology, and can never be satisfactory until this harmony is established. Especially is the grand principle of nationality ignored. Its violation has been the cause of all recent European wars, excepting the Crimean. It is the secret of the present state of unrest in Europe, and of the huge armies which weigh down prosperity in times of peace. The principle of nationality has escaped recognition because the true nature of the social organism has not been scientifically established. "La politique internationale reste vouée jusqu'a nos jours à l'empirisme et à la routine." Hence difficulties and disasters innumerable. "Pour sortir de ces difficultés, il faut etudier les lois de la biologie et de la sociologie, et, en premier lieu, il faut se faire une idée exacte de la nature de l'organisme social. Alors seulment on comprendra ce que c'est qu'une nationalité." We are unable to find any definition or concise positive description of the peculiar sense in which the author uses the term "nationality," and are obliged to gather his meaning, as best we

[4] "An Aid to the Study of Moral Philosophy." Specially designed for Students preparing for Examination. By "Auxilium." First, Second, and Third Series, in one vol. Preliminary Edition. Glasgow: W. S. Sime. 1886.

[1] "La Politique Internationale." Par J. Novicow. Précédé d'une Introduction de M. Eugène Véron, et Accompagné d'une Carte Ethnographique de l'Europe. Paris: Ancienne Librairie Germer Baillière et Cie. 1886.

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can, from comparisons, metaphors, and negatives. It is not the same as race or people, nor does subjection to a common government constitute it, nor even community of language and institutions—though the fulfilment of this condition goes near to making a nationality. The chief test recognized by M. Novicow appears to be the rather vague one of harmony of sentiment and ideas. It is from this point of view that M. Véron in the "Introduction" contemplates it when he tells us that "comme la nationalité se compose de l'ensemble des individus qui possedent la même culture générale de sentiments et de pensées, elle n'a d'autres limites que celles du cercle de l'attraction intellectuelle qu'elle exerce spontanément autour d'elle." A somewhat different view is presented by the author when summing up his chapter "Conclusions sur la Nationalité." There we are told that "la tribu et l'état sont des phases preparatoires, la nationalité c'est l'organisme social arrivé à la conscience et a la majorité complète." This want of definiteness in the central idea of the whole thing is a serious fault in a scientfic treatise. We have another objection, and one that goes deeper still. M. Novicow, like many other disciples of Herbert Spencer, pushes to unwarranted extremes the analogy pointed out by their master between a society and an organism. Certainly the analogy is striking in many points, and the endeavour to follow it out and discover fresh points of resemblance may undoubtedly lead to the recognition of social phenomena hitherto unnoticed. But after all, social phenomena and the phenomena which the biologist studies belong to totally different orders; and nothing can be more hazardous, nothing more illogical, than to assume that the conclusions drawn from one set of phenomena have any cogency when applied to a set of a different order. As hypotheses to be tested independently, they have a legitimate value. But M. Novicow assumes far more than he has any warrant for. Put shortly, his argument is as follows:—An organism may be defined, "un ensemble de cellules vivantes, groupées d'une certaine façon particulière, remplissant des fonctions déterminées, mais travaillant toutes au profit du corps entier." Substituting "familles groupées" for "cellules vivantes," we have a definition of a society. *Ergo* a society *is* an organism, and therefore is subject to the laws of biology and must pass through the various phases of evolution which biologists have noted in the organisms with which they are familiar. To understand the social organism statesmen must, therefore, master the principles of biology and apply them fearlessly to social phenomena. The result will be a true science of international policy, and a practical guide for statesmen! This sounds rather like quackery. "La politique internationale" is defined as "l'art de conduire la lutte pour l'existence entre les organismes sociaux;" and the fundamental principle of this art is "que les sociétés doivent lutter les unes contre les autres par le procédé le parfait." But what is this process? Here again it is difficult to get a clear notion of the author's meaning, but at all events it results from this "que chaque groupe sociale est libre de disposer de ses destinées politiques et de s'adjoindre à l'agglomeration vers laquelle le portent ses affinités et ses sympathies."

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Very pretty and very right. But what is a "groupe social?" And what if its destinies are bound up with those of other groups? The practical outcome of the scientific principles laid down by M. Novicow is that Europe ought to consist of eighteen independent States, corresponding to the eighteen distinct nationalities recognized by M. Novicow, and that these should form a kind of federation. Existing societies "ne possedent pas jusqu'à present de system nerveux complet; ce sont des organismes en voie de formation. Leur constitution definitive ne sera possible que lorsque les nationalités qui les composent auront complétement réalisé leur unité politique, et lorsqu'un organe central, qui imposera sa volonté partout, se sera formé." As for the rest of the world the adult nationalities must administer it. "La formation du groupe de civilization Européen et la tutelle des parties inconscientes de l'humanité, telle est donc la perspective qui s'ouvre devant les hommes d'état modernes." In conclusion, we must say that though his arguments are not convincing, and often appear to overlook half the facts of the case, M. Novicow is always interesting, and his book is well worth reading. His style is more lucid than his arguments. He brings his theories into relation with recent European history. There is little, if anything, quite new in his theories; but familiar ideas are worked up afresh, and there is an elevated moral tone throughout this work which would perhaps be more correctly named "International Morality." There is an ethnographic chart at the end, from which we should conclude that Irish is the actual language of the people throughout one-half of Ireland—a conclusion which at present is far from representing the facts.

From M. Gillaume de Greef, a well-known Belgian writer on economic and social subjects, we have a very exhaustive "Introduction" to Sociology.[2] It is terribly learned, terribly scientific, and—we were going to say—terribly dry. On reflection we, perhaps, are not entitled to say that. We confess to having failed to master this treatise, or even to get up as much interest in it as would be necessary for a true appreciation of its merits and demerits. But the fault may have been our own, or the hot weather and the superior attractiveness of M. Novicow's work may have had something to do with it. At least the author is very much in earnest, and goes into his subject very thoroughly. It is a book for students, not dabblers.

We have a great number of pamphlets and essays on the Irish Question —some supporting Mr. Gladstone's plan for dealing with it; some condemning that plan absolutely; and others again suggesting modifications or brand-new schemes of their own for carrying out the principle of Home Rule. Mr. David Mabelan's[3] "Home Rule and Imperial Unity" is the sanest and ablest of the whole series at present before us. It is a very calmly reasoned argument in favour of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, or some similar plan. He goes carefully through a number of

[2] "Introduction à la Sociologie." Première partie. Par Gillaume de Greef. Bruxelles: Gustave Mayolez. 1886.

[3] "Home Rule and Imperial Unity. An Argument for the Gladstone-Morley Scheme." By David Mabelan. London: William Isbister, Limited. 1886.

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the objections that have been made to the Bill both in Parliament and outside. He examines especially the legal and constitutional objections, and briefly answers them in a manner that will probably be very acceptable and convincing to all who wish to be convinced. But it must never be forgotten in arguing this Irish Question that the opponents of Home Rule base their objections to it on the distrust of the persons who are to be entrusted with the working of the machinery far more than on the faultiness of the machinery itself. Theoretically, and as a paper constitution, Mr. Gladstone's scheme, though capable of improvement, is admitted to be fairly sound. But its opponents assert that the men who will have the working of it can, if they choose, use it as a weapon, the potency of which no one denies, to win further concessions from England, and still more as an engine of oppression and injustice towards a large class of their fellow-countrymen. The powers entrusted to these men are great and real and direct. The checks on the abuse of these powers are, they say, feeble, unreal, and difficult to set in motion. This is not the place to argue the Irish Question. We have only to note that Mr. Mabelan, while very ably reproducing the arguments for and meeting the arguments against Mr. Gladstone's scheme on its legal and constitutional aspects, makes no attempt to overcome the doubts and fears of those who, looking to the character of the agitation and the actual social and economic conditions of the different classes of the inhabitants of Ireland, believe that the concession of Home Rule, theoretically an obvious act of simple justice on the part of England towards Ireland, would practically result in anarchy and injustice towards a large and important section of the community. In fact, Mr. Mabelan writes for those who either do not know, or consider unimportant, the Irish aspects of the question. Nationalists and Loyalists in Ireland are alike indifferent to the constitutional merits or demerits of Home Rule which our author deals with. They look through and beyond these to the effects it will have on their peace and prosperity: and if they trouble their heads at all with these abstract legal questions, it is only to seek for arguments with which they may influence English opinion for or against.

From the other side of the question, dealing with the actual social condition of one of the poorest of the counties of Ireland, and incidentally with the causes which have led to its present deplorable state, and the probable consequences of Home Rule, we have a very interesting and evidently genuine, though we cannot say absolutely unprejudiced, picture in "Letters from Donegal in 1886."[4] They are anonymous; but Colonel Maurice, who edits them and writes an introduction, pledges himself to their genuineness, and to the fact that they were written by a lady resident in Donegal in confidential correspondence with an English relative, and were never intended for publication. To protect the author from the dangers and annoyances to which she would certainly be exposed at home if the fact of her

[4] "Letters from Donegal in 1886." By a Lady "Felon." Edited by Colonel Maurice, Professor of Military History, Royal Staff College. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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authorship was known there, Colonel Maurice suppresses her name, but gives his own as a proof that the letters are not fictions. Colonel Maurice says very truly that what gives these letters their special value is the fact that "no letter was written for any eye but that of the confidential friend to whom they are addressed, and that therefore the writer paints herself, her own anxieties, her fears, hopes and doings, as well as all that is going on around her, in a way that under no other circumstances would have been possible." We recommend these letters to English people who really desire to know what the social condition of Ireland really is in the country parts. We have no intention of pledging ourselves to the truth of any one statement contained in them. The reader will form his own opinion on that point. But we think no one will deny the writer's sincerity, or regret having spent an hour or two in her lively society. The picture she draws is one of strangely mingled humour and pathos, as indeed every true picture of the Irish peasant must be.

"The Repeal of the Union Conspiracy" [5] is a tremendous indictment of Mr. Parnell and his associates, by one who professes to have been once a Fenian, and to have taken the Fenian oath. "I can give," says the anonymous author, "from my own personal experience, from inside the conspiracy, sufficient facts to prove the following propositions:—1. The 'Parnell movement,' as it is pompously called, is a foreign conspiracy, invented by felons and traitors, fed by foreign funds, and carried on by a systematic combination of agitation, terrorism, and murder. 2. That the Irish Parliamentary Party has been, from the year 1879, through certain of its accredited members, in constant touch and complete sympathy with the Queen's enemies; that they have been on terms of actual friendship, and in constant communication, with Irish revolutionists; and that their organ in Europe, *United Ireland*, has been edited and managed, from time to time, by dynamiters and assassins." We congratulate ourselves that we are not called on to decide the question of the truth or falsehood of these hideous charges. The evidence adduced would leave us little choice, if we believed it. But only in a court of law, where cross-examination is possible, could anything like an assurance of its truth be arrived at. It is much to be desired that the anonymous writer who makes such damning charges against public men, should be forced to substantiate them before the proper legal tribunal. Meantime, we decline to accept his statements. If true, they undoubtedly prove that the so-called "constitutional" party, distinguished from the assassin section, deliberately accepted the aid of the latter on well-understood terms. It is right to add that the writer offers no evidence of Mr. Parnell's personal complicity with the doings of "the men of action."

Two new plans "for the better government of the United Kingdom," are offered us by Mr. Archibald E. Dobbs [6] and Mr. Ivan Pavlovitch

[5] "The Repeal of the Union Conspiracy; or, Mr. Parnell, M.P., and the I.R.B." London: William Ridgway. 1886.

[6] "Home Rule: a Plan for the Better Regulation and Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." By Archibald E. Dobbs, M.A. London: Edward Stanford. 1886.

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respectively.[7] There is much sound sense in the former, and a good deal of irrelevant ingenuity in the latter.

Mr. Jay's letter to Mr. C. C. Shayne [8] is a dignified protest against interference by Americans in British national politics. Against the great authority of Mr. Gladstone he sets that of one who is nearer and dearer to the great heart of the Republic of the West—Mr. John Bright.

Mr. Clarke's "Speculations" [9] on the economic aspects of some very important political questions, are remarkably fresh and bold. They are supported with great fairness as well as ability, by arguments clearly and lucidly expressed. They are very short, and therefore not worked out in all details; but this is hardly necessary in "speculations" thrown out as suggestions, while their shortness has the advantage of enabling a busy reader to grasp the main outlines of each suggestion in a few minutes. There are no technical terms, and only the most elementary principles of political science are assumed; so that they are quite within the mental grasp of all who have the smallest right to an opinion on the questions treated. Of the nine articles in this little volume, three are especially remarkable for their boldness and force—namely, those on "Univeral Free Trade," "The Ransom of the Land," and "Free Trade in Railways." Mr. Clarke advocates the complete abolition of duties on imports of all kinds, which he sees would involve the abolition of excise duties on beer, &c., and the raising of £40,000,000 of revenue by direct taxation. The chief advantages claimed are the saving in cost of collection, the stimulus to commerce and manufactures, and the relief of the poor, who in indirect taxation always pay more in proportion than the rich. The objections anticipated by the author are the known dislike of the poor and ignorant to submit to direct taxation, and the probability that they would use their political power to shift all taxation to the shoulders of the rich. Besides there is the danger of checking accumulation of capital. As to the latter danger, he argues that an income-tax of sixteenpence in the pound, which would be ample for the purpose, would not perceptibly diminish the desire of accumulation, especially as it would be in lieu of a larger contribution now paid indirectly. As to the danger arising from the ignorance or prejudices of the poor, the answer is not so satisfactory. In fact, Mr. Clarke admits the reality of the danger, but is content to trust to progress in political education to remove it gradually. On Mr. Clarke's own admissions, we should conclude that his suggestions are premature. He does not even notice the difficulty of assessing and collecting the tax on small fluctuating incomes. Incomes above £1 and under £2 a week are to pay only 8*d.* weekly. But how is payment of these small sums to be enforced? and, more important, how are incomes

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[7] "The Better Government for the United Kingdom, as suggested by Ivan Pavlovitch, LL.B., &c." London: Arliss Andrews. 1886.

[8] "American Intervention in British Politics: a Letter to Mr. C. C. Shayne." By John Jay, late Minister to Vienna. New York. 1886.

[9] "Speculations from Political Economy." By C. B. Clarke, F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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made up from all sorts of odd jobs and small separate sources to be ascertained, especially when their owners move frequently from place to place, or are often out of work? These, and a multitude of other difficulties, at once present themselves. Probably, Mr. Clarke has thought out methods of meeting them, but we are left in the dark as to that. Coming to the question of the land, "all that is good in the phrase, the nationalization of the land," can, he thinks, be attained by means of a suggestion which, he admits, is "at first sight rather startling," yet is no rash invention of his own—"it worked admirably in Attica—as see Demosthenes or Boeckh." This is, that there should be a National Rate-Book in which every separate house, farm, and plot of land is entered at whatever value its owner pleases. The rates are paid by the owner on this valuation, and the State has the right to buy it from him at this valuation. Any one may go to the magistrate and offer a higher price, depositing the amount, whereupon the magistrate informs the owner that a price of so much has been offered, and the owner must forthwith elect between having his property valued at this advanced price (paying a fine at the same time), or selling it at that price. The advantages claimed for this scheme are that it would bring the land into the hands of the men who could make the most of it. "There would spring up, as in Attica, a large class of professional sycophants. By their incessant operations, properties, small and great, would be continually passing from the slothful and the old-fashioned to the enterprising and modern-educated. . . . . We should see an extraordinary activity in the employment of capital in England." The acquisition of land for public improvements or private enterprises would be effected at a minimum of cost, and the price to be paid for the land could be ascertained by a glance at the National Rate-Book. The rate-book and the map would show the comparative cost of alternative sites or routes. Here, again, obvious objections present themselves, and we are left to deal with them without any assistance from the author. For instance, it is certain that most men would far sooner pay rates on a valuation above the true market value than quit their home or place of business. "The sycophant," aware of this, will blackmail the owner by threatening to buy him out. There would certainly be started a limited liability company of sycophants, who, if they possessed a large capital and were bold and unscrupulous in their dealings, could levy a considerable tax on all owners. It would pay the company well to occasionally buy out a defiant owner even at a price far above the economic value of his property. The dread of a similar fate would compel other owners to "ransom" their property by a handsome tribute—not to the nation, but to the sycophants. Again, it would put a very oppressive privilege into the hands of the rich man with ready money. For he could afford to gratify a whim at the expense of his poorer neighbour who could not afford the advanced rates the rich man could compel him to pay. In the result the poor man (who need only be comparatively poor) would have to part with his property, receiving, no doubt, more than its money

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value, but losing, perhaps, what no money could compensate him for. True, the State would reap the benefit of increased rates; but this insignificant advantage would be a poor compensation for the sense of insecurity and the encouragement of tyranny that would result. Mr. Clarke is on much firmer ground when he argues in favour of free trade in railways—*i.e.*, that all persons and companies shall be free to make a railway wherever they please if they can get the land. Under the rate-book system there would be no difficulty in getting land at a fair price for any railway. There is much else that is worth reading in this little book. We have only directed attention to the most striking of the suggestions made; and although we cannot accept them as proposals to be at once carried out, we are very ready to welcome them as suggestions to be examined and carefully applied whenever opportunities present themselves for experimenting. The National Rate-Book scheme is the largest and most important of his suggestions, and it has this in its favour—that it can be applied as gradually and partially as may be desired. It can be applied, if Parliament will, to any single specified plot or house in the kingdom; or it may equally be applied to any number of specified properties. The scheme has many attractions, and it is not inconceivable that its details might be so worked out as to obviate the difficulties that at first occur to one.

We regret we have no space for an adequate review of Herr Soetbeer's prize essay on the relation of Socialism to Malthus' population theory.[10] It gives an account of that theory, and of the forerunners and successors of Malthus. The English, French, and German Socialists are treated in three separate chapters, and Mr. Henry George has a chapter all to himself.

The appearance so soon of a second edition of Hunter's "Indian Empire"[11] is a most gratifying event. The first edition, on which the present is an improvement in every way, stood alone and unapproached as a complete, though necessarily condensed, account of India and its people. It is, of course, founded on the author's magnificent work, "The Imperial Gazetteer of India," which is itself a condensation and arrangement of the great statistical survey carried out under his direction. "The present book distils into one volume the essence of the whole," and does it in a manner which commands our unstinted admiration. It is only as we read this work that we become gradually aware of the magnitude of the "endeavour to present an account, which shall be at once original and complete, of a continent inhabited by many more races and nations than Europe, in every stage of human development, from the polyandric tribes and hunting hamlets of the hill jungles, to the most complex commercial communities in the

[10] "Die Stellung der Sozialisten zur Malthus'schen Bevölkerungslehre." Eine von der philosophischen Fakultät der Georg-Augustus-Universität zu Göttingen Gekrönte Preisschrift. Von Heinrich Soetbeer, Dr. Phil. Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht. 1886.

[11] "The Indian Empire: its People, History, and Products." By W. W. Hunter, C.S.I., &c. Second edition. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

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world." And as we gradually realize the difficulty of the task, we perceive also with what truly admirable skill it is performed. Whatever excuse may have existed in Macaulay's time for the ignorance of Englishmen concerning India and its history which he complained of, there can be none since "The Indian Empire" was published. The completeness of the information condensed into these 700 pages probably surpasses anything Macaulay ever dreamed of; and, in our opinion, surpasses in picturesque interest, as much as in fulness and accuracy, all that Macaulay himself ever wrote on Indian topics. Here for the first time we can obtain from a single volume a clear comprehensive conception of the people of India, their ethnic elements, their history, their religions, literature, arts, their social relations, institutions, manner of life, and a thousand other details which a faithful picture presents at a glance. We are enabled to understand, in a broad general way, how successive waves of population flowed into the country, leaving their marks more or less distinct to this day in the places they touched. We see how the great successive spiritual movements arose, flourished, battled with each other, disappeared, or triumphed and developed new forms. We can carry our view back to a time when as yet caste was unknown, and can watch the gradual evolution of that remarkable institution, and study its effects upon the people who grew up under it. These are but a few instances of the many aspects of India which Dr. Hunter enables us to obtain a view of with a comprehensiveness and vividness never before possible without prolonged and special study. The present edition carries the history and statistics of India down to last year, and contains a good deal of additional matter—about 200 pages in all—scattered over the whole work, and referring to almost every question dealt with in the first edition. In chap. x., for instance, on "Christianity in India," we find a new and fairly full sketch of the earliest traces of that religion so far as can be gathered from legends, and inscriptions and casual references. Chap. xiii., a most valuable one, on "The Indian Vernaculars and their Literature," is entirely new. In it Dr. Hunter refers to the mass of recent evidence which in his opinion "settles the relationship of the present Aryan Vernaculars to the languages of ancient India," and proves that they "do not descend directly from Sanskrit." In fact, it indicates "the existence of an Aryan speech older than Sanskrit; older, perhaps, than the Vedic hymns; from which the Sanskrit, the Prákrits or ancient spoken dialects of India, and the modern Vernaculars were alike derived. But the most fascinating chapters, in this as well as in the first edition, are those in which the ethnical elements of the present population are analyzed and traced back to their earliest sources. There is probably still a widespread belief amongst even well-informed people that the population of India, omitting the comparatively small Mahommedan element, is a homogeneous people of Aryan stock—our own cousins, in fact. Nothing could be more untrue. The Aryans found India in possession of at least three distinct and widely differing non-Aryan stocks; and the pure descendants of these so-called aborigines are to this day, after

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3000 years of Aryan domination, as numerous as the pure Aryans, while the great mass of the people are mixed Aryan and non-Aryan, whose languages, customs, and religions clearly show their composite origin. We observe, by the way, that Dr. Hunter takes no notice of the grave doubts recent investigations have thrown on the long-accepted theory which makes Central Asia the common home of the Indian and European branches of the Aryan family. We must therefore assume that he is not yet prepared to give up the old theory. Dr. Hunter's attempt to piece together an account of the Scythic inroads from the unfinished researches of the archæological survey and from local investigations is extremely ingenious, and will give rise to a good deal of interesting discussion. One of the best chapters is that on Hinduism, in which for the first time its growth as the great religious and social nexus of the Indian people is written. It is indeed impossible to understand India of to-day without bearing in mind the twofold basis of Hinduism—caste and religion. "Hinduism is a social organization and a religious confederacy. As a social organization, it rests upon caste with its roots deep down in the ethnical elements of the Indian people. As a religious confederacy, it represents the coalition of the old Vedic faith of the Bráhmans with Buddhism on the one hand, and with the ruder rites of the pre-Aryan and Indo-Scythic race on the other." One more quotation in this connection we will venture to make for its intrinsic importance. "When it is well understood," says Dr. Hunter, "that the darker features of Hinduism, as a whole, rest not upon the Vedic Scriptures, but are the result of a human compromise with non-Aryan barbarism, the task of the Indian reformer will be half accomplished." At the end of the book some valuable statistics relating to population will be found. There is also a very full index, which, together with the table of contents and the marginal analysis, makes the task of finding just what we want surprisingly easy. The map prepared for the "Imperial Gazetteer" is reproduced in this volume, and coloured so as to distinguish between Independent, Dependent, and British territories.

"India's Needs"[12] is a sensible little book, intended, we should say, chiefly for natives. In a small space it gives a good deal of information about India's economic and social condition, past and present. The writer's views of the present and future of India are decidedly optimist in some respects, but he points out with discrimination the ends to which the future efforts of reformers should be directed. He quotes largely from recognized authorities—Hunter, Birdwood, Lyall, Williams, &c. He strennously denies that India is growing poorer under English rule; and as to political reforms, he repeats, for the benefit of young India, Cavour's famous advice to young Italy—"Have patience!" But in the work of educating and enlightening the people, especially the women of India, he would take as his maxim, "full steam ahead!" He is, we fear, over-sanguine about the possibilities of religious reform. The aboriginal beliefs and rites

[12] India's Needs: Material, Political, Social, Moral, and Religious." Madras Tract Depôt. 1886.

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that have survived Buddhism and forced themselves into the bosom of Brahmanism, cannot be expected to give way speedily to Christianity. Perhaps the chief danger to our rule in India is the temptation to force the pace in religious and social reform.

Very different in tone and character from the last two works is Mr. Edwin Arnold's "India Revisited."[13] The poetic and romantic side of that great "ocean of humanity" naturally appeals most to the author of "The Light of Asia." A rapid tour by rail is not as favourable to poetic sentiment as the traditional method of travelling by horse or bullock bandy. Nevertheless, Mr. Arnold is so thoroughly saturated with the ancient literature and poetry of India, that he cannot help himself if he would. Spite of steam and electricity and the Competition Wallah, India is still to Mr. Arnold the country of Buddha and the Mogul. His book is thus a delightful change after reading half a dozen of the ordinary tourists or philanthropists' productions. We are spared the wearisome statistics and commonplace descriptions of which one gets so sick. One exception we must make to this remark. Even Mr. Arnold has seen fit to inflict upon his readers some fifty pages of commonplace narrative, describing the voyage out. His narrative has been told so often, and the incidents recorded are so much alike in every voyage to India, that readers of books of travel must feel thoroughly nauseated at any mention of it. Yet Mr. Arnold, who can tell us so much that the general reader knows nothing of, and can summon up for us the spirit of the past as few indeed can do, condescends to pad his book with trivialities that interest us only when we find them in the home letters of our boys and girls fresh from school on their first sea voyage. But Mr. Arnold is no worse than many others whom we might expect to be above this kind of thing; and the fact that he had to cater for the readers of the *Daily Telegraph* must not in fairness be forgotten. Still we would suggest that this portion might be omitted from the next edition. Mr. Arnold's close sympathy with some of the religious and literary forces in India, gives special value to his observations on native opinion about English rule. It is therefore very reassuring to find him stating so confidently that

> political mischief-mongers who talk at home, or in India, of the discontent and ill-will of her inhabitants towards the British, are either ignorant or malignant. I have recently passed through hundreds of her towns and cities, and over thousands of miles of her districts—often wandering alone in crowded bazaars or solitary jungles—and have never encountered a single evil look or received one rude or unfriendly answer. In conversation with intelligent people of all castes and classes, I have found the blessings of our strong and upright sway perfectly well understood, and repaid—not, indeed with affection, since that is asking too much of Hindu natives—but with respect, admiration, and general acquiescence.

The volume is prettily got-up. Paper and print are excellent, and there are a number of well-chosen illustrations reproduced from

[13] "India Revisited." By Edwin Arnold, M.A., C.S.I., Author of "The Light of Asia," &c. Reprinted, with additions—Descriptive and Poetical—from the *Daily Telegraph*. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

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photographs by the Meissenbach process. The reproductions are not, however, very pleasing.

Mr. Cecil Bendall's journey in Nepal and Northern India[14] appears to have yielded rich literary and archæological results. Although his stay in Nepal was, for some reason which is not very clearly explained, extremely short, he was able to make valuable notes as to the contents of some splendid collections of MSS., and to copy or photograph several inscriptions. Nepal is singularly rich in these, and comparatively little attention has been paid to them, owing no doubt to the jealousy and hostility of the rulers; but this attitude is happily passing away, and there is good reason to hope that Mr. Bendall or some one else may soon take up the investigation so well begun. Other parts of Northern India were more thoroughly and leisurely examined by Mr. Bendall. This gentleman was sent out by the University of Cambridge, and the report before us is published in accordance with the conditions on which he undertook the journey. There are fourteen Collotype illustrations of temples, inscriptions, &c., chiefly from negatives taken by the author. The whole work is severely scientific, and does not pretend to possess any general interest.

Mr. Edward Tregear[15] endeavours to establish the rather startling theory that the Maoris of New Zealand are pure Aryans whose ancestors came from India some four thousand years ago. He founds this theory chiefly on the similarity of Sanskrit and Maori root-words —which is undoubtedly striking, but may be otherwise accounted for. But he finds an additional argument for his theory in the well-known horror of the Maori for lizards and reptiles of all sorts, although these are not deadly and there is no physical evidence that there ever were poisonous reptiles in New Zealand. His ingenious conclusion is that they brought this horror with them from India. The same theory as to their origin would account, he thinks, for certain legends concerning monsters the type of which could never have been supplied by the island, but which he identifies with the dragon Vritria and other Hindoo monsters.

In the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for October, 1884, we noticed at some length Mrs. Pringle's "Towards the Mountains of the Moon."[16] A new edition of that work is now before us with a slightly altered title and a new preface by the lady's husband. In other respects it appears to be identical with the first edition. If any of our readers care to see what we have said about it they will find what they want in the number above-mentioned. It is enough to say here that the book gives an account of a journey to the settlement of the Blantyre Mission in East Africa in the year 1880. Its object is to attract attention to mission work. As we said in our former notice,

[14] "A Journey of Literary and Archæological Research in Nepal and Northern India, during the Winter of 1884–5." By Cecil Bendall, M.A. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1886.

[15] "The Aryan Maori." By Edward Tregear. Wellington: George Didsbury. 1885.

[16] "A Journey in East Africa, towards the Mountains of the Moon." By M. A. Pringle. A new edition. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

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Mrs. Pringle's book "is emphatically one for the general reader, and though it has little of scientific value, it has the merit of giving at first hand a cultivated lady's experiences and impressions of a journey through lands and under conditions which few ladies have found themselves in and still fewer have written about."

"A Year in Brazil"[17] has nothing particular to recommend it beyond the notes on insects in Appendix II. The author went out to Brazil to survey for a railway. Of this work he has given us very little information. Whatever he was able to accomplish as a naturalist and observer was, of course, subordinate to his surveying; and the results are contained in the notes which occupy about 100 pages at the end of his volume. Naturalists will probably find something of value in them. Appendix I. consists of notes on particular districts, religion, slavery, weights and measures, coinage and finance, largely made up of extracts from the works of previous writers. Thrust into the midst of these descriptive fragments, we come upon some feeble anti-Darwinian speculations. The rest of the book consists of a journal "which is almost entirely formed of letters written home," and is of no particular interest.

Mr. Farini gives us a very lively and humorous account of his adventures in the Kalahari so-called Desert,[18] in search of diamonds and cattle ranches, accompanied by his friend "Lulu" of acrobatic fame. They found no diamonds, nor, we believe, did they secure any cattle ranches. But they had good sport and many exciting adventures in a region which has never been fully explored. Mr. Farini understands the art of embellishing a narrative with anecdotes, which we feel assured lose nothing in his handling of them. As an amusing book of adventures this volume is an undoubted success, and likely to win unbounded popularity for its author amongst the boys of the period. It has also some geographical and scientific value.

We are glad to welcome a third edition of this little work, as an evidence of its well-deserved popularity. The traveller to Greece cannot do better than take this book[19] with him. It will enhance his enjoyment, and enable him to exercise an intelligent appreciation of many things he might otherwise miss, or only partially understand. Mr. Tuckerman's position as Minister of the United States to Greece gave him opportunities for thorough and painstaking observation of men, morals, and manners, of which he has availed himself in an admirable way. One is impressed with his fairness in dealing with vexed and debateable questions. He evidently, and as far as his own

[17] "A Year in Brazil, with Notes on the Abolition of Slavery, the Finances of the Empire, Religion, Meteorology, Natural History," &c. By Hastings Charles Dent, C.E., F.L.S., F.R.G.S. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

[18] "Through the Kalahari Desert: a Narrative of a Journey with Gun, Camera, and Note-book, to Lake N'Gami and Back." By G. A. Farini. Forty-six illustrations (mostly from photographs), diagrams, and maps. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1886.

[19] "The Greeks of To-day." By Charles K. Tuckerman. The Travellers Series. Sketches of People and Places. New York and London: C. P. Putnam's Sons.

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experience goes, with reason, entertains a high opinion of the character of the modern Greeks. In a chapter headed "The Massacre near Marathon," he gives us a clear and most interesting account of a tragedy which, at the time (1870), sent a thrill of horror and indignation throughout Europe. We are able, now that time has softened these feelings, to read an impartial and unbiassed account of the whole affair. We commend to our readers the chapter on the Island of Corfu. Mr. Tuckerman's descriptions of this lovely spot are so vivid and graphic as to impel one to make the island the object of one's next journey abroad. Some natural indignation against the sneers of self-complacent Britishers inspires occasionally the author's pen; but we will hope that the specimens of insular insolence met with by Mr. Tuckerman were exceptional. The section devoted to Mission Work and American Missionaries at Athens is most instructive. We hope Missionary Societies in America will lay the author's words and personal investigation of this question to heart.

In "The Dawn of the Nineteenth Century,"[20] Mr. John Ashton endeavours to present us with a picture of the social condition of England as it might have appeared on the surface to an observer at the beginning of the present century, so far as such a picture can be constructed from the newspapers, pamphlets, squibs, cartoons, &c., of the period. This is our own, not the author's description of his aim. He does not limit it as we have done. He describes his aim as being "to give a faithful record of the dawn of the nineteenth century in England, taken absolutely from original and authentic sources." That his sources are original and authentic we do not dispute—though it would have been more satisfactory if these had been more generally mentioned, especially in the case of his illustrations. But to call this collection of superficial sketches "a faithful record of the dawn," &c., is claiming for it rather more than we can allow. We have, however, no wish to depreciate Mr. Ashton's work. It contains much that is curious and instructive, if nothing that is very new or profound; and as we said, it is drawn from original contemporary sources, which is a great merit in a work that purports to present the true features of any epoch.

"Labour Differences and their Settlement"[21] is a very able essay in support of the principle of arbitration as opposed to strikes and the hostile action of trades unions in labour questions. It belongs to a valuable series of publications issued at New York.

Mr. George Merrill is a graduate of T.C.D. and a member of the New York Bar, and has been practising as an American lawyer in Paris for many years. His work[22] is a handy book of reference for questions of private international law.

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[20] "The Dawn of the Nineteenth Century in England: a Social Sketch of the Times." By John Ashton, Author of "Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne," &c. With 114 illustrations, drawn by the author from contemporary engravings. Popular edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1886.

[21] "Labour Differences and their Settlement: a Plea for Arbitration and Conciliation." By Joseph D. Weeks. New York: Society for Political Education. 1886.

[22] "Studies in Comparative Jurisprudence and the Conflict of Laws." By George Merrill, A.B. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1886.

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The Italian Government continues to pour forth a rich stream of wonderfully minute and complete statistics relating to population and the hygienic, economic and social condition of the people. Amongst works recently received we may mention "Bilanci Provinciali per Gli Anni 1883 e 1884" (Roma: Tip. Romana, 1886); "Circoscrizione Ecclesiastiche in relazione Con Le Circoscrizione Amministrative secundo il censimento del 31 Dicembre 1881" (Roma: Tip. Dell' Opinione 1885); "Statistica delle Opere Pie e delle Spese di Beneficenza Sostenute dai Comuni e dalle Provincie. Vol. i. Piemonte" (Roma: Tip. Nell' Ospizio di S. Michele di Carlo Verdesi e C. 1886); "Annali di Statistica. Statistica Industriale. Fascicolo II. Notizie sulle condizione della Provincia de Venezia" (Roma: Tip. Eredi Botta, 1886).

We have also received from Rome, the "Bulletin de L'Institut International de Statistique. Tome I. 1ère et 2ème Livraisons. Année 1886" (Rome: Imprimerie Heritiers Botta, 1886), which contains several interesting papers. Amongst them are a historical sketch of the foundation of the Institute; a Report of the Proceedings of the Jubilee Meeting of the Statistical Society of London in June, 1885; a very interesting paper, by Professor Beloch, on the population of Ancient Rome; some curious statistics as to the division of property in France compared with Great Britain, and several other admirable papers.

The indefatigable director of the Statistical Bureau of Buda-Pesth is determined not be outdone by Italians or any one else. He sends us "Die Bauthätigkeit Budapests in den Jahren 1875–1884. Von Joseph Körösi" (Berlin: Puttkammer and Mühlbrecht, 1886); "Bulletin Annuel des Finances des Grandes Villes. Rédigé par Joseph Körösi." (Budapest: Chas. Grill, 1885); and "Armuth und Todesursachen. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Methodologie der Statistik, von Joseph Körösi" (Wien: Seidel & Sohn, 1886).

SCIENCE.

PROFESSOR HARTMANN opens his account of the Anthropoid Apes[1] with a history of the growth of our acquaintance with them, which is supplemented by an Appendix giving the titles and dates of the works quoted. An admirable account follows of the external forms of anthropoid apes, in which differences of age and sex are set forth with a clearness and fulness of description which, in the higher animals—gorilla, chimpanzee, and ourang-outang—can only be termed excellent. The following chapter compares the external and

[1] "Anthropoid Apes." By Robert Hartmann, Professor in the University of Berlin. With Sixty-three Illustrations. ("International Scientific Series," Vol. LIII.) London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1885.

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anatomical structure of anthropoid apes with man. This large subject is examined fully as to the skeleton, external form, the muscles of the head and body, and the brain. The fourth chapter follows up the same subject in another way by briefly discussing the varieties of shape which these higher apes present among themselves. The succeeding chapters treat of their geographical distribution and habits in a state of nature, and of their habits in captivity. A brief statement on the place of these animals in the zoological system, is a means of setting forth their classification in relation to man. Finally, the eighth chapter gives a summary of the results arrived at, and somewhat further discusses the relations of the higher apes to man. It is a work which is difficult to summarize, being a full statement of fact, excellently set forth, to illustrate the question discussed; it is written without bias, and only with the desire to make as much of the best knowledge accessible as could be put into one small volume.

Oscar Schmidt's volume on the Mammalia [2] is a popular account of the several natural orders, in which the geological history of a few well-known types is discussed in its bearing on the evolution of existing genera. There is a general Introduction dealing with the position of mammals in the animal kingdom, the phenomena of parallel and converging structures in different animals, the distinctive characteristics of mammals, the growth of palæontology since the days of Cuvier, and the succession of the mammalia in tertiary strata. Touching in the lightest way on these great subjects, the author passes to a comparison of the living mammalia with their ancestors. There is no evidence as to the origin of the monotreme mammals of Australasia. The marsupials of the lower and middle secondary rocks are briefly noticed, but the history of their connection with the living kangaroo rats and other surviving forms is hardly brought out so clearly as might have been; while, from the brevity with which the fossil Australian marsupials are discussed, the author's treatment, even where original, does but scant justice to the problems which the materials suggest. The book, however, is essentially popular, and all the orders of mammals are briefly treated of, though more space is given to the hoofed types than to other forms. Here the history of the pig, the hippopotamus, camels, deer, antelopes, oxen, tapirs and their allies, and horses is told, so that the more striking features of change in the skeletons of the several types are exemplified. The remaining order of mammals are discussed in a similar spirit. The author has drawn his information from the works of the best modern writers; and if any word of criticism were offered it would be that he seeks evidence of descent exclusively among fossil types instead of utilizing the equally suggestive surviving types, on the structures of which the truths of evolution as certainly rest. The outline woodcuts help to illustrate the facts brought forward.

[2] "The Mammalia, in their Relation to Primeval Times." By Oscar Schmidt, Professor in the University of Strasburg. With Fifty-one Woodcuts. ("International Scientific Series," Vol. LIV.) London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1885.

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No English geologist has a wider knowledge, more matured experience, or has contributed in a larger degree to build up the science of geology than Mr. Prestwich. As most of his work was done in the days before evolution had dominated current teaching, and when the uniformitarian theories of Sir Charles Lyell were regarded as heresies by many, it is not without interest to find that he has been able to discard all these newer views and seeks to rally the science in Oxford and England to new life with the aid of non-uniformitarian formulæ. This at least is the *raison d'être* of his geology [3] as unfolded in the preliminary remarks, but, perhaps because this first volume deals with matters chemical and physical, it is not very evident that the action of chemical or physical laws in elaborating geological structures has been strikingly different from the results which those laws still yield to the experimentalist. But since the main contention of this school is that the forces of Nature were more potent, or were manifested with greater energy, in the geological periods of time, the purpose of the author's teaching is to reverse all existing thought, which leads us to believe that in no period of time were the changes on the earth's surface so frequent or so varied as now. The first volume consists of twenty-four chapters. The second, termed "The Constituents of the Earth," enumerates the rock-forming minerals; the composition and classification of rocks follows, with short definitions of the several water-formed rocks, schists, and igneous rocks. Then a chapter is given to the results of the decomposition of the crystalline rocks, with a view of illustrating the origin of clays, sands, limestones, and the scenery to which such rocks give rise. The fifth chapter, dealing with life, shows classifications of plants and animals, with indications of families or genera which are met with in a fossil state, but in many respects the classifications used are not modern. Two chapters follow on the formation of sedimentary strata indicating the denuding action of water on land, and on shores. The eighth chapter, termed "Littoral and Deep-sea Deposits," gives some results of the investigations concerning life in the deep sea. "Meteorological Agencies" is the title of a chapter which discusses the work of air and rain on the weathering of rocks. "Underground Waters and Springs" is an excellent but brief account of the power of the strata in storing water. The next chapter is occupied with ice, and discusses glaciers, glacier lakes, and the excavating and transporting action of ice. Two chapters trace the history of volcanoes, earthquake phenomena, and changes of level of land. Coral islands are discussed in reference to the last-mentioned subject. Thus far the student has been taken onward, very much in the method of Lyell, by means of an exposition of the actions now going on by chemical and physical agencies. With the fifteenth chapter, termed "Disturbed and Faulted Strata," we come rapidly on the consideration of stratification, faults, crumpled rocks, and pass on to a consideration of cleavage and joints in the chapter which follows. We are

[3] "Geology: Chemical, Physical, and Stratigraphical." By Joseph Prestwich, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., Correspondent of the Institute of France, Professor of Geology in the University of Oxford. Two vols. Vol. I.—Chemical and Physical. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1886.

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then introduced to mountain ranges, with an enumeration of mountain chains formed during several periods of geological time, with brief references to the Alps, Himalayas, and Andes. The two chapters on metalliferous deposits are among the most full and interesting discussions in the volume. The last four chapters are given up to igneous rocks. This is perhaps the weakest part of the book. Everything that excellence of paper, printing, and woodcut work can do for the volume is done, and it further has the advantage of several large maps and sections. Twenty years ago it would have exercised a great influence, but now it is less a book for students studying to gain a mastery of the science, than for the general educated reader who desires to follow in a systematic way the development which the science has put on since the days in which De la Bêche and Lyell wrote.

A scientific class-book designed to awaken curiosity and interest in young learners in geology has long been required, and such students may be esteemed happy that Dr. Archibald Geikie presents them with an outline of the general history of the earth unburdened with detail.[4] The author's aim is rather to unfold the philosophy of the science than to record its facts, but yet to tell enough to convince the reader that geological changes are still in progress, and in many ways may be observed day by day. The volume is divided into four parts of very unequal length. The first part discusses the changes now going on upon the earth, and the ways in which the succession of similar phenomena in past time is recorded in the strata. It is termed "Materials for the History of the Earth," and discusses the work of the atmosphere, running water, springs, ice, and the memorials of lakes, marine action, the existence of plants and animals, and the effects of earthquakes and volcanoes. So that the first 150 pages have much the character of an exposition of those parts of physical geography with which the geologist is concerned. The second part is termed "The Rocks, and how they tell the History of the Earth." It consists of seventy-five pages devoted to a systematic account of the rock-forming minerals and their crystalline forms, followed by a brief discussion of the chief kinds of rocks, distinguished by differences of mineral character. Part III., "The Structure of the Crust of the Earth," devotes about seventy pages to the phenomena of stratification, the ways in which igneous rocks and mineral veins occur, and explains the phenomena of fossilization. Finally, the fourth part, of about 180 pages, is the geological record of the earth's history, and treats of the periods of geological time in successive chapters. This history is much more concerned with fossils than with the strata, and gives an interesting and well-illustrated account of the characteristic fossils of the successive formations, down to the recent period, in which the polished stone implements of human workmanship are found. A useful classification of

[4] "Class-book of Geology." By Archibald Geikie, LL.D., F.R.S., Director-General of the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom, &c. Illustrated with Woodcuts. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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the vegetable and animal kingdoms is given as an Appendix; and the volume concludes with a full Index. The book is issued in the same series as Professor Huxley's "Physiography," to which it is an excellent companion volume. It is written in an easy, clear, and interesting style, and is better adapted for general reading than for a class-book, being in manner and matter the best popular account of geology which has come under our notice.

Professor John Milne has been engaged for several years in investigating earthquake phenomena in Japan, and has probably given more attention to the subject than any living Englishman. In this country but little has been done for the study of earthquakes since the classical researches of Mr. Mallet, and we welcome Professor Milne's popular treatise,[5] in which the subject is discussed from the point of view of the newest methods of observation. After a Preface explaining the plan of the work, follows an Introduction which discusses the growth of seismology. The next chapter treats of instruments for measuring or recording earthquake movements, which begin with the Chinese seismometer, invented A.D. 136, and end with the complicated forms of apparatus invented by the professors of the Japanese engineering college. Then succeeds an examination of the theory of earthquake motion—a subject which rests chiefly on the investigations of Mr. Mallet. The fourth chapter supplements the theory with experiments, so that the artificial disturbances produced by gunpowder and other agents serve as a means of elucidating the vertical motion and other vibrations which earthquakes exhibit. The fifth chapter describes the way in which earthquakes furnish evidence concerning the motion which they manifest, leading to the conclusion that the velocities of different earthquakes vary from hundreds to thousands of feet per second, moving fastest when the shock is most intense, and faster in districts near to its origin than in those which are more remote. Some chapters which follow discuss the effects of earthquakes on buildings, especially with regard to the direction of the cracks and the movements which buildings make. The destruction always depends on the nature of the underlying rocks. Towns built on gravel, sand, and clay usually disappear, while those on compact rocks are but little altered, but this difference is by no means universal, and Professor Milne finds the low flat land sometimes more shaken than the high land, while at other times the conditions are reversed. Among the recommendations made for avoiding earthquakes are to prefer a wide open plain to a hill, and to avoid loose materials which rest on harder strata. Then the effects of earthquakes on land are considered, especially in the formation of fissures, disturbances in springs, and alteration in the coast-line. This leads to an examination of disturbances in the ocean. The next chapters discuss the modes of determining the position in which an earthquake originates, and of calculating the depth. Everything tends to show that an earthquake originates in a fissure of the rocks which is rarely vertical. Some

[5] "Earthquakes and other Earth Movements." By John Milne. With Thirty-eight Figures. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

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earthquakes have been estimated to originate fifty miles below the surface. The distribution of these disturbances in time and space, their relations to temperature and pressure of the air, their connection with volcanic disturbances, all receive interesting treatment. A chapter is given to the cause of earthquakes, in which some appear to be due to faulting of the rocks, others to the pouring out of lava, explosions within the earth, chemical removal of rock matter, the attraction exercised by the heavenly bodies, and variations in atmospheric pressure and temperature. A chapter is given to earthquake predictions, and the cases are numerous in which men, by observing natural phenomena, have forewarned people of coming earthquakes. The concluding chapters treat of earth tremors, earth pulsations, and earth oscillations. An Appendix gives a useful list of the more important writings on earthquakes. This work is illustrated with a map showing seismic and volcanic areas, and with many woodcuts. It is one of the most carefully prepared and valuable of the series to which it belongs.

"The Elements of Thermal Chemistry"[6] is an excellent and systematic study of the heat produced in chemical operations. The author while following his own method, has made free use of the materials gathered by Naumann, Thomsen, and Berthelot. The book consists of five chapters and a series of Appendices which form a second part. The first chapter is essentially introductory, dealing with the elementary chemical and physical considerations involved. The second chapter is explanatory, describing the standards of heat, the various instruments in use for measuring heat, and the mode of stating the heat produced by chemical action, and concludes with a section on the heat of combustion. The author then applies the methods described to the study of chemical phenomena, such as allotropy and isomerism, the neutralization of acids by bases, the classification of elements and compounds. The fourth chapter is a study of processes, partly chemical, partly physical, such as the relation of melting and boiling points to chemical composition; and the connection between rate of evaporation and molecular weight; dissociation, solution, hydration, are also examined in their relation to heat. The fifth chapter is the chemical interpretation of thermal data, and is divided into a discussion of the law of maximum work and of affinity. The Appendices consist of tables—the first is data relating to heats of formation, and heats of combustion; the second, data concerning allotropic and isomeric changes; the third, heats of neutralization of acids and bases; the fourth, data relating to the phenomena of dissociation; and the fifth, heats produced by solution and hydration. The treatment is necessarily technical, but the work is clearly written, well constructed, and contains an excellent introduction to a very important branch of chemical physics.

The Rev. Dr. Landsborough's popular history of British zoophytes helped in its day towards a general conception of the lower types of

[6] "The Elements of Thermal Chemistry." By M. M. Pattison Muir, M.A., F.R.S.E., assisted by David Muir Wilson. London: Macmillan & Co. 1885.

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marine life, and Mr. Pennington[7] endeavours to give an account of the hydroida, actinozoa, and polyzoa found in British waters, moulded upon that pattern. The book opens with an Introduction giving some historical account of the classical writings on these groups. An article follows on the general classification of the groups, and the distribution of the principal types in depth. A description of the structure of hydroid zoophytes, with a sketch of their classification, forms an introduction to the systematic description of the British genera and species of that order. The corals and polyzoa are treated on the same plan. Owing to the brevity of the accounts of the species, the work has a technical character; but will be found useful by all dwellers on our coasts. There is a Bibliography, a Glossary, an Index of Popular Names, and a full Index of Species. The volume concludes with thirty-four plates, drawn by the author, which give useful representations of the organisms represented.

It is difficult to understand why three such subjects as seaweeds, shells, and fossils should have been linked together, or why the authors should have aspired to tell in thirty pages, exclusive of the space occupied by illustrations, enough to make it worth while writing on these subjects.[8] The chapter on seaweeds gives a short account of the characters of the several groups and families of algæ, and, if the information is not very intelligible to the beginner, there is at the end a list of excellent works on the subject. The article on shells is similarly an abstract of a classification in which families are enumerated, followed by a table which is designed to give some idea of the distribution of the more important genera. The handbook of fossils is rather an enumeration of the strata, mentioning the names of a few fossils in each. As originally issued, these papers might well escape criticism as acceptable to field clubs and societies, including beginners; but we see no reason why they should be offered in a collected form to the general public.

An interesting guide for the young collector, so far as plan is concerned, to the insect life of ponds[9] treats of them at the surface, in the middle depths, the bottom, above the surface, on margins, and on water plants. The author conspicuously avoids the use of popular names; but, although not written in the most attractive style, the volume is intelligible to those who may use it practically. Necessarily, very few species are described, while many are enumerated; but the schoolboy who begins practical work by collecting the types which are here discussed will gain a useful interest in pond-life. But to be satisfactory the volume needs many more illustrations, and a simpler statement of facts.

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[7] "British Zoophytes: an Introduction to the Hydroida, Actinozoa, and Polyzoa found in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands." By Arthur S. Pennington, F.L.S., F.R.M.S. London: L. Reeve & Co. 1885.

[8] "Seaweeds, Shells, and Fossils." By Peter Gray and B. B. Woodward. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

[9] "Pond-life: Insects." By Edward A. Buller, B.A., B.Sc. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

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"A Handbook of Mosses"[10] is rather an account of them than a guide to study, but, seeing that the reader is recommended to purchase various good books and provide himself with a microscope, we may regard this handbook as a sort of prospectus of study for beginners. It commences with an account of the development of mosses, illustrated by some useful figures. Moss habitats follows, and, by mentioning the mosses found on various trees and in other situations, helps the student towards an identification of the plants which may be collected. There is a section on classification, which certainly needed much more illustration. The geographical distribution, cultivation, uses, and preparation of specimens for the herbarium all receive some consideration. It is a well-intentioned little volume, which may be useful on account of its small price.

Three numbers of the "Young Collector" series of penny handbooks are printed on good paper and bound into a volume on British fungi, lichens, and mosses.[11] They are interesting examples of the comparatively technical knowledge which those who have no experience in teaching provide for the use of beginners. Each article extends to thirty-two pages, and is illustrated with a number of useful woodcuts. It is full of information, and where teaching is available, the book may be useful.

"Familiar Garden Flowers"[12] is the fourth series of pictures by Mr. Hulme with descriptions by Shirley Hibberd. There are forty beautifully coloured page plates of flowers, with three or four pages of letterpress to each, and a preliminary synopsis. It is essentially a table book, and is remarkable for the excellence of the coloured illustrations.

Any one whose eye is at all trained to the appreciation of beauty in scenery is well aware that trees are seen at their best in winter or early spring, before their structure is hidden by foliage. Acting on this principle, Mr. Heath devotes a volume to trees in winter.[13] It is illustrated by many excellent woodcuts exhibiting the forms of trees, but the treatment is less satisfactory than that of Gilpin's "Forest Scenery." The volume is divided into two parts. The first, termed "Sylvan Winter," comprises fourteen chapters of unequal length, among which the tree forms and the influence of climatic conditions are fully described. The second part, termed "Winter Wood Lore," consists of ten chapters, which have no necessary connection with the first part. The subjects discussed are spray, use of wood, plant sleep, dormant

[10] "Handbook of Mosses; with an Account of their Structure, Classification, Geographical Distribution, and Habitats." By James E. Bagnal, A.L.S. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

[11] "The Young Collector: British Fungi, Lichens, &c." By E. M. Holmes, F.L.S., F.R.M.S., and Peter Gray, A.B.S. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

[12] "Familiar Garden Flowers." Figured by F. Edward Hulme and described by Shirley Hibberd. Fourth Series. With Coloured Plates. London: Cassell & Co.

[13] "Sylvan Winter." By Francis George Heath. With Seventy Illustrations by Frederick Golden Short, engraved by James D. Cooper. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

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seeds, ages of trees, fossil forests, tree food, buds, bark and pith, sylvan giants, and sylvan nomenclature. The book is interesting, but it is not the best of the author's many works.

Forty years ago botany was synonymous with the natural history of plants. The structure and functions of plants were studied in relation to their habits and distribution. Then succeeded a period in which details of classification occupied the main part of a student's time, so that, though plants were distinguished from each other, their natural history was almost neglected; and since that period a new school has arisen in which botany has come to mean little more than physiology in relation to plant-life. This condition is correlative with the change which has come over the sister science of zoology, which has lost the broad grasp of Nature which it once had, in enthusiasm for embryos and microscopic work. It is a part of the sub-division of labour, necessary with widening knowledge; but prejudicial when the student is thus led to forget the vegetable or the animal kingdom in its ordinary aspects. But the recent botanical literature does not help so much as might be desired towards this end. When the present generation has mastered the physiology of plants, perhaps the next may again learn something of their classification, and the succeeding age return to the study of plant-life as it existed in the days of the great botanists. The lectures,[14] twenty-three in number, which Dr. Vines has given in Christ's College and as Reader in Botany in the University of Cambridge treat of the structure and properties of the plant-cell, of absorption, the processes of vital chemical change named metabolism, growth, irritability, and reproduction, but about half the book is taken up with metabolism and irritability. Each lecture is followed by a bibliography. The lectures are clearly written, well informed, and, with a few alterations in technical passages, would be suitable for general reading, and a valuable introduction to the elements of botany.

The dainty little "Tourist's Guide to the Flora of the Alps,"[15] printed on thin paper and bound for the pocket, is worth the attention of travellers in Switzerland. The author states that it includes all those species which live in the Alpine and sub-Alpine regions, while to these he has added the flowers found at lower elevations which are remarkable for their beauty or abundance. The editor has added a few additional species. The descriptions are necessarily brief, but sufficient for the identification of the species by those who are familiar with the terms used in descriptive botany. An Appendix gives all the flowering plants and ferns which are not described in the work, and there is an Index to Genera and Orders, and to English popular names.

Sir John Lubbock's new volume in Macmillan's "Nature" series,[16] though consisting of materials already published, merits attention as

[14] "Lectures on the Physiology of Plants." By Sydney Howard Vines, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1886.

[15] "The Tourist's Guide to the Flora of the Alps." By Professor K. W. v. Dalla-Torre. Translated and Edited by Alfred W. Bennett, M.A., B.Sc., F.L.S., &c. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

[16] "Flowers, Fruits, and Leaves." By Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., F.R.S. D.C.L., LL.D. With numerous Illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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a successful attempt to popularize, in the best sense of the term, some of the most striking aspects of plant-life. In dealing with flowers, the methods of fertilization in a number of types are discussed with a view to exhibiting the relations of flower structure to reproduction, and especially to the influence of insects in carrying the pollen. The lecture on fruits and seeds is designed to explain the arrangements by which seeds are distributed, the types being selected to exhibit the great variety of conditions for the diffusion of these organs. The lecture on leaves describes their mode of arrangement among familiar trees and plants, and their characteristic structures. The lectures are such as any Professor of Botany might have given to young students, but, in the endeavour to find reasons for the modifications of structure described, we are struck by the parallelism between the language of modern evolution and the old expression of design. The science is the same, but its language changes.

Grant Allen's Life of Charles Darwin [17] is not calculated to convey an idea of the man whose work it deals with. It is too ambitious a volume, and too much the work of a special pleader. In the opening paragraph it is said that Darwin found biology a chaotic maze and left it an orderly system. His influence has always seemed to us to have given new energy to the study of embryology and the conditions of existence at the expense of comparative anatomy, which had been previously the great illuminator of natural history. Whether the world will not come back after a time to its old ways of interpretation of life is at present a matter of little moment, but that Darwin was the Newton of biology, as the author maintains, is a proposition not likely to be demonstrated. The successive chapters give an account, first, of the evolutionary thought which was already current in the world during Darwin's lifetime. His immediate ancestry and early life are rapidly passed over. Then follows the voyage of the *Beagle*, and what is termed the period of incubation, in which the work which flowed from the *Beagle* voyage and led up to the book on the "Origin of Species" is discussed. Then the story is told of Wallace's discovery, and how it led to the publication of the "Origin of Species," of which an account is given. The development of cognate ideas and the publication of "The Descent of Man" follow, and, finally, the work of his later years and the acceptance which his views met with are detailed, with an estimate of Darwin's relation to evolution and of the other discoveries which have helped evolution on. We should have preferred to write of Darwin in the calm way in which he wrote of Nature, and, though this volume will be acceptable to many who are influenced by his life's work, he has yet to be looked at in a larger way.

This diary [18] differs from other diaries in being addressed to the wants

[17] "Charles Darwin." By Grant Allen. "English Worthies." Edited by Andrew Lang. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1885.

[18] "The Naturalist's Diary: a Day-book of Meteorology, Phenology, and Rural Biology." Arranged and Edited by Charles Roberts, F.R.C.S., &c. With a Chart showing the Blossoming of Spring Flowers in Europe, and an Introduction on Natural Periodic Phenomena, &c. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

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of people with scientific tastes and knowledge. It is printed so that suggestions for notes occupy one side of each page and record mean maximum and minimum temperatures, barometric pressure, rainfall, direction of wind, plants blossoming, trees leafing, seeds germinating, insects and larvæ appearing, notes on fish, reptiles, the migration of song-birds, nesting of various birds, notes on the breeding of mammals, and on shooting, fishing, &c. An Index is given of plants, trees, insects, and other animals referred to, but without the page being in all cases mentioned. Being designed for dates of the month, and not for days, it is a diary which would probably last for more than one year. The idea is likely to lead to a desirable record of phenomena which change with climatic conditions.

"Strength and Happiness"[19] consists of two series of papers reprinted from *Knowledge*. The first essay is termed "Strength: How to Get Strong and Keep Strong, without Wasting Working Time, with Chapters on Rowing and Swimming, Fat, Age, and the Waist." This is an account of various means by which exercise may be obtained calculated to strengthen the body, and suit the needs of all classes of people, with useful discussions of the special subjects named. The second essay is on "Happiness: a Study of the System of Morals in which Duty Depends on Happiness and Fulness of Life in Self and Others."

The attention given of late years to the connection between microscopic organisms and disease has now advanced so far that valuable handbooks to the study are being produced for the use of students. One of these,[20] contributed by Dr. Klein to Macmillan's "Manuals for Students," is already in the third edition, and presents an excellent account of the methods of research and the history of microscopic organisms in relation to various diseases in men and animals. It cannot yet be altogether regarded as established that these organisms are in every case the causes of disease, since they sometimes appear in the blood, and sometimes only in the diseased tissue; and it is only when the presumed cause of disease, after having been cultivated for several generations outside the body, produces the symptoms of the disease when re-introduced into a healthy body that we are justified in affirming the relation of cause and effect, and then only provided the organisms are found to have developed in the bodies of the animals infected. The author describes the conditions necessary for microscopic examination, and the preparation of the media, vessels, and instruments with which cultivation is carried on, as well as the methods of inoculation. Having thus cleared the ground, he begins with a history of bacteria, which are subdivided according to the classification of Cohn into (1) spherobacteria, or micrococci; (2) bacteria, or microbacteria; (3) bacilli, or desmobacteria;

[19] "Strength and Happiness." By Richard A. Proctor. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1885.

[20] "Micro-organisms and Disease: an Introduction into the Study of Specific Micro-organisms." By E. Klein, M.D., F.R.S. Third Edition. With One Hundred and Twenty-one Engravings. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

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(4) spirilla; (5) spirochætæ; but only such types are noticed as are related to disease. Each of these groups includes many varieties. Thus, there are micrococci characteristic of ulcerations; others, characteristic of chemical changes, or the development of colour. In all cases of diarrhœa, typhoid fever, and such-like ailments, the secretions of the intestines swarm with micrococci; but these organisms occur normally in saliva, nasal mucus, and in the fluids of the mouth and throat. The various forms of this organism are described which characterize a large number of diseases, such as erysipelas, diphtheria, pneumonia, &c. The microbacteria are examined in the same way, and figures given which illustrate their forms and mode of occurrence, but, so far as known at present, they play a less important part in disease than micrococci, giving rise to fowl cholera and some other animal ailments. The bacillus, or desmobacterium, shows many varieties. The effects produced by this organism in Asiatic cholera, typhoid fever, meat poisoning, malaria, glanders, swine plague, leprosy, tubercular disease, &c., are fully discussed, and illustrated with many figures. Spirillum receives notice, and is found to characterize relapsing fevers. The organisms allied to yeast, one of which produces the thrush of infants; the mould fungi, among which is saprolegnia, which produces the salmon disease, and other organisms are described. Concluding chapters on the relation of septic to pathogenic organisms, reproduce the author's report to the Local Government Board, from which the conclusion results that each organism can only produce its own definite disease under the characteristic conditions; and when death is produced, it is attributable to chemical alteration in the blood and tissues produced by the increase of the organisms up to a definite number. Finally, the subjects of vaccination and antiseptics are briefly considered. The book is one to be in the hands of every student, and deserves attention from all concerned in the health of men and animals.

The Bacteriology of Dr. Crookshank[21] is the result of study in the principal pathological laboratories of Germany and Hungary. It is a sumptuous volume, well printed, and illustrated with thirty plates, many of which are carefully coloured, while the text includes more than forty woodcuts. The book is divided into two parts of nearly equal size. The first hundred pages treat of the methods of research, the microscopical examination and cultivation of bacteria, preparation and staining of sections, preparation of the nutrient media for the cultivation of organisms, and experiments on the living animal. But, although the divisions of the subject are not unlike those of Dr. Klein's book, this gives many more details of the methods of work, so that the student would more easily follow the instructions. The second or systematic part commences with the rejection of Cohn's classification in favour of that of Zopf, and then follows a short account of the several species and genera in their

[21] "An Introduction to Practical Bacteriology, based upon the Methods of Koch." By Edgar M. Crookshank, M.B. (Lond.), F.R.M.S. Illustrated with Coloured Plates and Wood Engravings. London: H. K. Lewis. 1886.

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relation to disease. Methods of staining and microscopic examination are given in relation to each species. The book is characterized by clearness and brevity and very beautiful illustrations, the plates being frequently printed in two or three colours, from typical preparations.

BELLES LETTRES.

A SECOND collective edition of Mr. Coventry Patmore's poetical works[1] deserves something more than a passing notice. Indeed, in the brief Preface to the first volume, the author appears to demand from the public a reconsideration and estimate of his work as a poet. "I have written," he says, "little, but it is all my best; I have never spoken when I had nothing to say, nor spared time nor labour to make my words true. I have respected posterity; and, should there be a posterity which cares for letters, I dare to hope that it will respect me." In other words, "fit audience let me find though few." With the exception of "The Angel in the House," Mr. Patmore's poems are but little known even to the literary world, and, in spite of certain rare and valuable qualities displayed in the religious lyrics and secular ballads, we suspect that it will be by "The Angel in the House" that he will be remembered and judged by any lovers of letters who may linger on in the midst of a faithless and material generation. "The Angel in the House" is a novelette in verse, and treats in realistic fashion of the successful courtship of "the daughter of a Dean" by a youth of many virtues and sufficient fortune. The tale of the courtship is supposed to be written after an interval of ten years of happy wedlock, and detailed for the satisfaction of the narrator's wife. The moral of the piece is the perfection of the married state. The choice of the *mise-en-scène* and the realistic diction may be attributed to the influence of Lord Tennyson's earlier muse, but in the fine use of words, in the delicacy and persistency of the undertones, in the deliberate choice of what might have been accounted a prosaic theme, Mr. Patmore gave evidence of original genius. How far he succeeded in avoiding the commonplace, and whether or no he held Cupid fast in the bonds of wedlock, must ever remain a matter of opinion. In our judgment, married love is not a suitable theme for minute poetical treatment, and that not because it is dull, but because it is sacred, while the ill-omened effort to be at once sensuous and chaste is apt to result in a more or less nauseating failure. "The Angel in the House" has found, and will always find, enthusiastic admirers, but we question if the majority of the poems which are to be found in the second volume will find many readers. The thought is often difficult and far-fetched; the language highly

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[1] "Poems." By Coventry Patmore. Second Collective Edition. Two vols. London: George Bell & Sons. 1886.

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artificial and peculiar. In the lyrical addresses to the Virgin, and the other theological poems, Mr. Patmore, who is, we believe, a Roman Catholic, makes use of a technical and scholastic phrascology which can only commend itself to experts. At the same time, nowhere is his laborious mastery over words more triumphantly displayed, and nowhere, to our thinking, is he more original. In this volume are included some graceful and promising verses of the author's son, Mr. Henry Patmore, and an admirable essay on "English Metrical Law." The following verses from "The Angel in the House" are well known, but they deserve the widest recognition for their grace and beauty:—

THE LOVER.

He meets, by heavenly chance express,
The destined maid; some hidden hand
Unveils to him that loveliness
Which others cannot understand.
His merits in her presence grow,
To match the promise in her eyes,
And round her happy footsteps blow
The authentic airs of Paradise.

"The Saunterer,"[2] by Charles Goodrich Whiting, consists of a series of short pieces in prose and verse which originally appeared in the *Springfield Republican*. The species is thoughtful commonplace, the variety American. The essays, or detached paragraphs, are for the most part descriptive of outdoor life, and bear such titles as "Maple Sap," "The Song of June," "Mountain Wind," &c. Some of them are humorous, and all contain an excellent moral. The verses betoken care and thought, and are above the average. We quote as a specimen the following lines:—

Blue hills beneath the haze
That broods o'er distant ways,
Whether ye may not hold
Secrets more dear than gold,—
This is the ever new
Puzzle within your blue.

Is't not a softer sun
Whose smiles yon hills have won?
Is't not a sweeter air
That folds the fields so fair?
Is't not a finer rest
That I so fain would test?

The far thing beckons most,
The near becomes the lost.
Not what we have is worth,
But that which has no birth
Or breath within the ken
Of transitory men.

[2] "The Saunterer." By Charles Goodrich Whiting. Boston: Ticknor & Co.; London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

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"Poems by Henry Abbey"[3] betoken the happy influence of Longfellow on American verse. They consist of narrative pieces, such as "Karagwe," which turns on the horrors of the slave trade; of allegorical lyrics, such as "The City of Success" and "The City of Despair;" and of Eastern fables and apologues. The style, if somewhat extravagant, is lively and energetic, and the writer displays that keen and appreciative spirit which goes to ennoble American literature. Of the minor pieces we prefer "Ontiora" and "In Hanging Gardens," but we have only space to quote the following characteristic lines:—

STORM.

The pale day died in the rain to-night,
And its hurrying ghost, the wind, goes by;
The mountains loom in their silent might,
And darkly frown at the sea and sky.

The petrel wings close to his surging home,
And stabs with a shriek the shuddering night;
The mad wave beckons with hands of foam
Dipped in the blood of the sea-tower's light.

So, in my heart, is a storm to-night,
Storm and tumult that will not cease;
And my soul, in bitterness, longs for the light,
For the waking bird and the dawn of peace.

"Sweet Briar"[4] consists for the most part of love poems, very simple and very commonplace, but not unpleasing and not unmusical. A little more thought and some sacred discontent, with mere facile prettiness, might impel the writer to better things. The comic pieces are very poor fooling indeed, and the pen-and-ink illustrations, though clever in their way, superfluous and irritating.

Against the "trick of singularity," if it be found to pay, nothing can be urged, and we suppose that "Two Tramps"[5] had a method in their madness when they printed their verses on pages of various hues. But the verses themselves deserved a better fate. That they owe much of their inspiration to Bret Harte and Mr. George Sims is obvious enough, but for all that there is a genuine ring about many of these spirited stanzas which will commend them to the unprejudiced reader. Of literary finish there is neither promise nor fulfilment, but in their love of nature, in their breadth of thought, and in their unaffected sympathy with poverty and suffering the writers have risen above the level of popular sentiment.

"Verses of Country and Town,"[6] by Rowe Lingston, are the work

[3] "The Poems of Henry Abbey." New Enlarged Edition. Kingston, New York: Henry Abbey. 1886.

[4] "Sweet Briar: Songs and Sketches from 'Quiz.'" With Illustrations by Twyne. Edinburgh and Glasgow: John Menzies & Co.; London: Houlston & Sons. 1886.

[5] "Low Down: Wayside Thoughts in Ballad and other Verse." By Two Tramps. London: George Redway. 1886.

[6] "Verses of Country and Town." By Rowe Lingston. London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1886.

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of a poetical mind. They express in temperate and melodious language a wholesome love of country sights and sounds. The author is not without a touch of humour, and we find him at his best in a "Beast of Chase," a spirited description of a ride to hounds from the point of view of the fox; in "A Wrangle," an argument in rhyme between a robin and a cuckoo; and in the lines "To my *Cat.*" But "door" should not rhyme to "more" in an epigram of four lines, and nowhere at all should "borne" rhyme to "dawn."

"Edward the Confessor,"[7] by Bassanio, is not so much a historical drama as it is a chapter of history done into blank verse. Shakespeare, it is said, turned to good account entire pages of Plutarch's "Lives" by a few unimportant (and yet all-important) alterations. Bassanio follows in the master's steps, and essays a like transmutation with the genial pages of "The Student's Hume." The lines run smoothly, and the "unities" are duly observed.

"The Crown of Life,"[8] by Claudia Frances Hernaman, is an attempt to compose a second "Christian Year." As religious exercises, these verses are not unpleasing, but they display a measureless inferiority to those of Keble. It is not for us to speak, but we should have imagined that the authoress would herself have felt the impropriety, not to say shrunk from the audacity, of competing with a master at once so revered and so cultivated.

We welcome with pleasure some graceful and thoughtful stanzas, entitled "The Sybil among the Tombs,"[9] from the pen of Mr. John A. Heraud, the gifted author of "The Judgment of the Flood," "The Descent into Hell," &c. An Introduction by the poet's daughter tells us that Mr. Heraud is now in his eighty-seventh year, and explains the circumstances under which the poem was written. Like Mr. Samuel Carter Hall, Mr. Heraud is one of the few remaining links with the mighty dead known only to us by their immortal works.

On the reception of four volumes of poetry,[10] one of which is published in Auckland, N.Z., a second in Honolulu, a third in Rio de Janeiro, a fourth in Greensburg, Pa., we were tempted to exclaim in the poet's own words, "Presumptuous! Preposterous! Thou canst my friend no more!" But with study came reflection, and, if we have not been greatly impressed with Mr. Frank Cowan's powers as a poet, we confess that we have received a great deal of novel and delightful

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[7] "Edward the Confessor: a Drama." By Bassanio. London: Wyman & Sons. 1886.

[8] "The Crown of Life: Verses for Holy Seasons." By Claudia Frances Hernaman. London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh. 1886.

[9] "The Sybil among the Tombs." By John A. Heraud, Author of "The Judgment of the Flood," &c. London: Published by Daniel S. Stacey, 62, Upper Street, Islington, N.

[10] "The Terraces of Rotomahare: a Poem." By Frank Cowan. Auckland, N.Z.: H. Brett, Printer, Shortland and Fort Streets. 1885. "Australia: a Charcoal Sketch." By Frank Cowan. Greensburg, Pa.: Printed at "The Press" Printing House. 1886. "The City of the Royal Palm, and other Poems." By F. Cowan. Rio de Janeiro: Printed by A. J. Lamourent & Co., 79, Rua Sete de Septembro. 1884. "A Visit in Verse to Hatemaumau." By Frank Cowan. Honolulu: P. C. Advertiser Steam Print. 1885.

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information from him as a geographer. His descriptions of volcanic scenery are graphic (may we say photographic?), and he lacks neither metaphor nor simile. But his style suffers from an overflow of words, and at times he oscillates with startling and perilous rapidity between the sublime and the ridiculous. The description of the pink and white terraces of Rotomahana will be read with a melancholy interest, and will henceforth be invaluable as a picture in words of beauties which may never be seen again. "Australia: a Charcoal Sketch," is a prose poem in the style of Walt Whitman. In spite of the extravagance and absurdity inseparable from literature of this kind, a new and, it must be confessed, unpleasant impression of the weird desolation of the Australian bush is left on the mind of the long-suffering reader. Once again in the words of the author, "A Charcoal Sketch" may be a "noontide nightmare," but it is far from being, or being fit for, a "gallery of art."

"The Jubilee Ode"[11] by the Rev. W. H. A. Emra is above rather than below the average of such productions. A good deal is said about the glories of England during the past fifty years, and something is said about Queen Victoria. If we had the requisite skill to write a jubilee ode, we should decline to wander from the record of the praises due to that honoured and gracious Lady for all that she has done and left undone for her people. Our own worth, our commerce, our politics, and our bayonets may be celebrated at any time.

To write within the compass of a single volume a History of Greek literature[12] which shall contain all things needful for the mental sustenance of the student at the universities and for the candidate for the Indian Civil Service examination, and at the same time to compose an original work of general interest, is to attempt two incompatible tasks. If Mr. Jevons has not succeeded in solving an impossible problem, he has put together an admirable text-book of Greek literature which may be used alike by the student who means business in the way of examinations and by the intelligent reader who seeks to cultivate himself. We read with especial interest the admirable chapters of Greek lyric poetry.

"The Life and Works of Shakespeare,"[13] by Mr. F. G. Fleay, is the most interesting and important contribution to Shakespearian literature which we have seen for years past. It is a monument of prolonged and laborious research; but that is not its distinguishing characteristic. There has been no lack of minute and painstaking investigation in the preparation of many similar works which it would be invidious to particularize; but the results have, for the most part, been sadly out of proportion to the labour bestowed. The two snares, into one or other of which almost all who have hitherto attempted to reconstruct

[11] "The Jubilee Ode. 1886." By Rev. W. H. A. Emra. London: Bevington & Co. 1886.

[12] "A History of Greek Literature, from the Earliest Period to the Death of Demosthenes." By Frank Byron Jevons, M.A. London: Charles Griffin & Co.

[13] "A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare, Player, Poet, and Playmaker." By Frederick Gard Fleay. London: John C. Nimmo. 1886.

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the life of Shakespeare have fallen, are, (1) the misdirection of their inquiries to topics which Carlyle might have stigmatized as "the infinitely little," and (2) the elaboration of finespun theories, as baseless as floating gossamer threads. Both these besetting sins of Shakespearian research, Mr. Fleay has entirely avoided. He dislikes as much as we do "the modern inquisitiveness that peeps over the garden wall to see in what array the great man smokes his pipe, and chronicles the shape and colour of his head-covering." So he has wisely directed his inquiries to the public career of Shakespeare, a subject of grave importance to all who are interested in the history of English literature, and one which has hitherto been very imperfectly explored. The questions raised, and for the most part satisfactorily answered, by Mr. Fleay are: "what companies of actors Shakespeare belonged to, at what theatres they acted, in what plays besides his own he was a performer, what authors this brought him into personal contact with, what influence he exerted on or received from them, what relations, friendly or unfriendly, they had with rival companies, and finally, in what order his own works were produced, and what, if any, share other hands had in their production." On all these points the reader will find no fanciful theories, no reasoning from hypothesis to hypothesis. Mr. Fleay comes to us *pièces en main*, and proceeds from one ascertained fact to another, or to its logical consequences. But the value and interest of the work may best be judged from the following *résumé* of its contents which we extract from the author's Introduction. "What the reader will find here is:—(1) a continuous narrative in which the statements are mostly taken for granted in accordance with my own views of the evidence accessible to us; (2) annals or chronological arrangement of the same facts, with discussion of their mutual inter-relations; (3) discussion of the evidence on which the chronological succession of Shakespeare's plays is based; (4) similar discussions for plays in which he was not main author; (5) a few remarks on German versions of his plays acted on the Continent; and (6) tables of quarto editions of his plays, &c., with a list of all plays entered on the Stationers' Register from the first opening of theatres to their closing in 1640–42."

Mr. George Moore's diatribe [14] against the tyranny of the circulating libraries is legitimate and well-founded. It is, on the face of it, as absurd as it is unbecoming that a tradesman should set up as a supreme *censor morum* of English literature; and Mr. Moore's pamphlet supplies abundant proof that the selection made is capricious and unreasonable. At the same time, we cannot agree with him in utterly condemning the circulating library system. It seems to us that it affords the most convenient means of reading the current fiction of the day, the greater part of which is essentially ephemeral. The best proof that even half-crown novels would provide no efficient substitute for the loan system, is that in Paris, where nearly all novels are, and long have been, published at 3fr. 50c., *Cabinets de Lecture* are now multiplying

[14] "Literature at Nurse; or, Circulating Morals." By George Moore. London: Vizetelly & Co. 1885.

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rapidly. If in England only such fiction as is fit reading for girls is encouraged, and all that is outside that narrow groove branded as "immoral," the fault is not so much in the circulating libraries as in their customers; it is one of the unhappy consequences of the *bégueulerie* of which foreigners with too much justice accuse us. Still, if Mr. Moore read as many English novels as it falls to our lot to review, he would hardly say that there was any lack of novels of analysis, nor of such as deal with social and religious questions. That not many novels produced during the last ten years will live, we readily grant him; but it is not, in our opinion, because they are not sufficiently realistic nor because they fail to occupy themselves with the questions of the day, but simply because so very few among them bear the stamp of genius or even of marked ability.

The "Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century,"[15] by Professor Herford, is, as the author himself acknowledges in his Preface, "a book addressed necessarily to two classes of literary specialists." It deals with the obscurer and comparatively unknown portions of the English literature of the sixteenth century, and the German literature of the same period from which they derived, in a greater or less degree, their inspiration. But the exact purport and aim of Professor Herford's laborious and erudite work may be best stated in his own words. "The present volume" (we quote from the opening paragraphs of the Introduction) "is an attempt to lessen the obscurity of that track of international literature in which Barclay's 'Ship of Fools,' Marlowe's 'Faustus,' and Decker's 'Guls' Horn-booke' are luminous but isolated parts. To these isolated points I have endeavoured to supply in some degree both the intervening detail and the continuous background; in other words, to give a connected and intelligible account of the phases of German literary influence upon England in the sixteenth century." The plan thus announced has been ably and carefully executed; but the result can only be fairly gauged or even fully appreciated by the very small minority who are really conversant with the subject—one which, after all, is hardly calculated to inspire widespread or vivid interest.

Never till its introduction to the English public, through the medium of a translation, did we hear "Salammbô"[16] treated as "the masterpiece of Flaubert." It is a story even more hideous and revolting than "Madame Bovary"—Flaubert's true masterpiece—without the redeeming merit of intense reality. In "Salammbô" the epoch is so remote, and the manners and turn of thought depicted are so apart from our experience, that we lose all sense of reality. It is a nightmare—horrors heaped on horrors without even the excuse of realism. The translation by Mr. Sheldon is by no means a good one. His

[15] "Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century." By Charles H. Herford, M.A., Trin. Coll. Camb. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1886.

[16] "Salammbô of Gustave Flaubert." Englished by M. French Sheldon. London: Saxon & Co.

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knowledge of French and English seems to be alike imperfect. He chooses to call translating, "Englishing." The expression is unfortunate, not only because the verb "to English" does not exist, but because the language into which he has rendered "Salammbô" is anything but English.

Another English translation of "Salammbô,"[17] by J. S. Chartres—from Messrs. Vizetelly's series of English versions of celebrated French romances—is a better piece of work than Mr. Sheldon's. The translator has thoroughly understood the original, and has succeeded in putting it into good English. The type, paper, and material execution of the volume, inside and out, leave nothing to be desired.

We cannot speak so highly of Messrs. Vizetelly's English version of "L'Œuvre,"[18] the latest addition to M. Emile Zola's "Rougon Macquart" series. The book is well put out of hand, but the translation is hardly up to the mark. It would perhaps be unreasonable to look for great literary excellence in an anonymous translation, but one does not expect to find "Eh bien! Non," construed into "Well, No:" "Elle se redressait," "She was drawing herself erect." Such construing would not pass muster in a school exercise. The name, too, of the English version does not seem to us well-chosen. "L'Œuvre," no doubt, is a title that does not admit of literal translation, but "His Masterpiece?" is in no sense its English equivalent, nor is it even a good substitute. The subject of the book is not any one "work"—much less anything that can be called a "masterpiece"—but artistic and literary work in general, with its hopes, its joys, its struggles, its heart-breaks, sometimes culminating, as in the case of Claude Lantier, in despair. It is as powerful as anything Zola has ever written; not so sensational, inasmuch as the action is for the most part mental and moral rather than physical, but none the less, poignantly sad. To us it seems the saddest book that Zola has ever penned, and at the same time the most poetical (with, perhaps, the one exception of "La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret"). It is sad because of the cruel life-history which it narrates—that of an artist, conscious of genius, endowed with indomitable industry, yet unable to bring any of his great conceptions to perfection. But it is sad, too, because it reveals a mood of doubt and discouragement in the author himself. For the first time, he seems to doubt of the verdict of posterity; of the progress of human thought and opinion in the direction he would have it take. Sometimes one may even fancy that he doubts of the value of his own methods. Yet nowhere has M. Zola's genius shone out more triumphantly than in certain parts of "L'Œuvre." All the love story of Claude and Christine, from their first acquaintance up to the fourth year of their married life, is an exquisite, delicate, idyll, such as few contemporary writers could

[17] "Salammbo: a Realistic Romance of Ancient Carthage." By Gustave Flaubert. Translated from the French *édition definitive* by J. S. Chartres. London: Vizetelly & Co. 1886.

[18] "His Masterpiece (L'Œuvre); or, De Lantier's Struggle for Fame: a Realistic Novel." By Emile Zola. London: Vizetelly & Co. 1886.

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equal. It is a new proof of the fact, often before observed, that genius is greater than systems. Then, too, the character of "Pierre Sandoz" is, to our mind, the noblest and most sympathetic creation in all M. Zola's *répertoire*. Such a book cannot be fittingly summed up under a title which alludes only to Claude Lantier's last hapless attempt at producing a work of art—undertaken when the insane neurosis which had marred his life was already turning into positive insanity.

Another translation, but this time from the German, is "Jetta,"[19] by George Taylor, translated by Mr. Sutton F. Cockran, the translator of "Klytia." We have no doubt that Mr. George Taylor (a curiously English name, by-the-by, for a German author) gives a faithful picture of the decadent Roman civilization under Valentinian, as also of the fierce and rugged manners of the Alemanns of the same period. No doubt, patriotic prejudice goes for something in the vast superiority which he attributes to the Germans over both Latins and Gauls. But this can hardly be accounted a defect. Every creation of any worth must bear the impress of its creator's individuality—his prejudices as well as his beliefs and convictions—and of all prejudices patriotic partiality is the most respectable. Besides, we believe the picture of the Romans and Germans struggling, each according to his own traditional policy, for the debateable land between the Rhine and the Neckar, to be in the main true, and neither the wild virtues of the barbarians, nor the degraded civilization of the Latins, greatly overcharged. The individual characterization, too, is powerful, discriminating, and well sustained. Still the book is anything but pleasant reading. The story has all the fatefulness of a Greek tragedy. Every one in whom the reader is interested perishes miserably. The best and most estimable personages in the tale fall by each other's hand. At the end of the second volume everybody is dead, and all by violent deaths. The whole story is, as it were, a gigantic *battue*. The translation is not nearly so good as that of "Klytia." The English throughout is clumsy, and not seldom fails to convey the translator's meaning.

"Norah Moriarty"[20] is a tale setting forth events saddening and humiliating to English readers, and still more grievous to right thinking and really patriotic Irishmen. It is the story of the Land League, its disastrous beginning with the change of Ministry in 1880, its rapid spread, and subsequent development into a tyranny the most galling and demoralizing that the world has seen since the "conquête Jacobine," so powerfully depicted by Taine. Mr. Amos Reade relates it all without fear or favour. He shows us the miserable effects of the skilfully organized terrorism,—dawning prosperity blighted, capital driven from the country, and, worst of all, the well-disposed if

[19] "Jetta; or, Heidelberg under the Romans: a Historical Novel." By George Taylor. Translated from the German by Sutton Corkran. Two vols. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

[20] "Norah Moriarty; or, Revelations of Modern Irish Life." By Amos Reade. Two vols. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

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ignorant majority terrified into complicity with the outrages and crimes perpetrated by the minority of ruffians, which for six long years has ruled supreme in Ireland. He inveighs with a bitterness which is not surprising, against the weakness and vacillation of the English Government, whose system (so far as they can be said to have had a system) was to meet outrage by concession, reward their enemies and sacrifice their friends, and refuse persistently to see the horrors which were being enacted under their eyes, always answering the agonized appeals of loyal sufferers with the stereotyped formula that "Ireland was not as yet within a measurable distance of rebellion." It is in all ways a sad and shameful episode which Mr. Reade has chosen for his theme, but he handles it well, and, we are inclined to think, fairly and without exaggeration. The romance which is interwoven with the narrative of public events is both interesting and touching.

"Monkraven,"[21] by "Aramis" (why Aramis?), contains a spirited and life-like picture of cadet life at Woolwich Academy—*et voilà tout.* After Woolwich is left behind there is very little to praise. The comic episodes are the best, though they are rather too broadly farcical, and owe more to the effervescence of youthful mirth than to the presence of any real wit or humour. The serious portions of the book are marred by exaggerated, and often misplaced, sentimentality. The style is below par, and betrays a "'prentice hand." The redeeming feature is that the story is not without interest, notwithstanding that the greater part of the characters are quite unlike anything in real life.

It is impossible to discuss seriously such a book as Mr. Laurence Oliphant's "Masollam."[22] The only passage in it with which we can heartily sympathize is that wherein the reader is supposed to say: "We are tired of this perfectly impossible group of people," &c. But it is not because the principal characters are impossible that we object to them. There may be such people, partly the victims of diseased nerves, and partly conscious humbugs. But, whether possible or impossible, they are profoundly tiresome. Their lofty aspirations are mere foolishness, and the people themselves, with their mysterious oracular utterances and solemn airs of superhuman wisdom and goodness, are intolerable bores. It is no doubt a striking proof that Mr. Oliphant is himself actuated by that "altruism" of which he is so unmeasured an advocate, that he should have written a three-volume novel from which, as he tells us, he "looks for small profit and still smaller praise;" but, on the principle that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well, he might have taken rather more pains than he apparently has taken, with the literary composition of his altruistic tribute to the higher interests of humanity. In common charity to those of his readers whose literary and critical faculties are in any

[21] "Monkraven: the Story of his Betrayal." By Aramis. Three vols. London: Wyman & Sons. 1886.

[22] "Masollam, a Problem of the Period: a Novel." Three vols. By Laurence Oliphant. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

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degree "sensitized," as he would call it, he might have avoided employing verbs in the singular preceded by a whole string of nominatives; he might have spared us such uncouth terms as "knowledges"—a plural of his own invention. But, above all, he might have spared us the gruesome and incoherent travesty of Hamlet's oft-quoted lines:

> The time is out of joint! O cursed spite!
> That ever I was born to set it right!

which Mr. Oliphant adapts to his own use as follows:—

> The *world* is out of joint; O *blessed love!*
> That *I was ever* born to set it right.

If we turn from the purely literary aspect of the work to its moral purport, it is no more admirable from the latter than from the former point of view. It is surely disheartening and lamentable, when sober scientific methods seemed be gaining ground in every department of thought, to find a writer, who has proved himself capable of better things, proposing as the one solution of "the social problem" a scheme of crude, unalloyed altruism, to be wrought out by pretended converse with hypothetical invisible beings, by mysterious inward manifestations of the divine presence, the cure of sickness by the laying on of hands—in short, by the recrudescence of all the exploded signs and wonders of ancient magical lore. From whatever side we regard it, "Masollam" is a sad falling off from Mr. Oliphant's previous productions.

There is so much that is tender and idyllic in Mr. Arthur Hardy's "Wind of Destiny,"[23] that it is the more to be regretted that the author should mar his work by sickly sentimentality and maundering analysis of motives. This leads him to slight the narration which is the proper business of the book. Incidents, instead of being narrated, are so vaguely and obscurely hinted at, that the story, in itself graceful and attractive, loses half its zest.

It is gratifying to observe in "The Heir of the Ages,"[24] the most recent production of the veteran novelist, Mr. James Payn, a more than wonted freshness and vigour. It is an agreeable and even striking story. If the charming relations between author and publisher which it describes are the outcome of Mr. Payn's long experience, he is to be congratulated. Perhaps, however, the picture is meant to be ideal, and the title of the imaginary magazine—the Millennium—is intended to shadow forth a "New Jerusalem" state of things not hitherto realized in this work-a-day world.

"The Otways' Child,"[25] by Miss Hope Stanford, is a quiet story that may possibly pass unobserved among more showy and pretentious publications; but it possesses much real merit. To begin with, the story itself is sufficient to fill the book—one closely printed volume—

[23] "The Wind of Destiny." By Arthur Sherborne Hardy. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

[24] "The Heir of the Ages." By James Payn. Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1886.

[25] "The Otways' Child." By Hope Stanford. One vol. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

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and to amuse and interest the reader without seeking adventitious aid from disproportionately lengthy descriptions either of scenery or states of feeling. And yet the story is not all sensational. Some of the incidents are, indeed, exceptional, but not impossible. The characters are ordinary men and women, and the best proof that they are skilfully delineated is that one thinks of them as men and women rather than as characters in a novel.

"The Basilisk"[26] is a *multum in parvo* of sensation. Within the narrow limits of less than 300 not very closely printed pages are to be found murders, false coining, abductions, hairbreadth escapes, breathless flights and pursuits, mysterious revolving panels masking secret passages—in short, all the paraphernalia of sensational romance. The story is told in a style sometimes slightly eccentric, but direct, forcible, and effective. For those who like thrilling adventures (we confess we do) Messrs. Stephens and St. Leger's "Basilisk" will be highly entertaining reading.

"That Little Girl,"[27] by Curtis Yorke, can scarcely be said to touch a high standard of excellence. It is of the calibre of scores of stories to be met with in Ladies' Journals and such-like literature. At the same time it is by no means devoid of interest. Probably most readers will follow the varying fortunes of the several characters with no little sympathy.

We are not fond of stories based upon so-called "psychical" phenomena; yet, when treated with good taste and literary ability, they may at least be endurable. But when, as in the case of Mr. Will Howarde's "Spell-bound,"[28] the incidents are revolting—more suitable to a "penny dreadful" than to a novel—the style clumsy and ungrammatical, the plot feeble in conception, and badly worked out, the result is not such as to repay either criticism or perusal.

"The Young Marquise,"[29] by Manus, is a horrible drama, only made endurable by the skill of its construction. A young wife, driven to bay by the most revolting cruelty and violence, broods day by day on murderous projects, till at length, being a somnambulist, she murders her husband in her sleep. Her flight and escape are well and thrillingly told, and many of the characters are powerfully presented. But, like so many tales of the present day, the subject is fitter for the pathologist than the novelist.

"Old Iniquity"[30] is a pretty little story, not ungracefully told. Miss Phœbe Allen has a considerable tincture of literature, which she displays in well-chosen mottoes for her chapters and in numerous

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[26] "The Basilisk: a Story of To-day." By Henry Pottinger Stephens and Warham St. Leger. One vol. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

[27] "That Little Girl: a Novel." By Curtis Yorke. One vol. London: Bevington & Co. 1886.

[28] "Spell-bound." By Will Howarde. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

[29] "The Young Marquise." By Manus. One vol. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

[30] "Old Iniquity: a Novel." By Phœbe Allen. One vol. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

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quotations, German, French, and Latin. Her French is more correct than that of the average English novelist. We only noticed one glaring mistake, namely, "Faire bonne *figure* à mauvais jeu," in place of "Faire bonne *mine* à mauvais jeu." The difference may seem slight, but it is all-important.

We have something new, if not very noteworthy, in "The Master of Tanagra,"[31] by Ernst von Wildenbruch, the Poet Laureate of Germany. It is a sculptor's story of ancient Greece, and brings before the reader, in familiar guise, such world-famed figures as Praxiteles, Apelles, Phryne, &c. The story is not very interesting. It seems to be written to show forth in action the superiority of the draped figure over the nude in sculpture—a contention wholly untenable from an æsthetical standpoint, whatever may be said for it on the score of morals.

"A Fallen Idol"[32] has much in common with "Vice Versâ," which at once made the fame of its author. It is characterized by the same fantastic extravagance of plot, worked out with the same close, humorous realism of detail. The whole story is a clever satire on the pretended mysteries of Esoteric Buddhism—a satire well masked and subtle, but as keen as it is well deserved and well timed.

Mr. Sinnett's "United"[33] well deserves to come under Mr. Anstey's satiric lash. But, after all, the tissue of absurdities which he gravely serves up to his readers will do as much to discredit the sickly mysticism in which he delights as would the keenest satire. For they can but offend and disgust the reader. To say nothing of the grim and horrible results of the mesmeric influences described in "United," their manifestations are simply ludicrous. "Zephyr," the little green man, a sort of "familiar" who appears now and again, but never seems to be of any use whatever, is infinitely absurd, and the Guardian Angel, who is shared by two ladies, and always spoken of as SHE, is very little better.

Like most novels which have first appeared in a serial form in the pages of *Blackwood*, "The Crack of Doom"[34] is far above the average of contemporary fiction. There is something very real about it. The scenes, the characters, and the conversations have a curious air of reality. The dialogue, of which there is a great deal, is particularly bright, spirited, and natural. The plot, too, is ingenious and unhackneyed. The story is not perhaps profoundly interesting or exciting, but it is entertaining throughout, and leads up to a sufficiently dramatic *dénouement*, which is skilfully and naturally brought about.

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[31] "The Master of Tanagra: a Sculptor's Story of Ancient Greece." By Ernst von Wildenbruch. Translated by Marie, Baroness von Lauer. London: H. Grevel & Co. 1886.

[32] "A Fallen Idol." By F. Anstey, Author of "Vice Versâ." One vol. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1886.

[33] "United: a Novel." Two vols. By A. P. Sinnett, Author of "Esoteric Buddhism," &c. London: George Redway. 1886.

[34] "The Crack of Doom: a Novel." By William Minto. Three vols. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

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"The Stillwater Tragedy,"[35] by Mr. T. B. Aldrich, author of "The Queen of Sheba," "Prudence Palfrey," &c., is a highly interesting detective story; sometimes vaguely recalling "La Corde au Cou" and other tales of the unravelling of obscure crimes—a speciality in which M. Gaboriau stood unrivalled. But the resemblance is but superficial. In Gaboriau's stories it is almost always the clever detective who, in spite of the wrongheadedness and *parti pris* of the *juge d'instruction* and the *parquet*, brings the real criminal to justice, and exonerates the unjustly accused hero, who, by-the-way, has almost invariably brought suspicion on himself by some previous act of folly or immorality. Whereas, in "The Stillwater Tragedy," the clever detective is too clever by half, reminding one more of Mark Twain's detectives than of "M. Le Coq," or old "Tirauclair," and it is the sensible and blameless hero who himself unwinds the meshes in which the too zealous detective had all but enfolded him. There is one close resemblance to "La Corde au Cou"—namely, that in both, when all the world begins to doubt the hero's innocence of the crime imputed to him, his *fiancée* alone stands by him, unshaken in her love and loyalty.

In his Preface the author of "Little Asker"[36] seems anxious to impress upon his readers that the book is not a science book, but a story book. In our opinion, the story, if it can so be called, is the least agreeable part of it. The book is, to all intents and purposes, an elementary science primer, and, as such, is both interesting and instructive. But the form in which the instruction is conveyed is often tiresomely pompous and didactic, and the questions of "Little Asker" are like those in a catechism—framed to elicit predetermined answers. The little book is interspersed with pretty bits of anecdote, and the verses, which are chiefly the heads of what each chapter contains, are of high quality, notably "The Beginner and Worker," from which we quote the following lines:—

Tree sap will circulate
While we are sleeping;
Hearts beat and stars move
All in safe keeping. . . . .
Who can be everywhere
Minute by minute,
Minding the Universe?—
Who could begin it?—

We learn from the Preface of M. George E. Habich's "Vade-mecum pour la Peinture italienne des anciens Maîtres"[37] that "this little book is offered to the public, without any other pretention than that of indicating to persons desirous of studying Italian painting in the galleries of Paris, London, Berlin, Munich, Vienna, and Frankfort,

[35] "The Stillwater Tragedy." By Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1886.

[36] "Little Asker; or, Learning to Think: a Story for Boys and Girls." By J. J. Wright. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1886.

[37] "Vade-mecum pour la Peinture italienne des anciens Maîtres." Par George E. Habich. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

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authentic pictures which may serve as a basis for their researches." But neither from the Preface, nor the Introduction, nor yet from the body of the work, can we gather upon what principle M. Habich has made his selection. It cannot be that he has chosen for mention only authentic pictures, since a considerable percentage of those contained in his catalogue are, in his opinion, wrongly attributed to the painters whose name they bear. Still, be this how it may, his little book cannot but be a valuable aid to art students; for it directs their attention to some of the most important works of the great Italian school in each of the principal galleries of Europe, and, by a simple reference to the number affixed to each picture in the first part of the little handbook, it is easy to find, in the second part, the date at which the painter lived, and a short sketch of his artistic career.

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